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THE NEW

# China Review

EDITED BY

SAMUEL COULING

*VOLUME III, 1921*

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# CHINA REVIEW

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## KWAN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

### I.—THE STORY OF KWAN-TSZ.

THE story of Kwan-tsz opens a little before the year 700 B.C. Three statesmen were sitting together in intimate conversation, and two of these had names well-known to every Chinese schoolboy, 管仲 and 鮑叔 being the Damon and Pythias of their history; the third, having left no corresponding repute behindhim, we shall call by his unmodified Chinese name Shao-huh 召忽. The scene was the capital of the only civilised and organised vassal state impinging upon the sea, 齊, being the northern half of what is now known as Shantung province; and it must be borne in mind, from the outset of this narrative, that, even at this comparatively late date, the whole "empire" of China consisted in the main of a hundred miles or so on each bank of the Yellow River, then, as now, unnavigable except in short sections for anything beyond a scow or a skiff. The subject of conversation was the succession to the dukedom; the regular heir who ultimately succeeded, like most reigning princes of those days, was an incestuous profligate, autocrat in his own domain, quarrelsome towards his fellow vassals — only eight or ten of them of any political importance,—and neglectful of his duty



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towards his sovereign liege the King or Emperor 王, whose power had for centuries back been steadily waning, until at last the central autocrat had become a religious and literary figure-head in his circumscribed appanage rather than an effective ruler in the whole Chinese domain : tne particular point under discussion however, in or about 700 B.C. was which of the duke's three sons would be the most likely and the most suitable successor. Both Damon and Pythias had been engaged in inter-state commerce before they settled down as advisers to the reigning duke, in whose territory neither appears to have been born, though one of the two at least was of distinguished ancient lineage: indeed it seems to have been the custom in those days for members of governing clans to devote their energies to the cornering of international supplies as well as to the manipulation of international politics.

Damon was particularly anxious that Pythias should undertake the tutorship of the duke's son Candidus 小白, whose qualities he considered most promising. Shao-huh said "No! We three are like the three legs of a tripod" (the figurative Chinese word for a dynasty or ruling house, holders of the nine ancient tripods), " and it is quite uncertain which son will succeed : I do not think it will be Candidus." Damon retorted that the people did not like the mother of Candidus' brother Kew 糾 or 糾 (untranslatable), and thus Kew himself shared her unpopularity, whilst the eldest brother of all (the one who ultimately succeeded) was a contemptible character ; on the other hand the fact that Candidus could point to a mother who was both a favourite wife and of ancient lineage had secured to him popular sympathy. Meanwhile the old reigning duke had died, and the despicable successor, the eldest son, after incestuous intercourse with his own sister and conniving at the murder of her husband (the reigning duke of the southern half of Shan Tung 魯), is himself killed in a palace scuffle, and the throne is seized by a maternal uncle 無知—in fact his murderer. In order to save their own lives and those of the two capable sons, Damon and Pythias (the latter in charge of Candidus), take refuge in neighbouring territories, until the assassination of the tyrannical usurper gives them a chance : the two brothers with their respective supporters have, however, to fight a battle before the race for power is definitely settled, and during this fight Damon wounds Candidus with an arrow. Pythias 鮑叔, having placed Candidus securely on the throne pleads hard for his old friend Damon 管仲, taking the ground that the latter's fidelity to Kew (now put to death at his successful brother's demand) augurs for similar fidelity to the lawful sovereign. By a diplomatic stratagem Damon (accompanied by Shao-huh), was obtained alive from the southern



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state (afterwards Confucius' native place) above referred to. Shao-huh timorously committed suicide as he was arriving, but Damon courageously "faced the music" and was soon installed as Prime Minister, a post which he held until his death over forty years afterwards.

The Damon of the above story is none other than the first of the Chinese political philosophers, commonly known as Kwan-tsz, and Candidus is the personal name of Duke Hwan 桓 of Ts'i, the first of the Five Hegemons 五霸 for about a century Protectors of China and of its *fainéant* Kings or Emperors; very much as in later days the Shōguns 將軍 of Japan, for centuries took practical charge of the recluse Mikados 御門 and kept the daimios 大名 in order : the Japanese have always been assiduous students of Chinese philosophy, and it is not unlikely that the book of Kwan-tsz has been the foundation of their best political ideas in the past. Subject to variants in the numerous authorities as to personal names, exact dates, and petty details, the above story is amply confirmed and must be accepted as a piece of genuine history.

The book of Kwan-tsz, which, if it were of his own composition, would date from 650 B.C., is still with us, and is certainly a revelation of first-class mental activity at an unexpectedly early date ; but we do not need the testimony of Chinese commentators from B.C. 80 downwards to convince us that the chapters, which in any case are arranged in the most higgledy-piggledy fashion, have been put together by various political admirers at different dates ranging between, say, 500 and 100 B.C. This is not to say that much of the book contains Kwan-tsz's actual words, but in his time there was no literature in the *belles lettres* sense at all, and indeed no consecutive or sustained Chinese literature of any kind. The bowl of 590 B.C. which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum is perhaps one of the longest and most literary specimens of Chinese political history in existence, and deals with proved events but one generation later in date than Kwan-tsz ; yet even this production, composed by the Emperor's own scribes, does not carry us beyond the declamatory style of Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian inscriptions. Confucius' history, considered so wonderful in 480 B.C., has no style about it at all, and is merely a jerky, laconic diary of chief events ; its novelty and then rare merit lay in its exact dates : the very first appearance of "style" in literature appears to be the principal commentary on that same Confucius' history, which commentary cannot well be older than 450 B.C. After that date style rapidly improved as China herself rapidly developed in intelligence and enterprise, until at the "destruction of the books" in 213 B.C. it had reached a pitch of



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dialectical perfection scarcely excelled in any subsequent age. What happened, then, was probably this :—in Kwan-tsz's time thé archives at the various capitals, the registers, the regulations, and so on, were short, pithy memoranda in the charge of specialists or scribes 史 whose primitive arrangements were somewhat on the lines of our own ancient Exchequer table : there was a free exchange of bamboo slips, conveying to the states orders from the King, and also diplomatic "notes" from vassal to vassal. Kwan-tsz's wonderful administration we are about to describe no doubt set the example of intensive politics to other courts, and his maxims were gradually circulated, in such wise that more or less complete sets were filed at the royal and at the chief vassal courts, accessible to Confucius of Lu 魯 amongst other ministers, for Confucius has left on record his opinion about Kwan-tsz's administrative genius. Any one who has read carefully the three Commentaries on Confucius' own history, and the contemporary "Remarks concerning the States" supplementary thereto; Mencius; the various contentious philosophies of the period. etc. etc., will have no difficulty in agreeing with the Chinese critics who have made a special study of Kwan-tsz that his so-called "book" was put into shape (shapeless though that shape is) chiefly by smart writers of the so-called "Fighting States Period," *i.e.*, the period between the death of Confucius and the destruction of literature, say 480-213 B.C. Whether one or more collections of Kwan-tsz shared the fate of Confucian literature we can most probably now never know ; but in any case what survived after that catastrophe had to be put together once more when the destroyer of literature was dead and gone, and when the Han dynasty was firmly seated on the imperial throne. One of the subordinate Han princes 劉向 who busied themselves with recovering the remains of ancient literature, himself furnishes a preface to Kwan-tsz's book as we now have it, and therefore in asserting the truth of the whole story, and in proceeding to give a digest of Kwan-tsz's marvellous *Kultur* (in many respects so like that of modern pre-war Prussia), we state clearly that the book of Kwan-tsz in its present shape cannot be more than 2,000 years old, though his actual words undoubtedly are reproduced here and there.

No sooner had the Duke and Kwan-tsz reconciled their past differences, than complete confidence prevailed between the two unbrokenly until their deaths. Damon's advice to Pythias that Candidus was the promising successor whose tutoring should be undertaken proved correct: Pythias remained alongside Damon as joint adviser for the greater part if not the whole of this long period, clearly recognising Damon's superior genius, but himself



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manifestly the more gently (and also, perhaps, the more honourably) inclined of the two. It must be remembered that the sanctity of rulers (subsequently so persistently inculcated by Confucius) was then in full vogue as a fundamental principle of dynastic and also of vassal rule; equally well established was the view that all rulers must be guided by the advice of competent ministers. Kwan-tsz, himself of royal stock, although a private speculator, was throughout strongly imbued with the "king can do no wrong" idea, from the moment when he first took service under the Duke's father; and however sternly he might fight for or against this or that successor to that divinity hedging a ruler, once that successor on the throne, with religious rites completed, he from that moment treated his person as semi-sacred.

He proceeded to formulate a policy as follows: the power of the king (so the "Emperor" was then called) is diminishing day by day; the vassal states, mostly relatives agnate or cognate, are neglecting their homage and kinsman duties; Tartars of all kinds are becoming more and more threatening in the north, whilst the great semi-Chinese state of the south, 楚 (both banks of the Yang-tze valley, from the mountain gorges eastwards to modern Shang-hai and Hangchow), is increasing in pretension, and even presumes on grounds of remote kinsmanship to claim "imperial" rights and succession to our own supreme royal throne. I propose therefore to lay before your Grace* a number of administrative measures, the ultimate object of which will be to save the imperial privileges and dignity, force the leading vassal states (then only half-a-dozen of a status roughly corresponding with that of Bavaria, Saxony, Württemberg, Baden, Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, etc., in the German Empire) to fulfil their liege responsibilities; put a stop to these incessant local wars of ambition; and give peace and prosperity to the people. Thus Kwan-tsz. The Duke from first to last gave him a free hand, always, however, carefully discussing each proposition before giving his sanction, and taking good care to reserve his own prerogatives, interests and pleasures. The greater part of the book, accordingly, consists of long and reasoned conversations (often much in the style of Confucius' shorter and jerkier Analects) followed by draft schemes carefully worked out. Having intimated what is the groundwork of the present story we shall now proceed† to analyze one by one the

*The "Duke" was only a Marquess, but all reigning princes were styled "duke" after death, provided they were politically legitimate.

†The subjects of (i) a ruler's general duties, and (ii) the universality of *tao* or *the* (right) *way* have already been published in the June 1920 number of this *Review* (p. 248).



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methods of procedure : but it must be remembered that the best thoughts are promiscuously scattered about, varied and repeated ; it has been a laborious work to pick them out, piece them together, and reconstruct them as an intelligible whole.

## II.—Lessons from Former Dynasties.

It is plain from the authorities cited by Kwan-tsz in order to inculcate his teachings, that the chief if not the only literature available to him were the so-called "classics" in their older form, a century or more before Confucius and his disciples collected, pruned and re-arranged them. Collectively the *sien-wang* 先王 or "former kings" are frequently brought forward as models of how perfect administration was traditionally conducted in the good old times. More specifically, lessons are drawn from the "five generations" 五代, i.e., founders of dynasties, or families. Individually the worst and the best monarchs are mentioned in the usual way, special stress being laid on the villainies of the last monarchs 傑 and 紂 of the only two hereditary houses (B.C. 2205-1766 and 1766-1122) preceding the highly organised 周 dynasty under which Kwan-tsz lived, and upon the virtues of the founders 湯 and 文武 of the two new ruling houses succeeding those degenerates. There is little or nothing to show us in what form these records were kept, nor in quoting from the History, Odes, Changes or Ceremonies (as Confucius left them to us), does Kwan-tsz seem ever to name them as separate books or collections. In his days archives and writings appear to have been relegated to the charge of paid scribes 史, whose duty it was to record happenings at the nod of rulers and to keep the tallies, registers, etc.. ready for production before the council at any moment. A gentleman would acquire at school by heart all a man of his rank would be supposed to know "as one in authority and not as the scribes." Certainly in one place Kwan-tsz uses the expression *wu-king* 五經 (later meaning "five classics"), but he there means the "five regular" sub-divisions of ceremonial. In one place he apparently speaks of the *yüan-pên* 原本 ("original volumes" in modern Chinese) of the former kings' *shu* or "books," an expression which the Chinese commentator explains by collating *kien-ts'eh* 簡策, or inscribed "bamboo slips," strung together at one end, as we know they continued to be until silk and paper began to replace them at the beginning of our era ; but closer scrutiny proves that he meant "go to the root" of, and not "original volumes," no such expression being known in those days : it



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is of such anachronisms that we must beware. In another place it is remarked "I have heard it said that when one of the ancients was discussing," etc., etc. In another, "According to the old books there were eight *Ti* 帝 (semi-divine Emperors) not counting Shên-nung": and a commentator remarks "meaning the Five *Ti* of the Changes and the three Kings 王 of the History." In exhorting the Duke he finds occasion to say "There have been 79 *tai* (generations) of *kün* 君 (princes in the sense of emperors or kings) in the past." This utterance is interesting as pointing definitely to the number of Emperors who, according to the ancient books—or, more strictly, writings,—were supposed to have reigned centuries before Confucius (B.C. 480) or Sz-ma Ts'ien (B.C. 90) wrote the first histories; another passage says that the number of Emperors who had up to date sacrificed to Heaven at T'ai-shan was 72: this last passage seems to answer Professor Chavannes' scepticism as to whether *la plupart des souverains de l'antiquité* had ever performed these sacrifices. Although Kwan-tsz never mentions the History, he quotes passages from the *Chou Shu* or Book of the Chou dynasty, a part of the History 書 (classic) often cited in later times as though the classic itself, though it never seems to have been made quite clear precisely what is meant by the ten books of 71 chapters passing at some undefined date under that name, and perhaps forming part of the original History as pruned down by Confucius. One of the reforms introduced by Kwan-tsz was uniformity in the formation of written characters. It must be observed that in all published Chinese histories there seems to be a hiatus of about 200 years between, say, 1,050 and 850 B.C. during which little or nothing of a definite nature is recorded either of the King or imperial appanage, or of the rising vassal states,—at the latter date manifestly tending towards "self-determination" or independence. The Tartar intrigues, revolution and flight of the King, discovery of an improved written system, all coincide with the commencement of real history, and it was during the period 850 to say 750 B.C. that history becomes not only definite but interesting. The celebrated Bamboo Annals discovered 1,000 years later do not go farther back, nor does Confucius' history composed or remodelled in 500 B.C. record any real annals previous to 730 B.C. Practical thinking and "applied thought," in fact, began at the moment when the genius of Kwan-tsz first took political work in hand.

There are various passages in Kwan-tsz throwing light upon the nature of writing materials in the 7th century B.C. For



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instance, in one place it is stated that the Duke, making preparation to issue new laws, "planed his boards and inked his pencils," which seems to show that the knife or steel style with which writing used to be carved or scratched upon wood or bamboo (as the Hindoo Banian merchants do to this day) had already begun to give way to the brush of frayed or split bamboo dipped in varnish or ink. Moreover one passage runs, "Weigh your words carefully, and ink them clearly on the writing surface." The use of evidentiary seals is plain from the sentence: "a seal (*si* 璽) was used in making the enquiry to show the good faith of his words." In one place a commentator says: "I think there may be a misplaced bamboo slip here," evidently taking it for granted that slips of bamboo already formed the "books" of the period. Bargains and contracts were effected by *k'üan* 券 (one piece) and *k'i* 契 (two pieces), but a *pieh-k'üan* or "other document" is described as a "divided *k'i*." In money loans, when as an act of grace repayment was waived, "the *k'üan* was broken in two and the writing was erased (or scraped off)." In fact, our own "indenture" was simply a parchment variety of the indented Chinese *k'i*, each party holding a corresponding half. In a passage upon uniformity in weights, measures, carts-ruts, and written characters (thus anticipating the First Emperor's reforms of 450 years later) it is said *Shu t'ung ming* 書同名 or "in writing similar terms (or characters)."

There are frequent references to archives and records; also allusions to the announcement of new legislation at the beginning of the year; also to the risk of bad characters growing in numbers unless the tally rosters are carefully kept. Note is taken of the economical conditions, the extent of cultivation, the accumulation of stores. There is evidence of careful celestial observation, and it is quite plain that the two solstices were the key dates. Persistent study is inculcated so far as the official classes are concerned, and there are evidences in the numerous "georgics" of rhymed poetry; in one place poetry is recommended as a remedy for anger, and music as one for sadness. There are in Kwan-tsz's book perhaps a score or more of strange written characters to the meaning and pronunciation of which there is no clue whatever; most of these are so noted in K'ang-hi's dictionary, and of course the mere fact of their existence and their having been despaired of for twenty-five centuries is collateral evidence of the book's antiquity, so far at least as the traditional words and parts of the composition as we see it are concerned. Kwan-tsz says, the "*sz-king*" 四經 will have been studied in vain unless at home filial piety and brotherly love are cultivated, and in



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office the principles of loyalty and good faith are maintained: the commentator says these "four classics" are the Odes, History, Ceremonies, and Music, but this savours of later interpolation. The expression "when the *san-king* 三經 are all right, the state is held well in hand," suggests that the four *king* simply meant four "bibles," or recognised books, whilst these three refer to the necessity of taking Heaven, Earth, and Season into consideration, and accord better with the five "standards" 吉凶賓軍嘉 of ceremonial already mentioned. The book of Kwan-tsz throughout, in fact, requires circumspect and critical study before any striking saying can be accepted as original.

## III.—Kwan-tsz's Spirit World.

Struck with remorse after his faithful servant Kwan-tsz's death, the Duke asks himself "If the dead really have consciousness how shall I be able to face him when I die?" During the intrigues for succession the Duke's own brother and predecessor, when out hunting, imagined he saw the ghost of a man he had practically assassinated in the shape of a wild pig. In one place it is asked "What divinity (*shên-ling*) is it that keeps Heaven and Earth in their respective places?" The distinction between the *kwei* and the nobler *shên* variety of spirits does not seem definite; for instance, "Victims and sacrifices are not sufficient alone to please the *kwei-shên* 鬼神"—meaning that they appreciate the real virtue rather than the ostentatious parade of the worshipper. Again, "He who is just towards man is the one who obtains favour with the *kwei*." The *kwei-shên* are defined as "what float about between Heaven and Earth; they are on every hill and cañon and happiness must be begged from them with sacrifice (*tsi* 祭) of valuable things"; mention is made in this connection of signal-posts on hills. "The *kwei-shên* hearken to an intelligent ruler, even if he have no valuables; the reverse in the case of a stupid prince, however costly his offerings." The *kwei-shên* are said to enjoy the aroma of the offerings in the ancestral Temple (*Tsu-Miao* 祖廟), and on the occasions of the Five Worships (*Wu-sz* 五祀) at the four seasons (with two during summer). Every long-reigning lord of men has a horror of losing his empire, and of thus extinguishing his Ancestral Temple (*Tsung-Miao* 宗廟). A passage alludes to the *Ts'ing-shên* 清神, or Clear Spirit, as being a sort of Creator, and at the end of the year the ruling prince faces the spirit world (*shên-ming* 神明) to the accompaniment of music. There is a *tao* or way to treat Heaven,



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Earth, Man, Spirits, Beasts and Birds, each in their respective places. There were seventy-two of the Emperors who sacrificed (*fêng*) to the T'ai Mountain *. There seems no doubt that star-worship of some kind was practised, for when atmospherical conditions were unfavourable (*fêng-k'i pu-ho* 風氣不和) or drought prevailed, this was done in the hope that the star would not remain too hot or too far off to secure next year's harvest; it must be mentioned, however, with regard to this passage that the commentator suspects it is not original Kwan-tsz, and adds that the later school of nature (*yin-yang kia* 陰陽家) mention no such theory. Yet, in another chapter, Kwan-tsz clearly speaks of the virtue (*têh*) of the stars (*sing*), Jupiter (*sui* 歲), and the minor planets (*ch'ên*). In connection with ideas of Hades it is mentioned, in reference to the development of the salt and iron industries, that both those substances belong to the prince of the nether world or unseen kingdom (*yin-wang chï kwoh* 陰王之國). On the whole, however, Kwan-tsz was not superstitious, and had even a tendency to ridicule both religion and omens; he says the knowing ones make practical use of the *kwei-shên* whilst the foolish believe in them, which attitude recalls the now current proverb *Sin kwei kien kwei*, "Those who believe in ghosts see ghosts." A story having been brought to the Duke that dragons had been seen fighting, Kwan-tsz said that the best way would be to send a courtier of rank dressed in black, to the spot, so that when the rest of China heard of the event they would recognise that Heaven had selected this particular Chinese state for a mission, and the eight powerful vassals would thus consent to follow the Duke's lead in restoring the king's power without waiting for the compulsion of military force. Kwan-tsz recognises two kinds of comets (*ts'iang-sing* 槍 and *sui-sing* 彗) as the vehicles of omen, and, in addition to mayweed and tortoise universally employed for oracles, associates the dragon also with innate powers of that kind. The functions of the *wu-chuh* 巫祝 at oracular and sacrificial functions were not exactly priestly, for they never had been nor has been any such caste exercising control over the Chinese conscience: they were rather ghostly assistants having special knowledge of the various spirits' rank and degree and able thus to apologise to the spirits for the worshipper's solecisms †. The Duke himself, on mounting the

* This statement would corroborate what Prof. Chavannes considers doubtful (see above), if we could be sure that Kwan-tsz's twenty-third chapter was really a record of his conversation with the Duke. (See Prof. Chavannes' *Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. III, p. 414).

† It will be remembered that the late Mr. Moulton suspected similar *shaman* influences in the Magi.



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throne, ordered the blood of the victim and the wine to be sprinkled on the terminalian altar (*she* 社), and the acolyte said "This is to get rid of the ruler's personal failings; otherwise empty pretence"; the Duke was furious, but Kwan-tsz interposed saying afterwards, "the Duke will succeed politically," meaning that the mere fact his being ashamed of evil was a good sign. Those who neglect ominous indications incur the risk of evil, as also those who neglect sacrifice (*tsi*) to the spirits (*shèn*) in order to expiate their errors. Life is essence, which word essence the commentator defines as the most spiritual (*ling*) part of the spirits (*shên*); and life has powerful influence upon the water spirit (*shui shên*) in cultivation. At the same time no oracle is required to tell you what is contrary to *tao* (the law of nature). What spiritual force (*shên-ling*) do you suppose keeps Heaven and Earth in their places? Some one must move inert matter. The commentators are very eulogistic upon parts of this chapter (13) much of which they consider must be genuine Kwan-tsz and must form the foundations upon which the Taoists Lao-tsz, Chwang-tsz, and the original authors of the (fater and largely spurious) *Yin-fu King* 陰符經 have built their speculations.

*(To be continued).*



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# "THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL"

ROUGHLY TRANSLATED

BY

A. C. MOULE.

THE 都城紀勝 *Tu ch'êng chi shêng* is a little pamphlet about 杭州 Hang-chou, written in the first half of the thirteenth century.* It is among the earliest and smallest of several similar books, and seems to be of sufficient interest to justify this attempt to translate it into English.

* * *

都城紀勝序
聖朝祖宗開國就都於汴而風
俗典禮四方仰之爲師自高宗
皇帝駐蹕於杭而杭山水明秀
民物康阜視京師其過十倍矣
雖市肆與京師相侔然中興已
百餘年列聖相承太平日久前
後經營至矣輻輳集矣其與中
興時又過十數倍也且洛陽名
園記後論有云園圃之興廢者
洛陽盛衰之候也況中興行都
東南之盛爲今日四方之標準
車書混一人物繁盛風俗純厚
市井駢集豈昔日洛陽名園之
比僕遺遇明時寓遊京國目視
耳聞殆非一日不得不爲之集
錄其已於圖經志書所載者便
不重舉此雖不足以形容太平
氣象之萬一亦勞歸名園記之
遺意焉但紀其實不擇其語獨
此爲媿爾時宋端平乙未元日
寓灌圃耐得翁序

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*The edition used is that of the 武林掌故叢編 *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien*, 集 I, vol. ii, 1878. Cf. *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, c. 70, fol. 38vo, and 善本書室藏書志 *Shan pên shu shih ts'ang shu chih*, c. 12, fol. 15r°.



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"PREFACE TO RECORDS OF THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL.

"When the founders of the sacred dynasty began to reign they fixed their capital at Pien,* and for its customs, rules and ceremonies all the country looked up to it as a model. When the Emperor Kao Tsung lodged at Hang,† the beauty of the landscapes and the prosperity of the people of Hang surpassed those of the capital tenfold, and even the markets were as good as those at the capital,‡ and now that the revival of prosperity has lasted more than a century, the Emperors have succeeded one another, peace is long established, and by degrees commerce has been developed and a great population collected, until it surpasses again by much more than tenfold what it was at the time of the revival. And the conclusion to the *Record of the famous Gardens of Lo-yang* has it that the prosperity or decay of the parks and gardens marks the rise and fall of Lo-yang.§ Much more, with the

*汴州 Pien Chou, the capital of the 周 Chou dynasty, was taken over as the 宋 Sung capital by 太祖 T'ai Tsu, A.D. 960.

†杭州 Hang-chou (or 杭縣 Hang hsien, as we believe it now is). Kao Tsung first came to Hang-chou in March, 1129, but did not make it his temporary capital (行在所 Hsing tsai so, or 行在 Hsing tsai, or 行都 Hsing tu) until April 3, 1138. The name of the place was changed to 臨安 Lin-an on December 15 (or August 1), 1129. *Cf.* J. R. A. S., Jan. 1917, p. 10 and references there.

‡京師 Ching-shih. At first sight this sentence where Hang is compared to Ching shih (i.e., Pien chou) may seem fatal to the old belief that Marco Polo's *Quinsai* is a transcription of *ching-shih*, a belief suggested by MARTINI (*Description... Ce la Chine* p. 127 in THÉVENOT'S *Relations*, Pt. III, 1666) who says "C'est, dis-je, cette Quinsai, où estoit de son temps la Cour de la Chine, que les sçavants et les polis entre les Chinois nomment Kingsu, et le vulgaire Kingsaï; c'est de là qu'est venu la Quinsai du Venitien." While I am inclined to think that Quinsai (Khingsai, Khansa, Cansay or Campsay) may well represent the characters 杭州, it is impossible to say that Hang-chou was never called Ching-shih. In the 錢塘遺事 *Ch'ien-t'ang i shih*, written at the very time that Marco was in China, we find in c. 1, fol. 3v°, 此京師門名 "This is the name of a gate at Ching-shih," referring to Pien, but in c. 8, fol. 9r° 京師戒嚴 "Ching-shih was placed under martial law," referring as certainly to Hang-chou. *Cf.* J. R. A. S., January 1917, pp. 8-10. Camse, which YULE thought was a transcription of Ching-shih on a Chinese map of 1595, has been shown to be 江西 Chiang-hsi.

§The words, as quoted in *Sŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, c. 70, fol. 13r°, are 天下之治亂候於洛陽之盛衰洛陽之盛衰候於園囿之興廢. The *Lo-yang ming yüan chi*, in one chapter (卷), was written by 李格非, 文叔, Li Ko-fei (Wên shu) of 濟南 Chi-nan, who lived about the end of the 11th century.



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revival, has the temporary capital, the crown of the south-east, become to day the model and measure of the whole land; the "carriages and writing"* are standardized, the people multiplied, the manners and customs refined and good, the markets crowded. What comparison can there be with the famous gardens of Loyang long ago?

"Having lighted upon brilliant times, I have lodged in and wandered through the capital† seeing with my eyes and hearing with my ears for, no doubt, more than one day, and cannot but put together a record of it. What is already recorded in the Monographs illustrated with maps and in the topographies‡ is not repeated. Though this is not able to depict the ten thousandth part of the air of prosperous peace, yet it imitates the idea handed down by the *Record of famous Gardens*. I am only ashamed of having recorded the facts without choosing my words.

"The time is the first day of *i wei* in Tuan-p'ing of the Sung (Sunday, January 21, A.D. 1235).

"A preface by the old man who succeeds by forbearance living in the Watered Garden."

都城紀勝

灌圃耐得翁

市井

自大內和寧門外新路南北早間珠玉珍異及花果時新海鮮野味奇器天下所無者悉集於此以至朝天門清河坊中瓦前灞頭官巷口棚心衆安橋食物店鋪人烟浩穰其夜市除大內前外諸處亦然惟中瓦前最勝撲賣奇巧器皿百色物件與日間無異其餘坊巷市井買賣關撲酒樓歌館直至四鼓後方靜而五鼓朝馬將動其有趁賣早市者復起開張無論四時皆然如遇元宵尤盛排門和買民居作觀玩幕次不可以勝紀云

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*An allusion to the 中庸 *Chung yung* (Legge, XXVIII, 3) 今天下車同軌書同文.

†Hang-chou.

‡The *Topographies*, of which every province, department, and district in China, and every famous mountain, monastery or college has produced at least one, are now generally called 志 *chih* (the less formal descriptions being also known as 記 *chi* or 史 *shih*, etc.), but at the time of their origin in the 8th century they were more often called 圖經 *T'u ching* "Monographs with maps." Cf. Pelliot's account of the 沙州圖經 *Sha-chou t'u ching* recovered by him from Tun-huang in 1908. *Journal Asiatique*. 1916, I, pp. 112, 113.

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"RECORDS OF THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL.

"The old man of the Watered Garden who succeeds by forbearance.

I.—"Market Places.*

"North and south of the new road outside the Ho-ning gate of the Palace†; pearls, jade, jewels, and rarities, and the first flowers and fruit of the season, and sea fish, and eatables from the country, and curiosities, and foreign things are all collected together here in the morning. And when you reach the Ch'ao-T'ien gate, the Ch'ing-ho *fang*, the front of the Middle Wa, the Pa-t'ou, the Kuan-hsiang k'ou, the P'eng, Hsin, and Chung-an bridges, food shops and dwelling houses are densely packed. And the night markets everywhere, except in front of the Palace, are the same, but principally at the front of the Middle Wa where they sell by auction ingenious utensils and things of every description exactly the same as by day‡. The markets, buying and selling, wrestling rings (?), wine towers and singing halls in the other districts and lanes go straight on and do not close till after the fourth drum (about 2 a.m.), and at the fifth drum (about 3 or 4 o'clock a.m.) the horses [of the officials] going to audience begin to move, and those who hope to sell at the early market get up again at dawn and open shop. All the year round it is like this, but when you come to Yüan Hsiao the scene is still more lively, [the silk growers] crowd in at the gates to obtain

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*The use of 井 *Ching*, a well, for a market place is derived either from the primitive custom of people taking things with them to barter when they went to draw water, or from the fact that a market, like a well, is an enclosed space.

†The Ho-ning gate, the north gate of the Palace, was on the site of the south gate (鳳山 Fêng-shan or 正陽 Chêng-yang) of the more recent city wall. The Palace proper (Ta nei) was on the little 鸞頂 Man-t'ou hill. The new road may perhaps be the street, still unnamed in modern maps, which leads to the 候潮 Hou-ch'ao gate.

‡These localities are easily identified. The Ch'ao-T'ien gate was then the ruin of a tower built by the feudal prince 錢鏐 Ch'ien Liu early in the 10th century, to be rebuilt rather more than a century later, and to be called 鎮海樓 Chên hai lou in 1375. Cf. 西湖遊覽志 *Hsi hu yu lan chih* c. 13, fol. 7, 8. The rest follow the line of the Imperial or Great Street northward, keeping very nearly the old names. The night markets are still a great feature of the place.



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loans, the people make booths, tents for shows and entertainments are set up in lines, and it quite baffles description. *

"In Lung-hsing [A.D. 1163-4] the Kao Miao with the six palaces were opposite the Middle Wa where the spectators' stand in the dye yard of Hsiu nei ssŭ now is. The Emperor Hsiao Tsung used to enjoy coming to look at the lanterns and the buyers and sellers ranged in front of the barrier. His chamberlains made neat piles of coins, and he would summon the sellers of food and the minstrels and give them money, some receiving gold or silver coins. At that time there were still traders (?) who had migrated from the capital to be met with among the shops, like Grandmother Li for soup or the Chang family for dumplings at the

*In this passage several phrases deserve attention. 撲賣 *P'o mai* 'to sell by auction (more commonly 拍賣) is illustrated by a quotation in the *P'ei wên yun fu*, s. v. 賣, where 一撲 *i p'o* is used for 'one bid.' 關撲 *Kuan p'o* was a common expression in the Sung dynasty meaning apparently, as Professor Pelliot suggests, 'séances de lutte.' The phrase is quoted, but not explained, in the *T'zŭ yüan*, as an example of 撲 *P'o* meaning 相撲 *hsiang p'o*, to 'wrestle' or 'box'; from the 東京夢華錄 *Tung ching mêng hua lu*:— 正月一日年節開封府放關撲三日 As the words are explained in no dictionary known to me, other examples are here given with their context. 夢粱錄 *Mêng liang lu*, c. 1, fol. 1r°; 街坊以食物動使冠梳領抹緞匹花朵玩具等物沿門歌叫關撲不論貧富 ...; c. 19, fol. 1: 每歲春月放人遊玩堂宇內頓放買賣關撲並體內庭規式如龍船鬧竿花籃花工用七寶珠翠奇巧裝結花朵冠梳並皆時樣官窰碗碟列古玩具鋪列堂右做如關撲歌叫之聲清婉可聽; 武林舊事 *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 3 fol. 8v°: (都人避暑) ... 飲芥辣白醪凉水冰雪爽口之物關撲香毬畫扇淨花珠佩而茉莉爲最盛; c. 6 fol. 6v° (游手) ... 有所謂 ... 櫃坊賭局以博戲關撲結鶩手法騙錢; c. 7 fol. 2r°: (An entertainment in the Palace, April, 1167) 至後苑看花兩廊並是小內侍及幕士效學西湖鋪放珠翠花朵玩具匹帛及花鼓鬧竿市食等許從內人關撲次至毬場看小內侍拋綵毬 ... For 相撲 *Hsiang p'o* see *Mêng liang lu* c. 20 fol. 12v°: 角抵者相撲之異名也又謂之爭交; fol. 13r°: 瓦市相撲者.

Of the *Wa*, or disreputable houses, more must be said below. Yüan Hsiao is the Feast of Lanterns, the 15th of the first month, the festival being kept up for three days. 和買 *Ho mai* is a technical expression used in the Sung dynasty to describe a system by which public money was advanced to silk farmers in the early spring to be repaid by them in kind in the summer or autumn. This is said to have been first done at the end of the tenth or early in the eleventh century. See *T'zŭ yüan*, s.v. 和.



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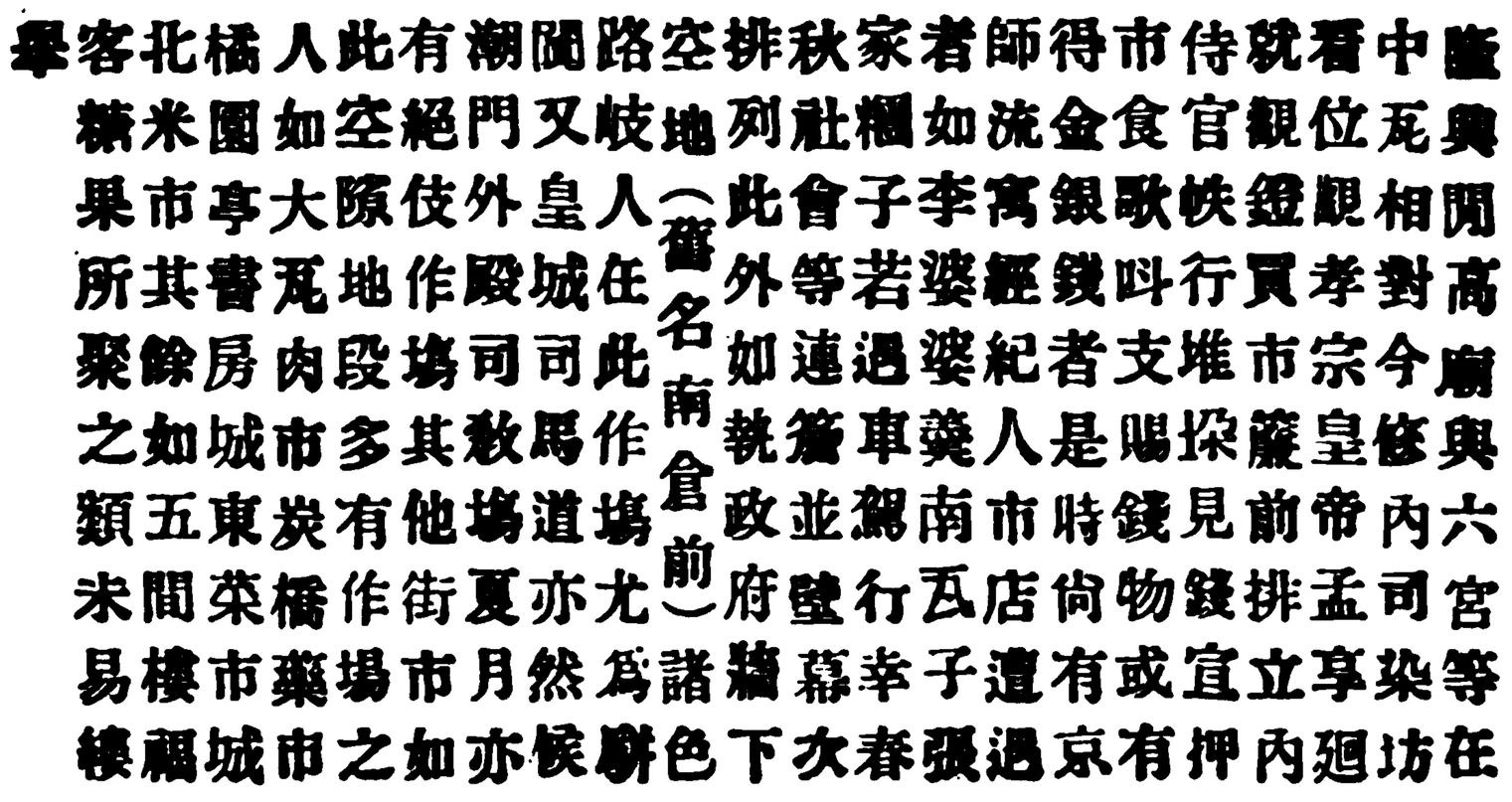
South Wa-tzŭ. On occasions when the Imperial carriages went in state to the spring or autumn holiday gatherings, booths were set up in rows touching one another with their eaves continuous. Besides these all sorts of street performers took up their positions here in the open space under the wall of the Chih-chêng office, which used to be called the Front of the south Granary, where they were still more closely packed. And again on the ramp (?) at the Huang ch'êng ssŭ it is the same, and on the parade ground of the Tien ssŭ outside the Hou-ch'ao gate all sorts of performers take their station in the summer. In the empty spaces in the other streets and markets there are for the most part men at their stations in this way, as for example in the meat market at the Great Wa, the drug market at the T'an bridge, the book shops at the Chü-yüan pavilion, in the vegetable market east of the city or the rice market north of the city. The rest such as the Wu-chien tower where the Fu chou (?) dealers in sweetmeats congregate, it is not easy to record in detail.




*(To be continued).*



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# SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE TEXTS OF THE SHU-CHING

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY.

Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien tells how at the Burning of the Books in B.C. 213, a scholar Fu Shêng 伏生 of wide learning hid his copy of the *Shu-ching*, but when times were better under the Han dynasty he was able to recover only twenty-nine of the books, which he used for teaching on the borders between Ch'i and Lu, and how the emperor Wên (B.C. 178-156) hearing of it summoned him to court : but the scholar now being turned ninety years of age was unfit to travel ; so an imperial officer was commissioned to fetch the books. As they were Fu Shêng's own books which he had used before the Burning and had expounded to his people for a number of years, they had probably been reduced to the modern script by himself ; at least they were in this form when presented to the court and hence are called the Modern Text. There is general agreement upon twenty-eight of them ; some think that the other book consisted of the Preface, but the more usual opinion, accepted by both Professor Chavannes and Dr. Legge, is that the twenty-ninth was *The Great Declaration*.

Ssŭ-ma also tells us that the K'ung family possessed a copy of the *Shu-ching* in the ancient script, and that the books were deciphered by his own contemporary K'ung An-kuo 孔安國 who thus added "more than ten" to those of Fu Shêng. The History of the Former Han explains that they were found in a wall when the old house of the family was pulled down and that An-kuo "took the whole of his *Shu-ching* and by it verified 以考 the twenty-nine books (of Fu Shêng) and had sixteen others." K'ung An-kuo's is known as the Ancient Text. Liu Hsin 劉歆, custodian of the Han Library, says that his father Hsiang 向 (B.C.80-9) compared these books with those of Fu Shêng, and found three tablets, one from the *Announcement on Wine*, and two from the *Announcement of Shao*, and several tens of characters missing



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whilst more than 700 characters were different. The earliest list of the Ancient Text which has come down to us is that of Chêng Hsüan 鄭玄 (A.D. 127-200),* but, as we shall see, Dr. Legge disputes whether they are those of An-kuo. This list also contains sixteen books which are not in the Modern Text. After the Han all mention of the Ancient Text disappears from extant catalogues of the Imperial Libraries until Mei-Tsê 梅賾 presented a copy of it to the Emperor Yüan (A.D. 317-322) of the Eastern Tsin dynasty. The names of the books of the Mei-Tsê Ancient Text which are in Chêng Hsüan's list number only eleven and, as we shall see, two of them, the *Canon of Shun* and the *I-chi* are said to have been obtained by dividing the *Canon of Yao* and the *Counsel of Kao-yao* of the Modern Text, leaving only nine of Chêng Hsüan's Ancient Text. To these are added ten whose names are entirely new, but one of them, the *Announcement of king K'ang* is thought to have been obtained by dividing the *Testamentary Charge* of the Modern Text, leaving really only nine new ones. According to this the fifty books of thç *Shu-ching* as completed by Mei-Tsê contains thirty-two from Fu Shêng's Modern and eighteen from the Ancient Text, and of these last nine are entirely new. This edition, combining the Modern and the Ancient Texts, was adopted by the National College towards the end of the 5th century and is the present *textus receptus*. Doubts concerning Mei-Tsê's Ancient Text arose in the T'ang dynasty and were encouraged by Chu Hsi, the prince of Chinese critics. Professor Chavannes assures us that it is rejected, by all modern scholars of eminence, and he entirely concurred with them; whilst Dr. Legge without misgiving accepted the whole of the present *Shu-ching*.

Dr. Legge adduced evidence to show that although not in the imperial libraries after the Han, the Ancient Text was never lost to scholars.† He tells us that Chêng Hsüan was an adherent of

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* According to Dr. Legge this list is only preserved in a quotation by K'ung Ying-ta (A.D. 574-648).

† The list of scholars between the Former Han and Tsin dynasties which he adduces are Yin Min 尹敏 A.D. 25-73; in his early years he studied the Modern Text, but later preferred the Ancient; Chou fang 周防; K'ung Hsi 孔僖, in the reign of the Emperor An, A.D. 107-125; Yang Lun 楊倫 contemporary with the above and carrying on to A.D. 150; at first he adhered to the Modern Text; Wang Su 王肅 of Wei; active life, A.D. 221-256; he wrote a commentary on the *Shu-ching* of the Ancient Text which was in the library of the Sui dynasty; Huang-p'u Mi 皇甫謐 connecting with the Tsin dynasty; he wrote an historical work which "everywhere quotes the 58 books of An-kuo's Ancient Text." Dr. Legge appears to cull these names from the official histories and adds that of Liang Liu 梁柳 from "another source" as possessing An-kuo's text and commentary. He was Huang-p'u's teacher.



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the "Lacquered Books," * which are said to have been found, also in the Ancient script, by Tu Lin 杜林 when a fugitive during the usurpation of Wang Mang (A.D. 9-23), and were prized by a succession of scholars at the time when the Ancient Text was still in the Imperial Library; he therefore concluded that they were distinct from An-kuo's books. Dr. Legge does not allude to the evidence of the Han History that An-kuo's new books numbered only sixteen.

On the other side Professor Chavannes maintained that there is no trace of the Ancient Text in the third century, but he does not refute the contrary evidence put forth by his predecessor. He thought that Chêng Hsüan's list being the oldest that we have and containing the same number of books as that given in the Han History must be accepted as the genuine list of all An-kuo's books. He laid stress upon the fact that Ssŭ-ma never quotes books which are peculiar to Mei-tsê and that the few passageswhich he takes from An-kuo are not in Mei-tsê's edition.†

The above summary in a few brief paragraphs opens a wide field and it will be readily understood that a full investigation of the various texts of the *Shu-ching* demands intimate acquaintance with Chinese literature. To this the present writer can make no claim. If, however, an amateur may be allowed to form a

* He refers to the History of the After Han, which says, "Tu Lin obtained the Ancient Text of the *Shu-ching*; Chia K'uei 賈逵 of the same district wrote his instructions on it. Ma Jung 馬融 wrote his commentary and Chêng Hsüan wrote his Comments and Explanations." This is not quite explicit concerning Chêng Hsüan; and Dr. Legge admits that there was generally some confusion between the Lacquered Books and those of An-kuo. He further quotes from Chêng Hsüan's own preface, as preserved by K'ung Ying-ta, to the effect that he was a follower of An-kuo.

† Chavannes allows only one certain quotation from the Ancient Text; it is from the *Announcement of T'ang* and he makes it a principal argument against Mei-tsê's version that it does not contain this passage. Ssŭ-ma does not say that it is from that book. True, it was not his usual practice to specify the source of the material which he used, so this may be from the *Announcement of T'ang* with which he seems to connect it. But, since he drew from other sources besides the *Shu-ching*, we can only be sure that any passage is from the classic by finding it there, and this one in particular is open to suspicion because it carries Yü's empire as far south as the Yangtze; whereas no book and no ode until about the time of king Hsüan even mentions the Yangtze. In this respect Mei-tsê's *Announcement of T'ang* is more true or less untrue to history than Ssŭ-ma's.

Pan Ku 班固 (died A.D. 92) in the Han History says, "Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien consulted An-kuo's books; hence his *Canon of Yao*, *Tribute of Yu*, *Great Plan*, *Viscount of Wei*, and the *Metal-bound Coffer* all contain many readings from the Ancient Text." Chavannes admits a certain number, mostly only verbal variations, but insists that in many more Ssŭ-ma preferred the Modern Text.



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provisional opinion upon the evidence furnished by our two leading *savants*, one for and one against, it will perhaps be that Prof. Chavannes established his contention that Chêng Hsüan gives the names of all An-kuo's books of the Ancient Text, and that those which are not on the list are spurious, but he has not given sufficient evidence that the others are necessarily to be rejected.

The question of the genuine nature of the present Ancient Text is not settled by tracing it to An-kuo ; it must also be shown that An-kuo's new books themselves were authentic. The fact of some books being discovered in Confucius' old house rests upon much the same evidence, or even better than does the discovery of Fu Shêng's books, but there is this difference that while the Modern Text was accepted by competent scholars the Ancient Text was evidently regarded from the first with suspicion. Why did Ssŭ-ma use it so very sparingly ? And why, after it had been transcribed into the modern script precisely as Fu Shêng's had been, was it kept apart as a separate version, instead of combining its additional books with the previous ones into a single edition of the *Shu-ching ?* It may be impossible to show the precise nature of the material which emerged from the old house, but before the books which were presented by An-kuo are received with the same confidence which we give to the Modern Text the suspicion of contemporary scholars should meet with a satisfactory explanation.

Dr. Legge suggested that Ssŭ-ma was prevented from using the Ancient Text because of the difficulty of the script. This surely does the great historian an injustice. Prof. Chavannes gives him more credit by supposing that the books failed to satisfy his critical perception. He can only account for the scanty use to which he put them by their being made up, as best might be, of scattered fragments from various sources ;* the result, he thought, was too unsatisfactory to please a scholar of Ssŭ-ma's calibre, and the loss of the books need not be regretted. Thus low had the descendants of the Master and of Tzŭ-ssŭ sunk in their appreciation of literature. Fragmentary nature of the

* He points to passages in Ssŭ-ma which are specifically said to be from the *Shu-ching*, but cannot now be traced to it, to show that at that time such fragments or quotations existed and were probably numerous; indeed the Han catalogue, after entering the editions of the *Shu-ching* says that there were still seventy-one *pien* (Legge). So far, good; but Chavannes has not made it clear that these quotations are not from An-kuo's books which, according to his theory, are lost. The quotations are mostly in Ssŭ-ma's biographies, which were written after he probably had access to the Ancient Text, while his earlier chapters were completed before.



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books would also account for Ssŭ-ma not committing himself to the exact number unlike he did in the case of Fu-shêng's books; but he says that more then ten fresh "books," *pien*, were found, and though perhaps not complete, their being recognized as separate books and their titles therefore probably known, it is surprising that they did not afford him some additional material for his history. The reason for his neglect of them probably lay deeper.

Some modern Chinese critics have gone beyond Chu Hsi and have doubted whether even the discovery of books in Confucius' house was genuine. Ssŭ-ma, though perhaps not of mature years when they appeared, was contemporary with An-kuo and expressed no doubt about the reality of a discovery having been made. He does not give the date, and later writers are uncertain. Prof. Chavannes' opinion—not arrived at in view of this question—was that the house was probably pulled down towards the end of the Emperor Ching's reign (B.C. 156-141).* If so, at least forty-five years had elapsed before the books were removed fit for presentation. The task of deciphering them was doubtless considerable, but with the Modern Text at hand it should hardly have taken so long supposing the tablets to have been in good condition. An-kuo died prematurely, but he was living in B.C. 91 and therefore in the reign of Emperor Ching. He was too young to be given charge of the Books and no suspicion of want of fair dealing can justly attach to him, but in whose hands were the books meanwhile? In order to account for a certain peculiarity in the Ancient Text Professor Chavannes' theory may perhaps be modified by supposing that the tablets, originally from a good text, were so much injured by their immurement as to be incapable of being pieced together and that more was done to them than what literary honesty allowed. In reading the story of the finding of the *Shu-ching* our attention is drawn to the coincidence, assumed by all writers and more clearly affirmed by the History of the After Han (see below) as well as by Liu Hsiang and Liu Hsin, that all the books which Fu Shêng had been able to preserve were also

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* The History of the dynasty says that king Kung 共 of Lu pulled down the house in the latter years of the Emperor Wu; but king Kung died in the 14th year of the Emperor, who reigned for fifty-four years and died in B.C. 87. The discovery then was not exactly towards the close of his reign and there is an inaccuracy somewhere in the statement of the History. The error may have been in reading king Kung instead of king Ai; even then they must have been discovered more than ten years before Wu's death. Prof. Chavannes is therefore inclined to accept the statement of Wang ch'ung 王充, of about the same date as the writer of the History, that it was in the reign of the Emperor Ching. (Died B.C. 140). An-kuo presented the books to the throne "after the period Tien-han 天漢" (B.C. 100-97).



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recovered from Confucius' old house. The first collection contained only just over one-third of the eighty-one books of the classic, and the second, comprising only five-eighths of the whole, chanced to include every book of the first.* Here then is a surprising coincidence which arouses suspicion, not of any books being found, but of the genuineness of those which, after a mysterious delay, were presented at court.

In this connection we may point out another coincidence which, however, only affects Mei Tsê's edition. It is that all the passages which are quoted in the Four Books and the *Tso-chuan* specifically quoted from the *Shu-ching* are incorporated in the Ancient Text with sufficient similarity to justify the belief that they are put forth as the originals.†

Whilst we may have doubts concerning the authenticity of the Ancient Text as it was given to the world none of them perhaps are final, and, after all, Ssŭ-ma's small use of the Text may be explained more simply. At the time of its presentation to the Emperor he was in disgrace through his chivalrous advocacy of Li Ling. Twelve years had already passed since his father from his death-bed charged him to complete his scheme of writing a great history and gave him the material he had already collected. The son had probably made progress with the work when his trouble fell and he tells us that in his retirement he applied himself to it more assiduously. It is to be supposed then, that when he was restored to public life those chapters at least which deal with the time of the *Shu-ching* were finished ; he was not a wealthy man and now without influence would not have the means for becoming acquainted with An-kuo's books. His later tables and biographies show that he continued to add to them during the rest of his life ; this was all new matter ; but the recently found books of the *Shu-ching* probably added little fresh to the history of the dynasties beyond what he had already incorporated from the Preface, except perhaps *The Counsels of the Great Yü*,‡ and modern historians

* It indeed is not definitely said that every book of the Modern Text was in An-kuo's collection, but it is so implied, and certainly almost all of them were in it, as Prof. Chavannes says. The surprising feature of the coincidence remains.

† Dr. Legge's suggestion that the books now lost disappeared in the Chou dynasty before the Burning has much to be said for it. Doubtless there were more copies of the more valuable of the books, and it may be that Confucius' old house concealed all the books which were commonly quoted and which were extant at the time of the Burning. If so this second of the two coincidences which we have mentioned does not really exist.

‡ The present text of this book contains an account of Yü's remarkable expedition against the Miao. The moral is to preach orthodox principles about the influence of humility and virtue, but it is distinctly derogatory to the Confucian hero.



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may rejoice that instead of spending labour in revising his chapters upon those legendary times, he chose to bring his tables and biographies up to date. Allowing that the Ancient Text appeared too late for Ssŭ-ma's use does not account for its lack of general acceptance. He had not yet attained to the dominant position as an historical authority which he afterwards held, and the small use to which he put the books was rather a symptom than the cause of their neglect by scholars. In a later generation Liu Hsin ardently advocated their recognition, but opposition was too strong. It is to the credit of criticism in those times that, eager as scholars were to recover the old literature, they would not accept everything which was offered, and their slowness to receive the Ancient Text is presumptive against its authenticity.

Some of the individual books of the *Shu-ching* call for special attention. Our two great scholars are agreed that Fu Shêng's *Canon of Yao*, *Counsels of Kao-yao* and *Testamentary Charge* included respectively the present *Canon of Shun*, the *I-Chi* and the *Announcement of K'ang*. Dr. Legge thought that Fu Shêng had made a mistake in joining the three pairs together, and that in the present text we have the original *Canon of Shun*, *I-Chi* and *Announcement of king K'ang*. Prof. Chavannes held the contrary, that the originals of these three described in the Preface are lost.*

The *Great Declaration* is of more importance and demands as careful attention as can be given to it. Ssŭ-ma's histories of the founding of the Chou dynasty and the marquisate of Ch'i leave little doubt that he had a version of this book and made considerable use of it. Since he seldom quoted the Ancient Text and since the *Great Declaration* is not on Chêng Hsüan's † list as given

* The evidence on both sides is slight except in the case of the *Canon of Shun* which Mencius quotes as the *Canon of Yao*.

† There is an obscurity in both Legge and Chavannes on this point which calls for care in examining their arguments. K'ung Ying-ta, as appears from Legge (he has not made it clear whether K'ung is quoting directly from Chêng Hsüan or merely giving the result of his own investigation. Prof. Chavannes here enters into no details) does not give Chêng Hsüan's list by itself, but one of all the books which he had, that is, a combined list of the Modern and Ancient Texts of his time. The *Great Declaration* was amongst these books. Prof. Chavannes appears to have deducted from this list the twenty-nine of the Modern Text including the *Great Declaration* and so obtained the sixteen which he gives, without explaining his method, as Chêng Hsüan's list of the Ancient Text; but this supposes that the *Great Declaration* was in the Modern Text; if it were not then Chêng Hsüan's list of the Ancient Text must have included seventeen books, and much of Prof. Chavannes' main argument is upset. The case for including the *Great Declaration* in the Modern Text stands thus: first, if it were not there, the number of books in the oldest list of the Ancient Text does not agree with the number found in Confucius' house; secondly, the pseudo *Great Declaration* to replace the old one of Ssŭ-ma, was, as we shall see from Wang Ch'ung, put with the Modern Text.



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by Chavannes, it must have been in the Modern Text, unless the story of its recovery at the end of Emperor Wu's reign be true, in which case Ssŭ-ma may possibly have used it. The story depends upon Liu Hsiang (B.C. 86-15) as quoted by K'ung Ying-ta; he gives no particulars and it is not confirmed by any contemporary scholar; on the contrary another account says that it was found in the time of Emperor Hsüan (B.C. 73-47).* The weight of evidence is in favour of Ssŭ-ma's *Great Declaration* being one of Fu Shêng's books; † but it does not contain the two quotations given by Mencius ‡ and it follows that the full text is lost. Why should it alone of the twenty-nine have met this fate? Here we are driven to conjecture. Fu Shêng's books were in high esteem; if one of much importance was allowed to drop there must surely have been something in it which did not satisfy the criticism of the time. Dr. Legge's suggestion that this was its "mild extravagance" about the white fish and the flame of fire is perhaps the only way to explain its loss. It is for this reason that we may think that the Modern Text really contained those incidents which otherwise Ssŭ-ma might have had from a different source. Times had changed since Mencius was free to admit that the *Shu-ching* in full soberness recorded incredible marvels: now it was regarded as the treasury of historic truth in which there could be no absurdity; therefore it was felt that Fu Shêng's *Great Declaration*, as Dr. Legge puts it, cannot have received the *imprimatur* of Confucius. And they were indeed right, in so far as the *Shu-ching*, although it contained exaggerations which offended Mencius, has nothing else of the same nature as those two incidents. Still the conclusion that the *Great Declaration* of Fu Shêng is therefore of

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* Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27-97) has it that a girl of Ho-nei amongst other books found one of the *Shu-ching* in the time of the Emperor Hsüan, so that the *Shu-ching* "for the first time had twenty-nine books." He does not give its name, but according to K'ung Ying-ta, the History of the After Han says that a girl of Ho-nei found the Great Declaration in the first year of that Emperor. Prof. Chavannes, it would appear chiefly to show that Ssŭ-ma was independent of the later discovery, preferred this date of B.C. 73. Its only value is to disparage still more the earlier date.

† If it were not, the only alternative is that Fu Shêng's twenty-ninth book was the Preface. Chavannes, it would again seem chiefly to strengthen his argument in favour of the *Great Declaration*, maintained that the Preface did not originally constitute a separate book, but that its paragraphs were dispersed as headings throughout the classics. Ssŭ-ma naturally thus separated them; Chavannes, however, did not explain how if the paragraphs were not together, Ssŭ-ma came to have those of the lost books. Most of the books of the classics have their own introductory note of explanation and the only apparent use of the Preface would be as a summary of the whole.

‡ Mencius III b.v.6; Va, v.8.



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late origin does not follow. The *Shu-ching* testifies on almost every page that the purpose of its compiler was to instil morals rather than to preserve history. He was one of the advanced free-thinkers of his time ; he selected his documents in order to teach certain views in philosophy and ethics, and the suspicion that he may have expurgated even his selected documents lurks throughout his work. Several generations later we find belief in prodigies and omens widely prevalent and it must have been still more deeply implanted in the minds of the best people at the time when the Chou dynasty was founded. It is not too much to think that when the selected and perhaps expurgated documents were brought together the originals still survived and were cherished by scholars less advanced in philosophical opinions. To this class of men Fu Shêng belonged, and he preferred the older, more authentic version of the *Great Declaration*, describing the central movements of those spacious times. If we may carry the conjecture to its conclusion, the Han scholars, finding his version of the book so distasteful, would set about amending it or making another version of it ; by whatever method a new version grew up and the story of its discovery grew with it. The vagueness of the story uncorroborated by contemporary evidence is against its being the real book of the compiler, and the doubt is increased by its being another of those happy coincidences which we have noticed in the Ancient Text. It certainly was a fortunate chance that the only recorded discovery of a single book of the classic should be this more pleasing version of the disparaged *Great Declaration*. Though we do not accept the genesis of the book as given by Wang Ch'ung, his statement that after its appearance the Modern Text for the first time completed its twenty-nine books shows that the new version replaced the old one of the Modern Text and so is probably the one now in the classic. Though it may have appeared somewhat earlier than the books which are peculiar to Mei Tsê and though, like them it may possibly be the genuine book of the compiler, there is no proof, and to us it does not carry greater weight than they do and so should be put in the same category with them.

The fifty books of the present *Shu-ching* may thus be arranged in classes according to their authenticity.

A. Thirty-one from the Modern Text. These alone are accepted by Prof. Chavannes. Those bracketed were originally one.



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1. Canon of Yao
2. Canon of Shun
3. Counsels of Kao-yao
4. I-Chi
5. Tribute of Yü
6. Speech at Kan
7. Speech of T'ang
8. P'an-Kêng
9. Sacrifice of Kao-Chung
10. Conquest of Li
11. Viscount of Wei
12. Speech at Mu
13. Great Plan
14. Metal-bound Coffer
15. Great Announcement
16. Announcement to K'ang
17. Announcement on Wine
18. Tszŭ tree
19. Announcement of Shao
20. Announcement on Lo
21. Numerous Officers
22. Against Luxury
23. Prince Shih
24. Numerous Regions
25. Establishment of the Government
26. Testamentary Charge
27. Announcement of king K'ang
28. Lü on Punishments
29. Charge to Marquis Wên
30. Speech at Pi
31. Speech of Ch'in

B. Nine which being on Chêng Hsüan's list possibly were in An-kuo's Ancient Text.

1. Counsels of Yü the Great
2. Song of the Five Sons
3. Punitive Expedition of Ying
4. Announcement of T'ang
5. Instructions of I.
6. Both Possessed Pure Virtue
7. Completion of the War
8. Hounds of Lü
9. Charge to Ch'iung

C. Nine which cannot be traced beyond Mei Tsê and the *Great Declaration.*

1. Announcement of Chung Hui
2. T'ai-Chia
3. Charge to Yüeh
4. Charge to the Viscount of Wei
5. Charge to Ts'ai Chung
6. Officers of Chou
7. Prince Ch'ên
8. Charge to Pi.
9. Prince Ya

The purpose of this paper is not to discuss the value of the genuine *Shu-ching*, but only to assist in the establishment of a pure text; that is, chiefly, the authenticity or otherwise of Mei Tsê's books. We will now look at the internal evidence on this point as briefly as we have the external.

Chinese opponents of the Ancient Text have urged the comparative smoothness and perspicuity of its style which they think point to later composition. No language can remain precisely the same for two thousand years and that in Mei Tsê's time would show differences from a document of the early Shang



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dynasty which even a non-Chinese could easily recognise, provided that it were perfectly unaffected. The supposition, however, is that Mei Tsê forged these documents, and he must to the best of his ability have imitated the style of the genuine *Shu-ching*; but he would make mistakes which might even then be detected by one thoroughly conversant with Chinese. It is therefore, only intelligent and unprejudiced native scholars with perhaps a few of the best western scholars who should venture into this field of criticism. With more painstaking exactitude than has hitherto been given to it the method would produce valuable results. The books profess to extend over a considerable space of time and obviously it would not do to take the Ancient and Modern Texts *en bloc*. Those supposed to be of the same period should be compared separately from the others. Dr. Legge found differences in style between the 'Announcements' and the 'Charges'; the documentary and non-documentary books should therefore also be distinguished, and the two classes of the same period but of different texts would have to be compared. In all cases the explanatory and connecting passages added by the compiler of the classic are to be distinguished from the original documents; it is here that scholarship is most required.

Apart from the style and verbal expressions, the thought and opinions of the two texts open out a field for internal criticism where a foreigner may roam without professing deep knowledge of Chinese.

We will first take the subject of History. The documents which are in the Modern Text taken from the early Chou dynasty look back to Yü the Great as the great exemplar of what a king should be * and not to Yao or Shun. The earliest allusion to either Yao or Shun in the documents of the Modern Text is in the *Lü on Punishments* of the time of king Wu; the name is not given and it is not clear which of them is meant: and he is alluded to only for a particular incident. Except for this passage all our knowledge of Yao and Shun in the Modern Text is from the compiler who did his work not long before the Confucian period, and since he wrote Yao and Shun became the models instead of Yü. This later outlook is also that of the Ancient Text, but is only found in books peculiar to Mei Tsê †.

* *Shu-ching* xix, 22; iv, 3. The reference in the latter of these passages may only be to his labour upon the flood: but if so, it had no particular reference to the bestowal of the Great Plan. Had Yao and Shun been known, why should not a reason have been found for the Plan not being given to them instead of only not to his father Kuan?

† *Shu-ching* IV, viii, (iii), 10; V, xx, 3.



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On the other hand by the time of the appearance of the Ancient Text, although Yü's moral excellence had become overshadowed by that of Yao and Shun, his extensive empire had been taught, vaguely by the Compiler in the *I-chi* and more definitely by the writer of the *Tribute of Yü* both of comparatively late date, and it is in favour of the authenticity of the *Song of the Five Sons* which is on Chêng Hsüan's list, that it should be content to confine Yü's rule to a single province.* Again, an ode of king Wu's time† says that the Chou family had its origin on the rivers Ch'i and Chu. From this T'an Fu moved his people to the plain of Chou ; he was their first great leader and therefore is called the "ancient" duke. Later the legend of duke Liu sprang up recording a previous emigration.‡ Duke Liu is only known in the *Shu-ching* from a passage in the Ancient Text professedly of king Wu's own time.§

In philosophy the Earth is combined with Heaven as two co-ordinate powers only in Mei Tsê's Ancient Text and the *Great Declaration*.¶ The still later conception of the *Yin* and *Yang* as universal influences of nature is not alluded to in the *Tso-chuan* ‖ or the Four Books and doubtfully even in the *Tao-tê Ching*. The idea is essentially philosophic, depending upon the assumption of the *t'ai-i* and probably is not met with in an undoubted work before about the time of Chuang-Tzŭ ; yet the *Officers of Chou* teaches the theory in its full form of two opposing influences pervading all things and in need of adjustment or correction.

In religion there is no sign of the doctrine of the Remote Ancestor in the Modern Text of the *Shu-ching*, and the early ancestral odes of the dynasty never mention more than three generations back ; but *Both Possess Pure Virtue* of the Ancient Text, alluding to the doctrine of the Remote Ancestors calls the

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* So also the *Announcement of T'ang* in the present text rejects Ssŭ-ma's passage apparently from that book which extends Yü's empire to the Yangtze.

† Odes, III. i 3. Its date is presumed by its praising the kings before Wu, but not him.

‡ Odes, III. ii, 6.

§ *Shu-ching* V. iii, 5. The book is on our B list. The Duke Liu ode, besides being counter to the obvious meaning of the T'an Fu ode in tracing the family to an earlier seat, pictures a more advanced civilization for the remoter time (see Legge *in loc.*) and also lands us into geographical difficulties. Its date cannot be fixed.

¶ *Shu-ching* V. i. (i), 3 ; xx, 6.

‖ *Tso chuan*, 1st yr. of Duke Chao, 11th paragraph, mentions the Yin and Yang as one of three pairs of natural influences.



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temple of the early half of the Shang dynasty "seven shrined." * Again the term *Shang-ti* and *Ti* in the same sense is used in the Modern Text only in two documents of the Shang† but in twelve of the Chou. It is probable that the cult reached its height in the early reigns of the Chou dynasty. After the Han, and indeed before, the term is seldom met with in imperial manifestos, so that a forger would imagine it to be of high antiquity, and we find that in the Ancient Text of the *Shu-ching* it occurs in five of the six documents of the Shang ‡ and in only two of the nine Chou documents §; he may have been influenced—should we say misled ?—by the example of the compiler in the first five books of the classic who, however, did not profess to quote documents.

The title "Son of Heaven" is not found in the Modern Text until the Chou dynasty, but in the Ancient Text it is said to have been in use under the Hsia and Shang.¶ Also the title of 'duke' is not found before the Chou dynasty except in the *Charge to Yüeh*, a book peculiar to Mei Tsê.

The geographical expression "the four seas" occurs in the Modern Text only in the books of the compiler and in the *Tribute of Yü*, all of which were written in mid-Chou times. In other books of this Text the sea is regarded as one, and probably always refers to the east, as in the sentence "beyond the corners of the sea and the rising sun." (*Shu-ching* V xvi, 21). On the other hand "four seas" occurs thrice in documents before the mid-Chou time, where it is said to have been used as far back as T'ang the Successful, and twice in the Great Declaration.‖

The sum of the above, if substantiated, is to show that the Ancient Text tends to ascribe an earlier use of customs and ideas than what is justified by the Modern Text. Agreements with

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* The Shang ancestral Odes both imply the doctrine. Ssŭ-ma affirms their late composition and they must be put in contrast with the Chou Odes.

† *Shu-ching* IV. i. 2; vii. (iii), 6.

‡ *Shu-ching* IV. ii, 3; iii, 2, 8; iv, 8; v, (iii), 3; viii, (1), 2. Two of the books are Chêng Hsüan's and three are only in Mei Tsê.

§ *Shu-ching* V iii, 6; viii, 3.

¶ H. III. iv, 5; IV. viii. (i), 1, both books of Chêng Hsüan. The *Great Plan* is the first book of the Modern Text to use the title; by some the *Great Plan* is thought to be a relic of the Hsia dynasty. It is an epitome by the Viscount of Wei of the early teaching; but the expressions are probably his own. He, however, was of the House of Shang, and his use of the title may show that it was applied to the late Shang kings.

*Shu-ching* IV. iv, 4; viii, (iii), 8; V. I, (i), 11; (iii), 3; iii, 9.

In III. iv, 1, also of the Ancient Text, the expression is in the introductory note, probably by the compiler, and so it is not to be counted.



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the Modern Text which might not be expected in the work of a forger are more difficult of detection; this may account for the non-extension of Yü's empire being the sole point which we have found in favour of the Ancient Text and it applies only to our B list. More minute attention may bring other agreements to light.

In conclusion, let the need for more accurate knowledge of early Chinese history, especially of the fermenting times of the Chou dynasty, be urged. Archæologists have not yet worked in this field and probably never will achieve like results as have rewarded their labours elsewhere. Meanwhile the great literary need is to determine what authority justly belongs to the Ancient Text of the *Shu-ching*. This is not beyond the powers of scholarship. Two great men of the recent past have given their contrary opinions in detail. Our present leaders should not let the work languish until something like a consensus of opinion is reached.



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# A RELATION OF THE KINGDOME OF COCHIN-CHINA.

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED).

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**Cochin-China: Containing many admirable Rarities and Singularities of that Countrey. Extracted out of an Italian Relation, lately presented to the Pope, by Christophoro Barri, that liued certaine yeeres there. London, 1633.**

∴

IN my library I recently discovered a long-forgotten little volume with the above title. It is a well-bound crown-octavo work with a plethora of blank fly-leaves on which successive owners have inscribed their names, and some booksellers its market value at various periods. The pages of the book are not numbered, but amount to only about seventy in all. After the elaborate title-page comes "The Epistle Dedicatory": "To the Right worthy Knight Sir Maurice Abbot, Gouernour of the Honourable Company of Merchants, trading to the *East Indies*; and the rest of that renowned Society." It is an appeal to merchants to continue the collection of accounts of travel in all parts of the world ("even to the ends of the world dispersed"), and is signed by Robert Ashley, the publisher. It is followed by "The Preface Apologeticall," unsigned, a discursive appeal, well sprinkled with Latin quotations, to "two sorts of people likely to be least satisfied with the Publication of this Relation"—the one, those who regard China and Cochin-China to be so far distant as "to concerne vs so little, that it is but lost labour, to be curious or inquisitiue how Men liue there," etc.; the other, the "sort that suddenly



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censure all strange Reports of things which they haue not seene at home, or are not common in the Countreyes next confining, to bee leasings and lies."

The book is divided into eight chapters, dealing with "The Name, Situation, and Greatnesse of this Kingdome," "The Climate, and quality of the Countrey," "The Fertillity of the Land," "The Elephants and Rhinoceros," "The Temperament, Manners, and Customes of the *Cochin-Chinois*, Of their manner of Liuing, Clothing, and Medicines," "The Ciuill and Politicke Gouernement," "The Forces of the King, and of the warres he hath within his Kingdome." and "The Commerce, Ports, and Hauens, of Cochin-China."

To review a book published two hundred and eighty-seven years ago in the light of more recent knowledge would hardly be fair. I propose, therefore, merely to make some extracts from the work, as being of interest from an archaic point of view and as showing (now that old things are becoming new) the difference between the state of things existing in Cochin-China then and now. I retain the old style of spelling (including numerous inconsistencies), with the exception of the long s(f), which frequently repeated is, nowadays, apt to be irritating.

OF THE NAME AND SITUATION OF THIS KINGDOME.—*Cochin-China* being so named by the *Portugals*, is called in the language of the Originarie inhabitants *Anam*, which is the West, in regard it is situate on the West of *China*; in respect whereof the *Iapaneses* called it by the name of *Coci*, which in their tongue hath the same signification that *Anam* hath with the *Cochin-Chineses*: But the *Portugals* which trafique in *Anam*, are they which of the *Iaponian* word *Coci* and of *China*, haue made and compounded this word *Cochin-China*, being as much to say, as *Cochin* of *China*, to distinguish it from *Cochin* a City of *India* frequented by them. And whereas in many Mapps *Cochin-China* is commonly called or designed by the name of *Cauchin-China*, or *Cauchine*, or some other; It proceedeth either of their corrupting the proper name, or else because the makers of the Mapps would signifie, that this Kingdome is the entrance and beginning of *China*.

*Cochin-China* on the South, confines with the kingdome of *Chiampa*, about the II. degree of Northerly Latitude, on the North side; yet somewhat Eastward, it bordereth on *Tunchim*; on the East side it hath the Sea of *China*; and on the West North-west the kingdome of *Lays*.

*Cochin-China* is diuided into fiue Prouinces: The first where the King maketh his abode, ioyneth vpon *Tunchim*, and



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is called *Sinuua*: The second is named *Cacciam*, in which the Prince the Kings sonne doth reside as gouernour: The name of the third is *Quamguia*: The fourth *Quignim*, to which the *Portugals* haue giuen the name of *Pulucambis*: The fifth which bordereth on the Kingdome of *Champa*, is called *Renram*.

OF ITS CLIMATE AND FERTILITY.—This Kingdome being betweene the II. and 17. degree of Northerly latitude, it followeth consequently that the Countrey is rather hot then cold: Yet it is not so hot as *India*, though it haue the same eleuation of the Pole, and bee likewise vnder the Torrid Zone . . . In September, October, and Nouember, being their Autumne the heat ceaseth, and the Aire is very temperate by reason of the continuall raines which doe ordinarily fall at those times on the Mountaines of the *Kemois*; from whence there come waters in such abundance, that they ouerflow all the Countrey, and ioyning themselues with the sea they seeme to be one selfe thing therewith. Moreouer these Inundations of waters come commonly once in a fortnight, continuing about three dayes together. The benefit that commeth thereby, is not only the refreshing of the Aire, but also the fatning of the earth, making it more fruitfull and abundant in all things, and especially in *Rice*, which is the best *Manna*, and the commonest nourishment of all the Kingdome . . .

Hauing thus declared these Inundations; I must also acquaint you with some particular curiosities, and remarkable obseruations thereof, before I conclude this Chapter.

The first shall bee, that they are generally desired of all men, nor onely because the Aire is refreshed by them, becoming more sweet and pleasant, but much more in regard of the fruitfulnesse which they cause in the Earth: Whereupon as soone as they see them, the pleasure and contentment they haue, is such and so great, that they make it sufficiently appeare by their visiting, feasting and presenting one the other, crying oft for ioy, and all repeating and reiterating *Daden Lut, Daden Lut*, which signifieth, the Water is come, the Water is already come: Insomuch that there is none amongst them of what degree or qualitie soeuer but Feasteth and reioyceth: Yea, euen the King himselfe.

Yet in as much as these inundations come so suddenly, and sometime so vnexpected, that when in the Euening they thought not of them, they find themselues in the Morning inuested on all sides, and shut vp in their houses, and that throughout all the Countrey it falls out now and then, that they loose their Cattell, that haue not had the leisure to retire and withdraw them for



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refuge into the hills, and higher places : In regard whereof there is a constitution in the Kingdome, that those Beeues, Goats, Hoggs, and other beasts which are drownd in these deluges, shall no longer belong to the proprietarie and owner of them, but shalbe his that first seiseth on them : which custome occasioneth good sport amongst them, in regard that when the water commeth, they betake themselues to their Boates, in quest of such drowned cattell, with which they afterwards make merry and feast their friends.

The young Children haue also their playes and pastimes according to their age ; by reason that these great plaines couered ouer with *Rice*, abounding likewise with Rats, and Mice, they are forced by the water which hath filled their holes, to saue themselues by swimming, and to climbe vpon the tres for refuge, by meanes whereof the tres are loden with Rats and Mice, in lieu of leaues and fruits : Therupon the boyes get themselues into boates by bands, betaking themselues to the shaking of the tres, dismounting those Rats and Mice, drowning them in the water ; of which their childish disport, there commeth a great good to the Land, which by such meanes remaineth the more cleered and freed of this vermine ; which otherwise by little and little, would much waste and spoile their fields.

The last commodity yet not the least which the *Lut* bringeth, is, that euery one thereby furnisheth and prouideth his house the better of all necessaries ; for in three dayes it maketh all the countrey nauigable euerywhere, with such ease and facilitie, that there is nothing but may easily bee conueyed from one Towne to another : in regard whereof they keepe all their Faires and great Markets at these times, when the concourse is alwayes greater than at any other time of the yeere. In those dayes also they make their prouision of wood for their firing and for Building, which they bring from the Mountaines in their Boates, that passe easily through the streetes, euen into their Houses, which for the purpose are mounted on ranckes of pillars, raised very high to giue the water a free entrance and issue ; euery one retiring meane time into the vppermost story of his House : Vnto which the water (which cannot bee sufficiently admired) the *Lut* or Inundation neuer mounteth ; for they take their measure, so well, through long experience of the height of the waters, that they haue no feare thereof, being well assured that the waters will alwayes remaine below their Buildings.

Albeit one may easily iudge of the fruitfulnes of *Cochin-China*, by the profit which the *Lut* bringeth (as hath beene said) yet somewhat may bee said in particular.



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The Land becommeth so fat and so fruitfull by this *Lut* or ouerflowing, that thrice euery yeere they gather their *Rice*, and that in such great quantity and aboundance, that there is none will labour for his liuing, euery one hauing plentiously whereon to liue. . . .

But beyond all that hath beene said, Gods Prouidence hath priuiledged them with a rare and exquisite kind of food, which in my opinion cannot bee better likened or compared, then to that *Manna* with which the chosen people of God were fed in the Desart. This kind of food is so peculiar to *Cochin-China*, that it is not any where else. That which I will say thereof shall not bee by hearesay, or by report of any other, but by mine owne experience, who haue seene and eaten of it often. There is a little Bird in this Countrey, like vnto a Swallow, which fasteneth his nest to the rocks, on which the waues of the Sea doe beate, and are broken. This little creature taketh with her bill some of the froth of the Sea, and with a certaine humour which shee draweth out of her stomacke, mingling the one with the other, maketh I know not what clay-like bituminous matter, where-with shee after buildeth her nest ; which when it is growne to be dry and hard, becommeth transparent, and of a mingled colour, betwixt yellow and greene. These nests are gathered by those of the Countrey, and being softened and dissolued in water, serue to season all their Meates, either Flesh, or Fish, Hearbes or any thing else ; giuing such a diuersity of relish, and so proper to euery of them, that one would thinke they were prepared with Pepper, Cinamom, Cloues, and all manner of Spices : in such sort, that this little nest is sufficient to season all sorts of Viands without Salt, Oyle or Lard, or any other thing : Which made me say that indeede it resembled the *Manna*, which had in it selfe the taste of all the most sauourie kinds of foode ; but that this is only the worke of a little Bird, whereas the other was prepared by the Angels of God. And of this there is such store, that I haue seene ten little boates loaden with these nests, gathered along the Rocks within the space of halfe a League. But because it is such an exquisite thing, none but the King doth traffique therewith, they are all reserued for him, and the greatest vtterance he maketh of them, is for the King of *China*, who hath them in great esteeme.

They eate not any Milke nor ought made thereof, holding it for a great offence to draw milke from Kine or any other creatures : and their reason for such their scrupulosity is, that they say, the milke was ordained by Nature, for the nourishment of



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the young ones : As if hee to whom the little ones appertaine, could not dispose of the nutriment due vnto them.

They eate certaine things which wee lothe and abhorre as venimous ; namely the *Camelions*, which are greater there, than those which being dried, are brought out of strange Countreyes oftentimes into *Italy*. I haue seene some brought by a friend of mine, bound, and packed vp, which hee cast vpon the burning coales, and as soone as their bands were burnt, they marched faire and softly after their manner, on the liue coales, till such time as they felt the force of the fire, which they indured for a while, being of a very cold constitution ; but in the end they were rosted and broiled, whereupon this friend of mine, drew them to him, and scraping away the burnt skin with a Knife, found their flesh to be exceeding white, which he brayed and sod with a little sawce like vnto Butter, and eate them as a most excellent meat, inuiting me thereunto : But I was contented with the sight of it.

Of the Commerce, Ports and Hauens of Cochin-China.— The Realme of *Cochin-China* being so abundant in all sorts of Commodities, as we haue said, for the life of man ; the people are the lesseaddicted to trauell abroad, and to traffique elsewhere : They doe neuer therefore make further Voyages by Sea, then within the view of the Coasts and bankes of their welbeloued Countrey. Yet they are neuerthelesse willing to giue all Strangers free accesse into their Ports, and take a singular pleasure to see others come to Trade and traffique in their Countrey, not onely out of their Neighbour Prouinces and Kingdomes, but also from remote Countreyes. To which end they neede not vse much Art, seeing that Strangers are allured thither fast enough by the fruitfulnesse of the Countrey, and the riches ouerflowing therein. And therefore not onely those of *Tunchim*, of *Cambogia*, of *Cinceos*, and others their Neighbours doe traffique there, but euery day there arriue Merchants of Countreyes further distant; and from *China*, *Macao*, *Iapan*, *Manilla*, and *Malacca*, which bring Siluer into *Cochin-China*, for the merchandize of the Countrey : Which are not bought, but exchanged with the same Siluer which is sold there as Merchandize, the price thereof being raised or diminished according to the great or little plenty thereof, euen like Silke and other Wares.

The Money with which all things are bought, is of *Letton*, of the like Value as a *French Double, or a Stiuer of the Netherlands*. This Money is exactly round, Printed and marked with the Kings Armes, euery Peece hauing a hole in the midst, through



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which they are filed by thousands, euery file or string of them worth about two crownes.

The *Chinois* and the *Iaponois* are they that make the chiefe negotiation of *Cochin-China*, in a Faire which is yeerely held in one of their Ports, for some foure moneths together: the one bring on their *Ionks*, the value of foure or fiue millions in siluer; and the other vpon certaine vessells which they call *Somes*, an infinite quantity of fine silke, with other of their countrey merchandise. The King receiueth a great reuenue out of this Faire, by his duties and imposts, and the Countrey an vnspeakeable gaine. And as on the one side the *Cochin-Chinois* haue no wrought Stuffes nor Manufactures, because they doe not apply themselues to Manuary trades, by reason of that idlenesse into which their plenty hath plunged them: and that on the other side they are easily inueigled with the curiosities comming from other places, which they higly [*sic*] esteeme; they will buy them at what price soeuer they bee set, and doe not spare for money, to haue such things which of themselues are of little worth; such as Combes, Needles, Bracelets, Beades of glasse to hang in their eares, and such other trifles and womanish curiosities. And I remember that a *Portugal* hauing brought from *Macao* into *Cochin-China* a boxe full of Needles, which could not cost him aboue thirty Ducats, got aboue a thousand; selling them for a Riall a piece in *Cochin-China*, which had not cost him aboue pence [*sic*] a piece in *Macao*. In conclusion, they vie one with the other in buying whatsoeuer they see, so it bee new and brought from farre: for which they disburse their siluer without difficulty. They are very desirous of our Hatts, our Caps, Girdles, Shirts and all our other garments, because they differ from theirs. But aboue all, they make most esteeme of *Corall*. . . .

And because as wee haue said the King of *Cochin-China* doth refuse no Nation to enter, but leaueth it free for all sorts of Strangers, the *Hollanders* came thither also as well as the rest, with their Ships laden with diuers kindes of Merchandise: Whereupon the *Portugals* of *Macao* designed to send an Ambassadour to the King, to intreat him that the *Hollanders* as their sworne enemies, might be excluded out of *Cochin-China*: Wherein they imployed a braue Captaine, called *Ferdinand de Costar*, who effected it with good successe, yet not without much difficulty; preuailing so farre, that the King by his Edict or Proclamation, forbad the *Hollanders* to approach the Countreyes vnder his obedience, or [*sic*] paine of their liues. But those of *Macao* apprehending afterwards, that the said Edict was not well obserued, thought good



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to send a new Embassage into *Cochin-China*, to obtaine a Confirmation thereof; and charged their Deputies to make the King vnderstand, that the affaire concerned his owne Interest, and that if hee did not preuent it, he might haue cause to feare that the *Hollanders* in time (being so crafty and cunning as they are) would assay to inuade some part of his Kingdome of *Cochin-China*, as they had already some other places of the *Indies*. But certaine Persons of good vnderstanding in that Countrey, aduised them not to speake in that sort to the King; because that would bee the very way to make the *Hollanders* haue permission to come to Traffique in that Countrey, and to inuite all *Holland* thither: The Maxime of the *Cochin-Chinois* being not to acknowledge euer any the least apprehension of any Nation in the World. Cleane contrary to the King of *China*, who fearing all, shutteth the Gate against Strangers, permitting no traffique in his Kingdome. . . .

The Wood and Timber of this countrey is the best of all the world, by the iudgement of those that haue been in many places. Amongst that great number and exceeding great diuersitie of tres which they haue, there are two sorts most commonly imployed in their Buildings, which are so incorruptible, that they are not endammaged by being in the water, or vnder the earth: They be so sollid also and so weighty, that they will not swim on the water, but serue for Anchors. One of these kinds of wood is blacke, yet not so blacke as the *Ebeny*: The other is red; being both of them so smooth and euen, that when the Barke is taken away, they need no plaining or smoothing. These tres are called *Tin*, and haply hee should not much be deceiued, that should be of opinion that the tres which *Salomon* vsed in the building of the Temple, were of the same incorruptible Timber; seeing wee know already by the Scripture, that those which he imployed were called *Ligna Thyine*, 2 *Chro.* 9 10. 11. which approacheth very neere their name. . . .

Now whiles we are discoursing of Tres, I will adde somewhat as concerning another kind of wood which is their most precious merchandise: This is that renowned wood called *Aquila* and *Calamba*, which are the same in regard of the wood, yet much different in the reckoning made of them, as also in their vertue and efficacie. There is good store of these tres, especially on the mountaines of the *Kemois*, which are very great and very high. If this wood be cut from a young trunke or stocke, then they call it *Aquila*; whereof there is such plenty, that euery one may take as much as he will: But when this wood is taken from an old tre, this is the *Calamba*, which were exceeding hard to be gotten,



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if Nature had not holpen in that behalfe, placing these tres at the top of the highest steepe, and craggie mountaines, where they may quietly grow without any wrong or violence done them. There are falling from them from time to time, some branches which breake of themselues from the body of the tre; either by becomming blasted and withered, or by extremity of old age, which are found to be rotten and worme-eaten. This is the high-prised and renowned *Calamba*, which farre surpasseth the common *Aquila*, in efficacie and sweetnes of scent. Euery one may sell of the *Aquila* at his pleasure; but the traffique of the *Calamba* is reserued to the King alone, for the excellent odour and soueraigne vertue thereof. And certainly in those places where it is gathered, it is so sweet, and so odoriferous, that prouing certaine pieces of it, which had been giuen me, I buried them more than fiue foot vnder ground; yet notwithstanding they betrayed themselues by their sweet smell. This *Calamba* where it is gathered, is valued at fiue Ducats the pound; yet at the Port of *Cochin-China* it yeeldeth more: . . . But if one meet with a piece of such greatnes that a man may lay his head on it, as on a pillow; the *Iaponeses* will giue three or four hundred Ducats the pound for it: because they find by experiment (as they say) that it is better for health, to haue some hard thing vnder one's head when he sleepeth, then a soft pillow of feathers: which because they hold to be vnwholsome, they vse ordinarily a piece of wood for a Boulster to rest their head on; which euery one according to his ability, will haue as costly as he can get. And if it bee made of *Calamba*, they account it a pillow for a Prince. Now the *Aquila*, how soeuet [*sic*] it be of less estimation and value then the *Calamba*; yet it is of such account and worth, that one Ships lading of *Aquila* is sufficient to inrich a Merchant all his life. And the best recompense that the King can giue to a Captaine of *Malacca*, is, to trade and traffique with this *Aquila*: by reason that the *Brachmans* and *Banians* of *India*, being accustomed to burne the bodies of the dead with this odoriferous wood, will quickly dispatch and rid him of an infinite quantity thereof.

(*To be concluded*).



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# THE CULT OF MILITARY HEROES IN CHINA

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

WRITERS on Chinese religion have made us familiar with the name of a divinity whom they describe as "the God of War." If this term implies a belief in the existence of a being similar in functions, characteristics or divine attributes to Ares or Mars, it is scarcely accurate to say that the Chinese pantheon contains any such personage. Nevertheless there is certainly a long-established cult of famous warriors; and as these persons have had quasi-divine honours posthumously conferred upon them by imperial edicts, and have become the objects of a popular reverence which can hardly be described as other than religious, it is not surprising that European students have come to regard the title of "gods" as the only one which can be appropriately applied to the objects of this cult. In the interests of strict accuracy, however, I have thought it advisable to exclude the term "war-gods" from the title of this paper.

Yet though China possesses no God of War, correctly so styled, it would be erroneous to deduce from this that the religious aspects of war have been overlooked or minimised by the Chinese people. The fact is that in China, as elsewhere, war has usually kept itself in close touch with religious beliefs and practices. We read in the *Tso Chuan* (左傳) that "the great affairs of a State are Sacrifice and War" (國之大事在記與戎); and the latter unaccompanied by the former was a thing unheard of.

A Chinese writer has recently remarked that from the earliest historic times up to the date of the Boxers (and he need not have drawn the line there) his countrymen have never ceased to regard supernatural agencies as constituting an essential element



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in the national military equipment.* What he means is that in China (as in Europe) the national cause in time of war is assumed to be the cause of justice and righteousness and must therefore attract the benevolent interest of the divine Powers, who, if properly invoked, will extend their protection to the national arms and help in the annihilation of a wicked and sacrilegious foe. Many centuries before the Christian era, Chinese statesmen, who frequently proved themselves shrewd psychologists, discovered that an army which believes itself to be under the special protection of superhuman powers, or to be acting as God's instruments in the destruction of evil, will be much more likely to be victorious, other things being equal, than an army which has doubts concerning the cause for which it is fighting or feels no assurance that the spirits or gods are on its side. "God is with you : set your heart at rest" were the words which rang in the ears of the duke of Chou and his army during the great struggle which resulted in the overthrow of the Shang dynasty.† "Heaven has sent calamity on the State of Hou" declared the ruler of a rival State ; "it must be that the Spirits were not pleased with its lord, and made use of me, unworthy as I am, to punish him." In the following extract from one of the Odes, dating from the ninth century B.C. a prince expresses his belief that God has condemned his enemy :—

"Shall not those of whom Almighty God does not approve,
Surely as water flows down from a spring,
Sink down together to ruin ?"

Yet experience has taught him that God helps those who help themselves, for he adds—

"Have in good order your chariots and horses,
Your bows and arrows, your weapons of war,
So as to be prepared for warlike action." ‡

In the *Classic of History* (書經) it is announced that "God surveyed [the people of Miao] and there was no fragrance of virtue arising from them, but the rank odour of their cruel punishments"; so the king made them "feel the terrors of his majesty. He restrained and finally extinguished the people of[Miao], so that they

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*See article by 易白沙 in 新青年, Vol. V, No. 1, p. 17. Cf. the *Tso Chuan :* "Virtuous goodness, punishments, *religion*, righteousness, propriety and good faith, all are the appliances of war." (Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. V, p. 395.)

† Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, Pt. ii, p. 436.

‡ Trans. by H. A. Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals* (London, 1915), p. 75.



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should not continue to future generations." * An army about to engage the enemy is addressed thus: "You are acting in accordance with the clear will of Heaven, and in obedience to your ruler's commands. It is for you, in this engagement, to vindicate the supremacy of virtue and righteousness." † In one of the Odes it is declared that God spoke to King Wên, exhorting him to fight. "Get ready your scaling ladders and your storeyed towers to attack the walls of Ch'ung." And before he began to fight, the king "sacrificed to God and to the heroes of old, thus seeking to induce submission." ‡ The overthrow of every reigning house has been accompanied by repeated announcements on the part of its enemies and supplanters that the fallen dynasty had, by its evil courses, brought upon itself the righteous wrath of God and had "exhausted the mandate of Heaven." Prince Wu, in 1123 B.C., makes a public announcement to the effect that king Shou "despises the 'five virtues' and abandons himself to reckless idleness and wild irreverence. He has cut himself off from Heaven and aroused the wrath of the people. He neglects to offer the sacrifices to Heaven and Earth. He has ceased to present sacrifices in the temple of ancestors. God will not prosper him, but by His curse will overwhelm him in ruin. You will now help me to inflict upon him the punishment determined by Heaven." § On behalf of the sovereigns of the victorious Chou dynasty it is announced that they, on account of their exceptional virtues, "were charged with the work of God. There was the charge to them 'Cut off Yin' [the royal house supplanted by the Chou.] They proceeded to perform it, and announced the correcting work to God." ¶ These examples take us back to the dawn of authentic Chinese history; but similar declarations have been made by all the later founders of dynasties, and even by unsuccessful rebels like the leader of the T'ai-p'ings, who, calling himself a Christian, was only following innumerable Chinese precedents when he sought to enflame the courage of his armies by teaching them that they were the instruments by which a justly incensed God intended to chastise and dethrone the Manchu "tyrants."

It is not surprising, then, that among the most ancient ceremonial rites mentioned in Chinese classical literature are those

* Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii. pp. 592-3.

† *Op. cit.* Vol V, Pt. ii, p 799

‡ See Giles, *op. cit.* p. 31.

§ Quoted by Dr. J. Ross, *The Original Religion of China*, p. 73. Cf. Legge, *op cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii, pp. 281-288.

¶ Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii, p. 458.



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which were carried out during warfare by rulers of States and leaders of armies with the direct object of invoking the aid of the unseen Powers and impressing the troops with the belief that those Powers would protect and help them in the hour of battle. The two most solemn ceremonies in ancient China connected with war were known as the *Lei* (類) and the *Ma* (禡) sacrifices. Very few details regarding them have come down to us, and we cannot always be sure that the records we possess are altogether worthy of trust. It is clear, however, that the *Lei* was a sacrifice to God (*T'ien* 天 or *Shang-Ti* 上帝) and that it was offered on many solemn state occasions. The ceremony could be performed only by the sovereign himself, because it was the "Son of Heaven" alone who had the prerogative of offering sacrifices to Heaven.* It was not exclusively associated with war, but it was always offered when an army was about to be set in motion and seems to have been regarded as pre-eminently a military sacrifice.† The emperor Shun is said to have performed it in 2283 B.C., and how much older it was we have no means of knowing ; though in the earliest references we possess it seems to be taken for granted that the ceremony was an old one or "customary."‡ At a much later date we are told that king Wu, addressing his allies and followers before making his great attack on the last ruler of the degenerate Shang dynasty, informed them that Heaven had decreed the doom of that dynasty, and that he had therefore offered the *Lei* sacrifice before embarking on the great enterprise whereby the will of Heaven was to be carried out.§ He offered the same sacrifice again when the victory had been won. The essential features of the *Lei* sacrifice seem to have survived up to the abdication of the Manchu dynasty in the great ceremony of the imperial worship of God at the Altar of Heaven.¶

The other great religious ceremony connected with warfare in ancient China—the *Ma*—was offered on the field of battle or at the army's halting places. Some authorities would lead us to suppose that it was practically identical with the *Lei*—the only

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* Cf. the *Li Chi*, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 116, 225; Vol. XXVIII, p. 212.)

† Cf. *S.B.E.* Vol. 27, p. 218.

‡ Hence Legge justifiably translates *Lei yü Shang Ti* (類于上帝) by the words 'he sacrificed specially, *but with the ordinary forms*, to God.' *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. i, pp. 33-4. *cf.* J. Ross, *op. cit.* pp. 23-4, 40-1, 192-4.

§ J. Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. ii, p. 287; J. Ross, *op. cit.* p. 72.

¶ Cf. Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. III, Pt. i, p. 34; J. Ross, *op. cit.* p. 295f. This ceremony has been performed once since the 1911 Revolution, namely, by President Yüan Shih-k'ai on December 23rd, 1915.



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difference being that the *Lei* was offered at the capital, or before the army set out, the *Ma* while the army was on the march, or about to engage the enemy.* According to this theory the sacrifice was offered to God (天) or the Heavenly Spirits (天神). Yet it seems probable that some other deity or deities were also invoked or worshipped in this ceremony. Dr. Ross rashly assumes that *Ma* was the name of the deity so invoked, and that he was none other than "the god of war." † Dr. Ross gives no explanation of his view, nor does he reinforce it by a reference to any authority. Probably he merely followed and sought to improve upon Dr. Legge, who translates the line *shih lei shih ma* (是類是禡) in one of the poems of the *Shih Ching* (詩經) by the words "He sacrificed to God and to the Father of War." ‡ Even Legge's translation is open to question. All the Chinese text says is that the *Lei* and *Ma* ceremonies were held on a specified occasion. *Lei* is certainly not a god's name or designation, and there is no reason to suppose that *Ma* is such. As a matter of fact Dr. Legge was only following an illustrious Chinese commentator of the Sung dynasty (Chu Hsi) when he assumed that the *Ma* sacrifice was offered to the "Father of War." He would have followed his authority still more closely if he had said "the Ancestral Patriarchs of the Military Art." Chu Hsi thought that the divinities whom the sacrifice was intended to propitiate were the spirits of Huang Ti (黃帝) and Ch'ih Yu (蚩尤), regarded as the joint originators of armed strife, before whose time warfare was unknown. Huang Ti (the "Yellow Emperor") was the ruler whose reign is supposed to have begun in 2698 B.C. and who is sometimes looked upon as the real founder of the Chinese monarchy.§ According to the legend, Ch'ih Yu (蚩尤) was a truculent rebel who tried to overthrow Huang Ti by force of arms. It is said that a great battle between the rivals was fought at the hill of Ch'o-lu (涿鹿), in the present province of Chihli. Ch'ih Yu, who was something of a magician, tried to throw his enemy into confusion by creating a great mist: perhaps the earliest recorded example of a smoke-screen. Huang Ti, not to be outdone in magic, produced a "south-pointing" instrument which enabled his army to find its way through the mist, and this resulted in the utter defeat of the rebel army and the death of Ch'ih Yu.¶ In the

*于丙曰類于野曰禡.

† Op. cit. p. 198.

‡ Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, p. 455f.

§ Cf. *S.B.E.*, Vol. 28, p. 204 footnote 2.

¶ A better-known legend ascribes the invention of the compass to Chou Kung, in the 12th cent. B.C.



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*Shu Ching* there is a passage which may have been the literary source of the tradition that Ch'ih Yu was the "Father of Strife." * In this passage, the following words are put into the mouth of King Mu (tenth century B.C.):—"It has been handed down from old times that Ch'ih Yu was the first to create disorder in the realm. His example was followed by many others, so that robbery and murder, owl-like treasons and knaveries, usurpations and snatchings, deceits and oppression, became universal." Dr. Legge, in a note on the passage from which I have translated these words, remarks that Ch'ih Yu "to whom the bad eminence of being the first rebel is here assigned, can hardly be considered a historical personage. The two characters of the name may be translated — 'The Stupid and Extraordinary.' " † Huang Ti himself received quasi-divine honours at a very early date. The Book of Rites (*Li Chi*) tells us that according to the law of sacrifices the emperor Shun (23rd century B.C.) gave the place of honour to Huang Ti at "the great Associate Sacrifice"; and the Hsia dynasty (23rd to 18th cent. B.C.) followed this example.‡ We shall see from a strange story dating from 1014 A.D. not only that separate temples to Huang Ti existed at that time (as indeed they do to-day) but that he and Ch'ih Yu were supposed to have carried their mutual enmity from this world into the next, and were still deadly foes thirty-seven centuries after their earth-lives had ceased. It is therefore difficult to take Chu Hsi's suggestion seriously. Even if a real or mythical Ch'ih Yu had become the object of a superstitious cult, it is very unlikely that anyone would have thought of insulting the revered memory of Huang Ti by making them joint recipients of a solemn sacrifice.

Another version of the legend says that Ch'ih Yu was not the name of a single rebel but the designation of the San-Miao (三苗) tribes or the "Nine Li" (九黎) mentioned in the Historical Classic.§ There is also an interesting story which tells us that Ch'ih Yu was the name given to eighty-one brothers who had the bodies of beasts but human voices, heads of copper and iron foreheads — all of which seems to be a fanciful way of saying that they were fierce fighters and wore armour. The legend goes on to say that they were in the habit of eating sand, which perhaps means that

* The *Shu Ching* can only be used with caution, as it is in part a comparatively late compilation. See E. Chavannes, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Paris 1895), Vol. I, pp. cxiii-cxxxvi.

† Legge, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, Pt. ii, 590 *Cf.* p. 714, under the 142nd Radical See also *S.B.E.*, Vol III, pp. 392-3.

‡ *S.B.E.*, Vol. 28, p. 201.

§ Legge, *loc. cit.*



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by their skill in cookery, or their ability to make a little go a long way, their commissariat was remarkably efficient. They are also, credited with having manufactured various kinds of lethal weapons — swords, lances and great bows. On the whole, the legend, if based on fact, suggests that the Ch'ih Yu, if not more civilized than their opponents, were in some respects more advanced. Their final defeat, and the fact that their version of the struggle and its causes has not been handed down, are sufficient to explain their evil reputation. They are said to have terrorised the empire and to have committed outrages innumerable, until at last the "Yellow Emperor" came to the rescue of the stricken people. Having failed to overcome the Ch'ih Yu by demonstrating the beauty of goodness and justice, he appealed to God, who sent him, by the hands of a mysterious female, a book containing an exposition of the art of war. Proceeding against the Ch'ih Yu in accordance with the rules contained in this divine book, he succeeded at last in overthrowing and destroying them.*

It is easy to see that if legends of this kind were widely current, Ch'ih Yu (whether one or many) and the triumphant emperor Huang Ti might well have come to be regarded as the "Fathers of War"; but the theory that they were the joint objects of the cult connected with the *Ma* sacrifice is a mere conjecture which has no real evidence to support it, and, as already pointed out, is inherently improbable. There is just as much (or as little) reason for supposing that the sacrifice was offered to one of the *Pa Shên* (八神)—eight minor spirits who were worshipped during the Ch'in and early Han periods.† One of these spirits was named *Ping Chu* (兵主)—"Lord of Military Weapons"—a divinity who certainly never attained a position entitling him to be styled God or Father of War. Not much importance should be attached to petty divinities of this kind, nor to the custom (maintained under the Manchu emperors) whereby one of the largest cannons of a victorious army was draped with red cloth and hailed as a spiritual being under the title of "Great General of the Red Robe" (紅衣大將軍).

Perhaps the most probable view with regard to the *Ma* sacrifice is that it was offered to *T'ien* or *Shang Ti* but that certain

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* This legend is quoted by E. Chavannes from the 龍魚河圖, in his *Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien* (Paris, 1895), Vol. I, p. 27. Chavannes adds—"On voit dans cette légende que le premier écrit sur l'art de la guerre passe pour avoir été communiqué d'une manière surnaturelle à Hoang-ti."

† See the section on sacrificial ceremonies in the 前漢書 (in the Dynastic Histories). The *Pa Shên* are referred to in a poem by the philosopher Yang Hsiung (揚雄) (B.C. 53—A.D. 18).



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minor divinities were also invoked or associated with that high deity—namely, the local tutelary powers, who might be expected to object to the intrusion of armed forces into their private spheres of activity or who might feel outraged by the shedding of blood on soil that was under their special protection.

Although, as already remarked, it is not strictly correct to say, with some Western writers, that the Chinese pantheon contains a Mars, there are several famous warriors who, having shown themselves to be stout fighters and unselfish patriots during their earthly lives, have been deemed worthy of having their names and "spirit-tablets" enshrined in a kind of national Valhalla or "Temple of Military Heroes," just as the names and tablets of great sages and philosophers and other benefactors of the race have been enshrined in the "Hall of Worthies" or in the "Temple of Confucius." It is the most celebrated of these national heroes who has been so often described as the "Chinese Mars" or the "God of War." *

Those who suppose that the Chinese have never been a martial people and have never prized the military virtues, would perhaps modify their views if they would make a study of such ancient books as the *Tso Chuan*, with its fascinating narratives of chivalrous warfare, and some of the oldest Chinese poetry. We should have to go very far back if we wished to find the earliest traces of something like a religious attitude towards the glorious dead. This task cannot be undertaken here; but a few lines may be quoted from a poem by the famous Ch'ü Yüan) (屈原) (4th cent. B.C.) who closes his description of a great battle with these stirring words:—

"As evening fell, our ardour grew fiercer;
Our best men were all killed; their bodies lay on the plain.
They came out but did not go in, they went but did not return;
The road home from the battle-field was too long.
There they lay with their great swords, and grasping their bows;. . .
And now that their bodies are dead, their divine spirits
Shall become leaders in the army of disembodied ghosts." †

* Cf. Du Bose, *The Dragon, Image and Demon*, p. 128; W. E. Soothill, *The Three Religions of China*, p. 288; Doré, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, Vol. VI, p. 59.

† The translation is by Dr. H. A. Giles, *op. cit.* p. 110.



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But though dead heroes have always been honoured, and the custom of "canonising" those who deserved well of their country either in peace or war is a very ancient one,* it was not till China had fallen into a state of military decadence that a distinct cult of great soldiers began to take a conspicuous place in the religious life of the Chinese people. The hero who was singled out for special honours had been dead about eight hundred years when the Sung emperors set him up as the central figure in a national cult that has lasted to this day. This hero was Kuan Yü (關羽), a native of the village of Ch'ang-p'ing in Hsieh-chou † (Shansi province), who was born in 162 and died in 219 A.D. He lived during the time of disunion and strife that is commonly known as the period of the Three Kingdoms, and he is regarded as the most romantic figure in one of the most romantic epochs of Chinese history. Of abnormal size and strength, he distinguished himself above all his contemporaries by his prowess and courage and by his chivalrous sense of honour. The influence of the drama, coupled with that of a great novel (the *San Kuo Chih Yen I*) both full of fantastic details which can have had little or no foundation in fact—have raised him to a pitch of popularity which is really independent of his position in the official roll of divinities or saints and would hardly be affected by the total withdrawal of official recognition. His surname is unknown ; for *Kuan* was merely adopted by him in order to conceal his identity during his flight from his native place after he had entered upon his career of glory by slaying a tyrannical magistrate. Later on he accidentally made the acquaintance of two other celebrated characters of the period—Liu Pei (劉備) and Chang Fei (張飛). The three became devoted and lifelong friends and entered into a relationship of sworn brotherhood by taking the famous Oath of the Peach-Orchard. The leader of the three was Liu Pei, who was or declared himself to be a descendant of the founder of the Han dynasty and eventually carved his way to the throne of one of the Three Kingdoms—that of Shu (蜀)—largely through the devotion and generalship of Kuan Yü. After a brilliant career which was not too uniformly successful to be monotonous, Kuan Yü was captured by the forces of Sun Ch'üan (孫權) and executed.‡

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* *Cf. S.B.E.*, Vol. 28, p. 207 f.

† 解州常平村.

‡ For accounts of Kuan Yü's life, see H.A. Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, Nos. 1009 and 1803 ; and H. Doré, *op cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 54 f.



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It remains to follow the course of his elevation to quasi-divine rank. Ten years or (according to another authority) forty-one years after his death he was given the posthumous title of *Chuang Mu Hou* (壯繆侯)—"Marquis of Martial Dignity." For several centuries no further official notice was taken of him, though his fame among the people seems to have grown with the passing years. The Sung dynasty ascended the throne in 960, and about half a century later the emperor Chên Tsung (眞宗) caused a temple to be erected to his memory outside the West Gate of the capital of his native district. In 1096 the emperor Chê Tsung (哲宗) gave him the title of *Hsien Lieh Wang* (顯烈王)—"Illustrious Martial Prince." In 1101 he received from the emperor Hui Tsung (徽宗) the title of *Chung Hui Kung* (忠惠公)—"Loyal and Gracious Duke." In 1108 the same emperor conferred the additional title (武安王)—"Prince of War and Peace,"* to which, fifteen years later, the words *I Yung* (義勇)—"Righteous and Courageous"—were prefixed. It is to be noted that the assiduity with which the emperor Hui Tsung promoted the cult of Kuan Yü did not bring him the military successes which he perhaps anticipated; for it was during his reign that the Golden Tatars carried their conquering arms so far into Chinese territory that they became the rulers of the greater part of the northern provinces. However, his successors of the Southern Sung dynasty, with their capital at Hangchow, continued to shower honours on the long-dead hero. In 1129 the emperor Kao Tsung (高宗) declared him to be *Chuang Mu I Yung Wang* (壯繆義勇王)—"Prince of Martial Dignity, Righteousness and Courage." To this the emperor Hsiao Tsung (孝宗), in 1187, added the title of *Ying Chi Wang* (英濟王)—"Heroic and Helpful Prince."

No further honours were conferred on Kuan Yü in the Sung period, which closed in 1279, but during the Yüan (Mongol) period most of his titles were confirmed and that of *Hsien Ling* (顯靈)—"Illustrious and Spiritual"—added. This was in 1329. The Ming dynasty ascended the throne in 1368, and the first ruler of that house, in the first year of his reign, showed his respect for Kuan Yü by confirming his former titles and adding *Han-Shou T'ing-hou* (漢壽亭侯)—"Marquis of Han-shou."† In

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* A more correct translation might be "Prince of Peace-by-War" or "Prince of War-won Peace."

† The occasional omission of *Han* from this particular title has been explained as due to a mistaken assumption that *Han* was intended for the dynastic name, and to ignorance of the fact that *Han-Shou* went together and signified the name of a district. *T'ing-hou* was one of the terms (not often met with) denoting a *territorial* marquisate.



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1387, under the same emperor, a temple to Kuan Yü was built at the capital and periodical sacrifices provided for. In 1404 a temple was established at the new capital (Peking) and provision made for sacrifices on the first day of each year and at the winter solstice. In 1531 sacrifices were directed to be offered on the 13th of the 5th month, which is one of the disputed dates of his birthday.* It was also decreed that State events of importance should in future be formally reported to the spirit of the marquis in his temple, so that he might not be left in ignorance of his country's fortunes.

Early in 1591 an imperial decree ordained that in view of the miraculous powers manifested by the hero, he should receive additional honours, that his image should be adorned with a state robe and cap, and that an imperial autograph scroll inscribed *Hsien Yu* (顯佑)—"Glorious Protector"—should be hung in his temple. This was in consequence of a miraculous occurrence of the previous summer. It appears that incessant rains had caused serious floods that threatened the safety of a large district. Suddenly a yellow cloud was seen above Kuan Yü's temple and remained stationary for a long time before it began to disperse. Strange lights were also seen in front of the temple. They were brilliant enough to be seen three miles off, yet they were not due to any human agency and their source remained undiscovered. Immediately after this manifestation the rains ceased and the countryside was saved from ruin. A detailed account of these occurrences was duly submitted to the throne, and resulted in a considerable augmentation of the fame of Kuan Yü, who, in the official documents dealing with the affair, was described by the title which he had been granted in 1108—"Prince of War and Peace."

There seems to be some doubt as to the exact date upon which Kuan Yü first acquired the high-sounding title of *Ti* (帝)—a term which is usually translated "god" but for which the word "sovereign" is, in this and many similar cases, a more fitting equivalent. According to one authority, this promotion occurred as early as 1531, but this is probably erroneous. The generally accepted date is 1594, when the emperor Shên Tsung (神宗)† bestowed the title of *Hsieh-T'ien Hu-Kuo Chung-I Ta Ti* (協天護國忠義大帝)—"In-harmony-with-Heaven Protector-of-the-

* The other date often given is the 24th of the sixth month. Some say that the 13th of the 5th month was the date of the birthday of his son (or adopted son) Kuan P'ing (關平).

† Better known to Europeans by the reign-title *Wan Li* (萬曆).



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State Loyal-and-Righteous Great Sovereign." The same monarch confirmed the title of *Ti* in a special patent or "golden warrant" (金牌) issued in 1614. In that warrant Kuan Yü was also styled "Devil-queller of the Three Worlds" (三界伏魔)and a "heavenly Spirit of far-reaching majesty" (神威遠震天尊). The presentation of the "golden warrant" was accompanied by an embroidered robe and state-cap which were deposited in the Kuan Yü temple still standing at the *Ch'ien-mên* (前門)—one of the city-gates of Peking. For some obscure reason, not much notice seems to have been taken at first, of this addition to Kuan Yü's honours, for he continued to be designated by his old title of "Marquis." This was brought to the notice of the emperor Hsi Tsung* (T'ien-ch'i), who in 1624 issued an edict declaring that the commands of his late majesty Shên Tsung (Wan-Li) were to be carried out, and confirming the titles, including that of *Ti*, conferred upon Kuan Yü by that monarch. From that time to the present, the "god of war" has been generally known as Kuan Ti.

Throughout the Manchu period Kuan Ti continued to be treated with great respect. During the first year of the new dynastic epoch (1644) it was decreed that sacrifices to Kuan Ti were to take place on the 13th day of the fifth month (assumed to be his birthday) and an officer of the Court of Sacrificial Worship (the 太常寺) was deputed to conduct the ceremony. In 1652 an imperial patent conferred upon him the title of 忠義神武關聖大帝—"Loyal and Righteous Spiritual and Martial Holy Emperor Kuan." In 1725, which was the third year of the reign of Yung Chêng (雍正), the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of Kuan Ti were raised to the rank of duke, and the title 靈佑 ("Spiritual Protection") was added to the long list of honorific designations already conferred upon Kuan Ti himself. The sacrificial ceremonies in Spring and Autumn and on his birthday were confirmed, and an entry to that effect was made in the official records of the Board of Rites.†. It was also decreed that the temple of Kuan Ti outside the Ti-An Gate (地安門) within the city of Peking should be re-roofed with imperial yellow tiles. In 1727 a general restoration of the temple was undertaken and the emperor presented an autograph tablet bearing the inscription *Chung Kuan T'ien Jén* (忠貫天人) —"Loyalty establishing a link between God and Man."

Kuan Ti has been styled the patron-saint of the Manchu dynasty, and indeed there are legends which, if they could be con-

* 熹宗.

† Board of Rites (禮部) Rule No. 125.



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verted into history, might be held to justify his claim to that position up to and perhaps beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. According to one of these stories, Kuan Ti issued from one of his temples in Peking during an attack which was being made on the Forbidden City by a band of rebels in 1813, and intervened so vigorously on behalf of the imperial house that the rebels were soon put to flight. It is admitted that there was a violent thunderstorm at the same time, and we may suppose that there were people present who were not unwilling to believe that the voice of the warrior-saint was heard in the rolling of the thunder. In gratitude for this timely succour, the emperor (Chia-ch'ing)* ordered the heir-apparent to proceed in person to the Kuan Ti temple and offer a special sacrifice. Another miracle is attributed to Kuan Ti in the following year (1814) during an assault by the imperialists on the city of Hua (華) in Honan, the headquarters of a rebel army. In this case, too, the defeat of the rebels was believed to be due to the personal intervention of the "war-god."† Again in the middle of the last century he is said to have aided the imperial troops against the T'ai-p'ing rebels, and, on one memorable occasion in 1856, to have turned what would have been defeat into glorious victory.

Every emperor of the Manchu dynasty, from Shun-chih‡ (whose reign is dated for dynastic purposes from 1644) to Kuang-hsü§ (who died in 1908), showed favour to the cult of Kuan Ti or conferred fresh honours upon him. From Chia-ch'ing (1803) he received the appellation of "Humane and Brave" (仁勇), and from Tao-kuang‖ (1828) that of "Manifest Majesty" (威顯). In the short Hsien-fêng# reign (1851-1861) he was granted new titles on no fewer than four occasions (1852, 1853, 1856 and 1857), presumably because the empire was at the time harassed by internal and external foes (it was the period of the T'ai-p'ing rebellion and the "Arrow" war) and Kuan Ti's support was badly needed to prop the insecure fortunes of the reigning house. The four titles conferred on him in this reign were "Protector of the State" (護國), "Guardian of the People" (保民), "Spiritual and

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*仁宗睿(嘉慶).

†For accounts of these "miracles," see De Groot, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China* (Amsterdam, 1903), pp. 423, 428, 456.

‡世祖章(順治).

§德宗(光緒).

‖宣宗成(道光).

#咸豐.



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Sincere" (精誠), and "Tranquil and Peaceful" (鎮靖). The last of these titles, however true it may conceivably have been of the spiritual condition of Kuan Ti himself, was very far from being a true description of the state of the realm of which he was regarded as a champion and guardian. It was in the same year (1857) that Kuan Ti's immediate ancestors, who as we have seen had been raised to ducal rank in 1725, were elevated to the still more exalted status of prince. It must have been disconcerting to the supporters of the Kuan Ti cult when only three years after these high honours had been conferred upon Kuan Ti and his family, the Anglo-French armies entered Peking, looted and destroyed the neighbouring Summer Palace, and forced the emperor to save himself by flight. The imperial family, however, bore no grudge against Kuan Ti for failing them in their hour of need. Ten years later, the emperor T'ung-chih* awarded him the new title of "Winged Helper" (翊贊), in which one is almost tempted to trace a touch of gentle irony. The last honour conferred upon Kuan Ti by the Manchu dynasty consisted of the title *Hsüan Tê* (宣德)—"Diffuser of Virtue," which was bestowed in the name of the late emperor Kuang-hsü. This was in 1879. Events subsequent to that date tend to show that the god had ungratefully withdrawn his support from the dynasty to which he and his ancestors were indebted for so many honours. No marvellous interventions on behalf of the Manchu house are recorded to have taken place either in 1900, the year of the Boxer outbreak, or in 1911, the year of the Revolution. Indeed the "Loyal and Righteous Great Emperor Kuan," who judging from his proudest title might have been expected to take some interest in the preservation of the monarchic principle, seems to have done nothing to avert a catastrophe which not merely destroyed a dynasty but overthrew the oldest imperial throne in the world. Nevertheless, even the humiliations of the last ten years have not led the dethroned dynasty to abandon the cult of Kuan Ti or to degrade him from his proud position. There is a private chapel dedicated to him within the precincts of the so-called Coal Hill,† formerly part of the imperial Forbidden City in Peking. On stated occasions the young ex-emperor still deputes one of the imperial princes to *nien hsiang* (拈香)—that is, perform religious rites—before the image of Kuan Ti in this chapel. As recently as the 11th of the 11th moon (December

*穆宗毅(同治).

† Properly called *Ching Shan* (景山)—"Prospect Hill."



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20th, 1920),* the Court Circular—the abridged successor of the Peking Gazette of former days—announced that his majesty had ordered Prince P'u Lun† to *nien hsiang* at this imperial Kuan Ti chapel on the 13th of that month ; and the ceremony was duly carried out.

Let us now turn to the consideration of the part played by Kuan Ti in myth and legend. We have seen that he is credited with several miraculous interventions on behalf of the Manchu dynasty during the nineteenth century ; but he began to distinguish himself as a wonder-worker at a much earlier date. Even in his life-time he could work miracles, for we read how he struck a dry rock with his famous sword "Blue Dragon," and how he slaked his thirst, and that of his wonderful horse "Red Hare," at the refreshing waters that immediately gushed forth. After his death it was soon discovered that he had lost neither his interest in fighting nor his personal prowess, for on numerous occasions he is said to have come to the rescue of outnumbered armies and beleaguered garrisons, sometimes by appearing at the head of an irresistible force of demon (or angel) soldiers. Thus the alleged Mons incident has many a prototype in Chinese annals. Against the Japanese, of whom during his earthly life he had perhaps never heard, he proved himself a stout fighter ; and it was in direct consequence of his alleged success in helping to drive the islanders from the maritime provinces of Kiangsu and Chehkiang in the sixteenth century (especially in 1555-6) that temples were for the first time erected to him in parts of China where his cult had hitherto been unknown. It is also told of him that he would break the walls of a prison to release the loyal and righteous victims of judicial tyranny.

There is a strange story of how in 1014 the hereditary head of the Taoist fraternity, Chang the "Heavenly Master" (張天師), was summoned to Court to advise as to the best method of exorcising a noxious demon who turned out to be no other than the famous rebel of the 27th century B.C., the "Yellow Emperor's" enemy Ch'ih Yu. The demon lived in a pond beside which a temple to the "Yellow Emperor" had recently been erected, and it was the existence of this temple that had ruffled the temper of the demon and caused him to announce, in a vision, that he would not cease making himself a nuisance to the neighbourhood until the temple was pulled down. It was the emperor's natural reluctance to dishonour his imperial predecessor by destroying the temple at

* Within the Palace, the Old calendar is still in use.

† 倫貝子.



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the bidding of a demon-rebel that had induced him to consult the "Heavenly Master." Chang declared that the only thing to be done was to invoke the assistance of the spirit of some brave and loyal soldier of past time and entrust him with the task of repeating, in the spirit-world, the valorous work which had been so successfully accomplished on the material plane by the "Yellow Emperor." He therefore proceeded to call up the spirit of Kuan Yü, who in his majesty's presence at once promised to carry out the imperial commands. A few days afterwards a black cloud rose over the demon-haunted pond, and for a brief space of time there raged a violent thunderstorm. The people of the district were greatly alarmed, especially when they heard the clashing of arms in an aerial battle and the charging of invisible horses. In due time the storm passed away and the air cleared, The demon had been utterly vanquished and never gave any further trouble; and the grateful emperor ordered Kuan Ti's principal temple to be repaired and a special service of thanksgiving to be held in honour of the victorious hero.

Among the numerous spirits who revisit the glimpses of the moon at the behest of Chinese mediums and other spiritualistic adepts, Kuan Ti has long been one of the most prominent. Numerous stories are extant of how his warnings and predictions, transmitted through the Chinese planchette, or through entranced psychics, have been verified by subsequent events, and how his advice has been acted upon with happy results. On one occasion a medium, whose "spirit-control" was Kuan Ti, was consulted by a high official who was at his wits' end to know how to deal with a Japanese invasion. The unseen spirit of Kuan Ti proceeded to write a poem containing mysterious forebodings regarding the fate of the official himself: forebodings which were dismally verified by his subsequent execution. In like manner Kuan Ti is said to have foretold the capture of the capital (K'ai-fêng) by the Golden Tatars in 1126 and the ignominious end of the "Northern Sung" dynasty. A similar story relates to the last days of the Ming dynasty in 1643. Amid the dangers and difficulties of that disastrous period, the unhappy emperor Ch'ung-chêng*—like many people in our own day in more "advanced" countries—turned to soothsayers and psychics for encouragement and consolation. In doing so he must have forgotten an old warning preserved in the Confucian *Tso Chuan*: "When a State is about to flourish, its ruler receives his lessons from the people; and when

* 思宗 (崇禎).



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it is about to perish, he receives his lessons from spirits."* Anyhow, the utterances of the spirits only deepened the gloom of those tragic years. A medium whom he consulted invoked the spirit of Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓 a sorcerer of the 8th century A.D. and one of the Eight Immortals of Taoist legend)† who recommended the emperor to consult a more potent spirit than himself —namely "the Devil-Queller Kuan Ti." Accompanied by his prime minister, Chou Yen-ju (周延儒), the emperor paid a nocturnal visit to the (still-existing) temple of Kuan Ti at the Chêng-yang (Ch'ien-mên) gate of Peking, and called upon the resident soothsayer to summon the spirit of the great warrior. While his majesty was burning incense at the altar, Kuan Ti suddenly materialised himself and went down on his knees as though he were a minister of state being received in audience by his sovereign. The emperor saluted him in return and proceeded to question him about the national and dynastic prospects. "There is no hope," was the spirit's reply; "there are too many baneful influences at work." Here the prime minister broke in with a remark: "What baneful influences are you talking about?" he asked. The spirit smiled faintly and answered "You yourself are the worst of all." It was not long after this incident that Chou Yen-ju, who was a corrupt and incompetent official, was impeached for ten heinous misdeeds and sentenced to commit suicide. His removal came at too late an hour to be of any benefit to the monarch whom he had served so badly; for it was very soon after the minister's death that the last reigning sovereign of the Ming dynasty was driven by accumulating disasters to slay himself within the precincts of his own palace.

Some Western writers on China have commented on the strange fact that though the Chinese are credited with being a peace-loving people, one of the most popular divinities in their pantheon is the "god of war." It is certainly true that his temples are to be found almost everywhere. It has been truly remarked by a writer on Chinese village life that in villages which have any temples at all "the two which are most likely to be found, though all others be wanting, are those of the local god, and of the god of war."‡ What he and other writers have omitted to point out,

* Legge, *op. cit.* Vol. V, Pt. i. p. 120.

† See H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* No. 1461.

‡ A. H. Smith, *Village Life in China* (Edin. & London, 1900), p. 137. *cf.* J. Edkins, *Religion in China* (revised ed. London 1893), p. 116; and Du Bose, *op. cit.* p. 128-9.



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however, is the important fact that the popularity of Kuan Ti is not based solely or even chiefly on the fact that he is a war-god. In the course of centuries he has gathered unto himself many other attributes besides those of a loyal and valiant soldier, and it is the possession of these other attributes and functions that has attracted to him the devotion of multitudes of men and women who are far too peace-loving to be capable of deliberately promoting the worship of any god of war. We have documentary evidence that from 1187, if not earlier, Kuan Ti has been regarded as a weather-god, and has been prayed to as such in seasons of drought or excessive rain. The vast majority of the Chinese people are not soldiers but farmers, and it is not surprising that when Kuan Ti's reputation as a regulator of the rainfall came to be generally recognised, his cult quickly spread into country districts and so throughout the empire.

He has also taken his place among the numerous divinities who cure disease. There are many stories of how he has appeared at the bedsides of sufferers and laid a healing hand upon their bodies or given them "golden drugs" and other mysterious medicines which speedily brought them back to health. Further, Kuan Ti is often regarded as patron-saint of the so-called Village Temple, which is a focussing-point of Chinese life in agricultural districts.* The Village Temple, it should be explained, exists for social rather than religious purposes, for though a portion of the corporate funds is used to pay the expenses of an annual festival in honour of the divine patron, the religious significance of these festivals is now almost forgotten or ignored.

Another cause of Kuan Ti's great popularity is that he has been accepted as patron-saint of several trades and professions. This has led to his being regarded as the patron of money-making enterprises generally, and so he has gradually developed into a god of Wealth. When he assumes this role his image is usually shown with a casket of treasure on the floor between his feet.† More strangely still, he has been called upon to act as the invisible President of the well-known "Heaven and Earth Association" (天地會) or Triad Society. "All lodges" says an authority on this much-dreaded secret society "have shrines to Kuan Ti, the god of war, whom the members seem to regard as their tutelar deity." ‡

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* See *Village and Town Life in China* by Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao (London 1915), pp. 32f.

† H. Doré, *op. cit.* tome VI, p. 62.

‡ William Stanton, *The Triad Society* (Hongkong, 1900), p. 28.



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More becomingly, Kuan Ti is regarded as the powerful friend and patron of all who discharge their social and domestic duties in a satisfactory manner. It is, indeed, a Chinese theory that all loyal and high-principled people not only become active spiritual agencies when they die (自古忠烈之士沒而爲神) but that they are always the deadly enemies of those who fail to fulfil their duties to society and to their families (不孝之人神必誅之). Kuan Ti, therefore, is by no means the only divinity who stands forth as the champion of sound morals. His methods of inculcating good behaviour are at times somewhat drastic, for he has been known to strike dead an unfilial son who, after beating his father, ventured sacrilegiously to set foot within the temple-precincts. Two stories, dating from the sixteenth century, tell us of how Kuan Ti struck down certain wicked men who harboured murderous designs against their own mothers. Another instance of how Kuan Ti intervenes to safeguard the great principles of domestic virtue and propriety as understood by Chinese moralists is perhaps worth quoting. A man named Li Shêng (李生) and his wife Chin Shih (金氏) lived (as is usual in China) in his mother's house. His mother was afflicted with blindness; but Chin Shih, instead of treating her with the deference and consideration that were her due, was in the habit of neglecting and insulting the blind lady whenever she could do so without the knowledge of her husband. One day she put some filth into her mother-in-law's food. Knowing from the smell that the food was unfit to eat, the elder lady refused to touch it. The incident was reported to Li Shêng; fearing his righteous anger, his wife fled from her home and took refuge in the neighbouring Kuan Ti temple. After a couple of days spent in vainly searching for her, Li Shêng was told where his wife had gone. He went into the temple to look for her, but there was no one there. All he saw was a fierce-looking dog which crouched under the altar. Suddenly the dog was endowed with human speech and uttered these few words: "I did wrong. I gave my mother-in-law unclean food to eat, and now I have been turned into a dog." A few days afterwards the animal died. The narrator of the story adds a little comment of his own. "The spirits" he says "will destroy those who are disloyal and unfilial. Should not the sudden fate of Chin Shih fill us with awe?"

As Kuan Ti occupies a very prominent position among the divinities who enjoy State recognition, it would be surprising if no steps had been taken to associate his cult in some way with literary



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scholarship, which in Confucian China has always been the surest passport to fame. As a matter of fact, he has been enrolled as one of the minor gods of literature, in which capacity he ranks alongside of Wên-ch'ang (文昌), K'uei-hsing (魁星) and Chu Yi (朱衣).* Kuan Ti's claim to this dignified position seems to be based on nothing but the tradition that he was a devoted student of the "Spring and Autumn Annals" of Confucius and also of the great Commentary on that classic—the *Tso Chuan*. This is supposed to justify the belief that Kuan Ti was as devoted to letters as he was to arms, and as skilful with the pen as with the sword. There is a little four-lined poem entitled "On Kuan Ti reading the Unicorn Classic" by Wên Chêng-ming (文徵明), a noted artist, poet, calligraphist and essayist of the Ming dynasty.† Turned into rude English prose, the poem reads as follows:

> "He who is a fine scholar but lacks courage has no dignity; he who is a good soldier but no scholar is not a complete hero. Who is to be compared with Kuan Ti, who combined military genius with literary capacity, and would study at night without taking off his armour?" ‡

The inclusion of Kuan Ti among the literary divinities will perhaps seem less surprising when it is remembered that Confucius himself, pre-eminently the "literary sage," is (or was) supposed also to exercise the functions of a patron-saint of soldiers. Some writers have thought that under the old Chinese examination system it was the custom for new military graduates to pay a ceremonial visit to the temple of Kuan Ti, while new civil graduates visited the temple of Confucius. The fact is, however, that it was to Confucius that both civil and military graduates were expected to do homage. This was probably intended to emphasise the principles that the civil functions of the State took precedence of the military and that the national ideals were not warlike but peaceful. Kuan Ti was honoured not after but before the holding of the military examination. At such times, in some localities at

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* For accounts of these divinities, See H. Doré, *op. cit.* tome VI. pp. 29-53.

† The "Spring and Autumn annals" is called the "Unicorn classic" (麟經) because the character 麟 (usually translated "unicorn") happens to be the last in the book. Modern Japanese and Chinese scholars hold that the animal in question was a kind of giraffe. For Wên Chêng-ming, (1470-1559), see Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, No. 2302.

‡ By a concidence, I have just come across a somewhat similar sentiment in an article entitled "East and West," by Ramiro de Maetzu, in *The New Age* for August 5th, 1920. He says "it seems to me that the warrior who is not a philosopher is a brute and not a man, while the philosopher who is not a warrior is a ghost, and not a man either."



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least, the examining officials paid a formal visit to the Kuan Ti temple to make an announcement of the forthcoming examination, and then proceeded to the parade-ground and burned incense before "Kuan Ti's Standard." *

If Kuan Ti's reputation as a patron of literature seems based on a rather slender foundation, still slighter are his claims to be regarded as a good Buddhist. Nevertheless the Búddhists of China have had the daring to assign him a place in their temples among the *ka-lan* (伽藍), or tutelary guardians. In this capacity his functions are of a subordinate character, and he should not, in strictness, occupy a central position or be regarded as an object of worship. His duties are similar to those of the "Four Heavenly Kings" and Wei-t'o, who are excluded from the principal sanctuary but stand near the entrance to the temple to protect it from external dangers. Nevertheless, in many Buddhist temples in north China, Kuan Ti has been promoted to one of the central shrines and occupies a position which by rights should belong only to a Buddha or Bodhisattva. He has thus become an object of Buddhist popular worship, at least in certain districts of the north.† Kuan Ti himself was no Buddhist and did nothing whatever in his lifetime to promote the cause of Buddhism. This is not surprising, inasmuch as Buddhism in China was in its struggling infancy when Kuan Ti lived, and had not yet begun to exercise a powerful influence in Chinese religious life. The Buddhists themselves were evidently struck by the incongruity of admitting the stern warrior into their temples even in the subordinate (though highly honourable) position of a tutelary guardian; for they thought it necessary to devise some means whereby he might, so to speak, be baptised into the faith. Accordingly they formulated the ingenious theory that Kuan Ti, long after his death, was converted to Buddhism by a celebrated monk named Chih-i (智顗) or Chih-chê. This zealous Buddhist preacher and scholar died in 597 A.D., after having founded a large number of monasteries and having ordained (so it is said) over four thousand monks. He was also the founder of the T'ien-t'ai (天台) School of Buddhism, which has had great influence in both China and Japan. What credulous Buddhists are asked to believe is that the great Buddhist saint, seeking solitude and opportunity for quiet meditation,

* See *Pratique des Examens Militaires en Chine* (Variété Sinologiques No. 9) by Le P. Etienne Zi (Siu) S.J. (Shanghai, 1896) pp. 34, 55.

† There are several such temples in and near Peking. They have usually been founded by wealthy palace eunuchs.



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found his way to a certain mountain, and entered a deep forest which became his temporary hermitage. Here (like many Christian saints in similar circumstances) he was assailed by numerous terrifying demons, who tried their best, after the manner of demons, to destroy his serenity and interrupt his mystical meditations. In this attempt they completely failed. He merely regarded them with gentle pity, and asked what they thought they were doing in view of the fact that both life and death were unreal and contained nothing that should have the power to agitate the spirit. The baffled demons then disappeared, and were succeeded by a heroic-looking being who approached the saint with an air of humility. Introducing himself as Kuan Ti (who had died between three and four centuries before) he informed the monk that he had taken possession of this mountain long ago, and had made it his home. He had observed Chih-chê at his religious exercises and had resolved to put the strength and tranquillity of his soul to a severe test. He had therefore summoned a host of spirits—his companions on the mountain—to try by every means in their power to fill his mind with confusion and dismay. They had utterly failed, and Kuan Ti was so deeply impressed with the monk's fortitude and self-mastery that he now wished to become his religious disciple, and therefore begged Chih-chê to take pity on him and teach him the truths of Buddhism. "As for this mountain" he added "I abandon it to you so that it may always be a place of meditation for holy men like yourself; and both I and my son will henceforth be true and zealous protectors of the Faith." The result of this appeal was that Chih-chê received Kuan Ti into Buddhism by causing him to take the Five Vows of a novice. The story concludes by describing how Kuan Ti once more summoned his demon-army and entrusted it with a very different task from that in which it had failed. In the course of a single day and night the demons constructed a Buddhist monastery of surpassing splendour close to the spot where their master had taken the vows of a true believer. Thus it is that China's great military hero has come to be regarded as the faithful protector of a religion of which he knew nothing, and as the adherent of a school of Buddhist thought which did not come into existence till more than three and a half centuries after his death.

References have already been made to the Kuan Ti temples which exist in all parts of China, but a few words may be added to explain the internal arrangements of these temples.* Many

* Cf. H. Doré *op. cit.* tome vi. pp. 62-66; see also *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 362-4.



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are in large and spacious courtyards and consist of several separate buildings, some of which are used for the storing of sacrificial vessels and other objects connected with the cult. The majority —especially those in the small towns and villages—are cramped and dingy. As a rule, a life-size richly-robed figure of Kuan Ti (of clay, bronze or wood) occupies the centre of the principal shrine. His aspect is intended to convey the idea of stern dignity combined with gracious benevolence, and in many cases the attempt to embody this idea is very successful. In a properly-equipped temple his image is not alone, though it is only he who sits on the central canopied throne. Along the side-walls, or in front of Kuan Ti and on his right and left, stand the images of those who are believed to have been his most trusted associates and comrades in war, and who are allowed the privilege of sharing in the sacrificial offerings. Their number is indeterminate; there may be only four, or there may be as many as a dozen. The persons most often represented are his "champion" Chou Ts'ang (周倉), noted for his very swarthy countenance; his adopted son Kuan P'ing (關平), who holds Kuan Ti's official seal; his own son Kuan Hsing (關興); an ex-brigand named Liao Hua (廖化), who became one of Kuan Ti's most devoted followers; Wang Fu (王甫), one of his principal officers; and Chao Lei (趙累), who might be described as the officer in charge of Kuan Ti's Army Service Corps. If no more than four subordinate figures are represented they are usually those of Chou Ts'ang, Kuan P'ing, Wang Fu and Chao Lei. Frequently there is also an image of a youth who stands beside a model of Kuan Ti's famous charger. Besides the usual incense-jars and other ceremonial articles, a large bow and a sheaf of arrows are set up on either side of Kuan Ti's image, representing the weapons used by him in life; also a spear which he is supposed to have wielded but which would defy the strength of any modern soldier. In Peking and its neighbourhood there are many Kuan Ti temples. The most popular is one to which reference has already been made, at the Chêng-yang city-gate. It is daily frequented by persons of both sexes whose main purpose is not so much to worship Kuan Ti as to invoke his blessing on their mundane enterprises and to *ch'ou ch'ien* (抽籤)—engage in divination by the drawing of lots. This temple was rebuilt in 1828. A small and dark temple in the western part of the city is of some interest on account of the fact that it contains *two* images of Kuan Ti and is hence known as the temple of the *Shuang** ("Double") Kuan Ti. One of the images is slightly

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larger than the other, but they are enshrined side by side. The date of the foundation of this temple is unknown ; it was rebuilt in 1325 and again in 1771. A temple of greater general interest is that which is known as the Eastern Red Temple * and stands about a mile to the north-west of the An Ting city-gate,† close to the lamasery known to Europeans as the "Yellow Temple." It has historical associations with Yü Ch'ien‡ (1398-1457), a high official of the Ming dynasty, who was executed in a barbarous manner for having failed to exert himself to rescue the emperor Ying Tsung§ when his majesty was captured by the Mongols in 1449. The temple was destroyed, apparently because Yü Ch'ien had made use of it ; but it was soon afterwards rebuilt and was again restored in 1655 by the emperor Shun-chih. Its last restoration took place as recently as 1903. The temple has to some extent succumbed to Buddhist influences, for behind the principal shrine in which Kuan Ti's image is enthroned there is a Buddhist chapel with the usual images of the Buddha and various Bodhisattvas. A special festival is held here on the 15th of the first month (lunar calendar) which synchronises with the important Lantern Festival. At night there is a brilliant fire-work display which attracts large crowds from the city, and is accompanied by much hilarity.

*(To be concluded).*

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*東紅廟.
†安定門.
‡于謙.
§英宗.



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# TAOIST TALES—

## A Rejoinder

BY

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

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It was somewhat of a surprise to find in a review on the first volume of the *New China Review* appearing in the *Jr.N.C. Br.R.A.S.* for 1919 that I am credited with saying that the *Sou shén chi* 搜神記 is a Taoist book. If I had made such a statement without qualification, there would have been reason for the reviewer's critical remarks. My words (on p. 169) were: "One of the earliest collections of Taoist and other marvellous tales is that published under the title *Sou shén chi*." A glance at the particular work which I quoted in the article under review is sufficient to show that my statement is justified; for its first page contains biographical sketches of three famous Taoists copied almost character for character from that *locus classicus* of Taoist hero-tales, the *Lieh hsien chuan* 列仙傳 of Liu Hsiang 劉向. Besides, the book is included in the Ming Supplement of the Taoist Canon (Wieger, No. 1454).

The several books attributed to Yü Pao 干寶 (*alias* Kan Pao 干寶) and passing under the title of *Sou shén chi* vary so widely that it is hardly accurate to describe them as "different editions"—a fact that perhaps I omitted to state sufficiently clearly, though reference was made to the notes on the subject by Wylie and De Groot. Nor was it mentioned in my brief remarks that there are at least two other works popularly called *Sou shén chi*, which probably have nothing to do with Yü Pao.

In many respects Yü Pao's book is so important—Prof. De Groot calls it unsurpassed as "a precious source of the knowledge



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of early Chinese animism and spirit-lore"— that perhaps the following notes may be found interesting:—

There are two versions in common circulation at the present day ; one in eight *chüan*, the other in twenty.

The former appears in several of the Collections of Reprints, e.g., *Han Wei ts'ung shu* 漢魏叢書 and *I yüan chün hua* 藝苑捃華. It is also published together and uniformly with a similar kind of book from the pen of Wu Chün 吳均, entitled *Hsü ch'i hsieh chi* 續齊諧記. In the first and the third of these the author's and editor's names are given as Kan Pao and Yang Kuang-lieh 楊光烈, and in the second as Yü Pao and Shên Ch'un-t'ao 沈春濤 respectively. The eight-chapter version, edited by Yang is published also separately.

The reprint included in the *Han Wei ts'ung shu* is followed with a bibliographical notice of the *Sou shên chi* which begins with the statement that the Annals of both the Sui 隋 and T'ang 唐 Dynasties gave the number of its *chüan* as thirty. Next an epitome of a passage from the Chin History 晉書, narrating the events that gave rise to the writing of the book, is quoted as follows : "Pao's father's slave-girl came back to life from the dead. Moreover, Pao's brother fell ill and breathed his last ; but animation returned to him, and then he described how he had witnessed in heaven and on earth the activities of spirits. In consequence Pao compiled a number of tales, ancient and modern, about the supernatural wonders of the spirits of heaven and earth, and about the metamorphoses of men and other things. The book he named 'A Record of Enquiry about Spirits' (*Sou shên chi*). It contained twenty *chüan*." The full passage, giving some interesting details omitted in the foregoing, is translated by Prof. De Groot in *Religious System of China*, IV, pp. 126, 127. According to Wylie (Notes, p. 192) the original *Sou shên chi* in thirty chapters was lost during the T'ang period. It was, however, restored by the method of compiling quotations preserved in other ancient books, to which was added some new matter in the style of the old. Thus, he says, a book was evolved having ten chapters, two of which were extracted verbatim from the Supplement to the Han History. The modern version in eight chapters is one from which these two are excluded.

Distinct from that described above is the version used in the preparation of my article *Taoist Tales, Part II*. It contains twenty *chüan*, and gives the author's name as Kan Pao. It was published in 1875.

Then there are the popularly written and badly printed handbooks of Confucian, Buddhist and Taoist mythology



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which, though called by the same title, totally differ from the scholarly productions we have been discussing. Wylie describes this type as scarcely deserving to be named as a Chinese book (*Notes*, p. 193). Two examples are known to me. Their full titles are *K'o ch'u hsiang tsêng pu sou shên chi ta ch'uan* 刻出像增補搜神記大全 and *San chiao yüan liu shêng ti fo shuai sou shên ta ch'uan.* 三教源流聖帝佛帥搜神全.

The former has six *chüan*, the latter seven. In several respects they differ, but both contain accounts of some 170 heroes of the three religions, illustrated with rough woodcuts. There seems little reason to connect them with Yü Pao. The remarks of the reviewer in the *Jr. N. C. Br. R. A. S.* make it evident that it is one of these which he is acquainted with and is confusing with the book referred to in my article. Judged from the literary point of view, these may be unworthy bearers of the title *Sou shên chi*; yet they contain much that is illuminating to the student of iconography and popular beliefs, and no one who accepts the present-day estimate of the study of folk-lore as a serious science would dismiss them so contemptuously as Wylie did fifty years ago.

All this is rather tedious, I fear, and yet it is far from being a complete account of the many variants passing under the one name. Enough has been said, however, to point the useful moral that to cite the title *Sou shên chi* without going into further particulars is about as vague as saying anything is the size of a haystack.

The reviewer mentions in the same notice that he thinks it would be worth while to find out why I "took to Taoist tales," and he goes on to say that "this personal experience would be as interesting as the stories themselves." "It is well," he says, "to have a few of the *hsiens*' activities and prodigies. But really many of them are wearisome. We wish he would tackle the serious side of Taoism." Perhaps, therefore, I may venture in reply to explain that it was as a student of Chinese art that I started on Taoist tales. A brief acquaintance with the work of painters and craftsmen soon made it evident that something more than appreciation of its technical qualities was necessary to a full understanding. On every side one encountered an art inspired and animated by national ideals and conceptions of life remote from our own, and among them, it seemed, Taoist influence was prominent. How significant this influence has been in the past and possibly may be in the future is told by the author of *Buddhist China* in words more eloquent than those at my command. He says: ". . . future leaders of China's artistic development will be doing an injustice



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to themselves and an injury to the æsthetic and spiritual instincts of their race if they turn contemptuously away from a wonder-working fountain whence the poets and artists of their country have drawn copious draughts of inspiration for a period of nearly two thousand years. In the imaginative literature and art of China Taoism has had an influence which is not unworthy of comparison with the influence wielded in Western art by the Greek mythology, or by the ideals of medieval chivalry, or by the legends associated with the beginnings of Christianity."

Having grasped the importance of understanding modes of thought and action so frequently expressed in Chinese art, the next step was to gain some knowledge of the legends and teaching associated with eminent Taoists. Much has been written about the philosophy of Taoism, and biographical accounts have been published of many of its heroes; but its fabulous side has been neglected, and no book in a European language could be found that enabled one to identify the figures and episodes constantly represented in paintings and other works of art. It remained, therefore, to turn to native sources. The enquiry proved so attractive, that, apart from the literary elucidation of pictorial themes, it soon engrossed one's interest for its own sake. Taoist hero-tales and their marvels were found to be a rich storehouse of myth and legend, and for this reason alone I would venture to contend that to study them is indeed to tackle a "serious side of Taoism." Now that the study of folklore has been officially honoured by the Royal Society in the person of its eminent exponent, Sir James Frazer, surely no one will deny it the rank of a "serious" science.

This is my rejoinder to the reviewer's comments on the futility of multiplying Taoist tales. The translations (of which those under review form but a small part) were made with pleasurable toil primarily in the hope of providing clues to much that Chinese art has to tell. That they are found "wearisome" should be attributed largely to lack of skill on the part of the writer, who has attempted to maintain without embroidery a literal rendering.



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# NOTES AND QUERIES

## NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON.

(The Nos. refer to Prof. Giles's *Chinese-English Dictionary*, unless the *Biographical Dictionary* is named).

∴

UNDER No. 13,404 (輶軒) Prof. Giles should have mentioned "Envoys" in connection with the "light carriages." The term originated during the Chou dynasty. It appears that during the Chou and Ch'in dynasties Imperial Commissioners were sent to the various districts to study the dialects then prevailing. The Chinese in those days apparently turned their attention to the relation of language and philology, taking ethnology in hand with a view of grouping the various tribes by their speech. The "light carriages" were used by the Imperial Commissioners when travelling, generally during the eighth moon. The following excerpt is from the 風俗通序:—周秦常以歲八月遣輶軒之使求異代方言.

*Yu hsien* has, therefore, the metaphorical meaning "historical" or "philological-ethnological researches." Mr. Watters mentions the "Light carriage envoys." * Under the same number, Giles translates 臺北輶軒 as the "boss" of North Formosa—referring to an energetic governor. This term could only refer to the *title* of the book dealing with the historical monuments of North Formosa; just as, e.g., 浙路輶軒表 means the "historical monuments" along the Chekiang railway line.

* * *

According to the 石林燕語, 翰林待詔 (No. 470) were first appointed by the T'ang Emperor Ming Huang; their office was

* *Essays on the Chinese language*, pp. 31, 32.



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to peruse and make comments on all memorials to the throne before submitting them to the Emperor for action. The 翰林供奉 No. 6572, were their colleagues performing similar duties. The first two officials appointed for this duty were 張說 and 陸堅. The Chinese newspapers frequently refer to barbers as 待詔. The term was first used for a barber probably in the Yüan dynasty.

* * *

No. 5,124 貼黃 "to cover with yellow paper," etc., dates from the T'ang dynasty. 貼 should be 帖. As the edicts were in yellow the correction slips were in yellow too. But previous to 1628 the Ming custom was to use *white* paper for memorials, but yellow correction slips were used, the précis, supplementary notes and appendix also being in yellow.

The dockets of memorials were called 引黃. In the third year, 1st moon of the Emperor Ch'ung Chêng (A.D. 1630) the marginal notes on memorials were written on *white* paper slips : these also were called 帖黃. During the Sung dynasty memorials on matters of importance were called 畫黃, but those pertaining to unimportant affairs were termed 錄黃. The 空黃 referred to the blank spaces left in memorials to be filled in by the ministers as circumstances required. This latter form dates from the Emperor Hui Tsung—A.D. 1101. *Ibid.*

* * *

Under No. 8,639, 泮水. The late Mr. Allen came very near the mark when he said that "It seems to me that the only teaching given in it were the orders given by the Prince to the commanders of his forces or to his Counsellers."* According to the 戴氏震璞, 泮 was the name of a river in the Lu State and not the name of a college, and 泮宮 was the name of a parade-ground where the marquis of Lu was wont to present the left ears of the slain in battle, and had nothing to do with "teaching," as Mr. Allen rightly supposed. The text follows: 泮宮者泮魯水也非學宮也若以泮水爲半水則下文泮林豈是半林況魯頌泮宮詩乃是僖公獻馘演武之所非尚文之地.

* * *

In the 書經, chap. 皐陶謨, 無敎, the last character is apparently a glaring misprint and has been copied and taught in schools for ages! In the 漢書王嘉傳, Wang Chia (王嘉) says 臣聞皐陶戒帝舜曰無敎佚欲 "I have heard that Kao Yao warned the Emperor Shun saying: 'refrain from vainglory, idleness and lust.'" *V.* 焦氏筆乘.

* Book of Chinese Poetry, pp. 493, 494 and note.



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It is difficult to keep track of Chinese official ranks. But the following should have been noticed by lexicographers: 持節使 and 假節使 which were in use during the Han dynasty; the former had power to condemn to death all officials who received an allowance of 2,000 石 while the latter had power of life and death over all the gentry who, though holding rank were not in office. All army officers who had the power to condemn to death malefactors against military discipline were called 刺史. During the 1st year of the T'ang Emperor Wu Tê (A.D. 618) the territorial divisions 郡 were changed to 州; and at the same time the rank of 太守 was changed to 刺史, with the brevet rank of 持節. *V.* 隨園隨筆.

* * *

The official term 權發遣, also not noticed by lexicographers, refers to the civil rank introduced by 王安石. They were the officials who were advanced two steps on probation; i.e., by skipping the intermediate ranks. An official who only skipped one rank was called 權知. *Ibid.*

* * *

Another official term is 落致仕 referring to the reinstatement of officials who had already retired from the service of the State. *Ibid.*

* * *

No. 846 加級 was originally only bestowed for merit on the battle field. The phrase originated during the 秦 dynasty as it was then the custom to grant one degree of merit for each enemy head taken off during battle. *Ibid.*

* * *

The term 侍衛 No. 9,915 had originally no analogy with the Imperial body-guard. 子路 was 侍衛 to Confucius—his Cerberus. This appears to be the earliest known record of the term. During the Yüan dynasty the Commander-in-Chief of the 侍衛 was called 都赤 and the 侍衛 were known as 怯薛. *V.* 元史.

* * *

Chinese place-names are often wrongly given through the mistake of using a character or characters with the same sound but different meaning. Such a mistake, to be noticed because historical, is *yü* in 餘杭. According to the 地理音釋 it should be *Yü* (禹杭) because the Great Yü exchanged his chair for a boat at this place when touring Chekiang. 大禹至此舍車而登航也. He was then en route to Kuei Chi,—see overleaf.



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No. 5,184, last line, 會稽, was the meeting place of the Great Yü and the nobles to discuss the resources of the empire; hence the name *Kuei Chi* or Kwei Chi. It is the modern Shaohingfu. The Great Yü is said to have died at Kwei Chi Shan (會稽山). *V.* 咸淳臨安志.

I visited the place in 1920 and had pointed out to me a small shrine said to be near the spot where his mortal remains are. The actual spot, however, could not be indicated. There is also a large temple dedicated to Yü, but it is falling into decay. Several memorial tablets erected by various high officials and a stone with the famous "tadpole" characters inscribed on it similar to the one on Mount Hêng in Hunan are all situated in the enclosure. The place is about 6 *li* from Shaohing and is well worth a visit.

* * *

It may be of interest to note that the distinguished Buddhist priest Shên Chu-hung (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1687) introduced the ceremony of "releasing living creatures" (放生) in the west lake at Hangchow in A.D. 1571. *V.* 錢塘霸蹟.

He was, however, not the originator of the custom. According to the 列子 the first to inaugurate the ceremony was 趙簡子 (6th cent. B.C.) a descendent of Chao Ts'ui (*Biog. Dict.* No. 188). The story goes that one day a countryman presented him with a dove, and as it happened to be the first day of the new year Chao said, "I will give the bird its freedom," and forthwith let it go. But the originator of releasing living creatures such as snakes, fish, insects, etc., was Yen Chên-ch'ing (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2461). The 陰騭文說証彙纂 states that he established ponds at eighty-one different places for the special purpose.

* * *

There is a meaning connected with the character *liu* 流, not to be found in any of the dictionaries. It is the name of a silver ingot weighing 8 taels: *shu shih i liu* 朱提一流. 朱提 (No. 2544) is derived from the name of a mine in the Shu Shih district, the modern 宜賓縣 in Szechuan. The term probably originated from the fact that silver ingots weighing 8 taels were produced at the mine.

* * *

Dr. Giles translates 金渦浮釘 (No. 2032) as a large door-nail. This is only partly correct. The phrase refers to an arch-shaped emblem with large headed nails on the main entrance of yamen doors. It is so-called because the appearance of large-headed nails studded over a plain surface is supposed to represent water-bubbles. The following is said to be the origin of the emblem: Lu Pan (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1424) noticing that when a



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conch was touched by the hand it at once withdrew into the shell and closed the entrance so that it could not be easily opened, adopted the idea of a conch-shell as a decoration for doors to represent the idea that a door when closed would be as tight and secure as the entrance—when closed—of a conch. Hence, the custom of having a *p'u shou* 鋪首 wooden door-nail decoration in the panel of the principal door. They are generally gilded. *P'u* 鋪 is defined as *ou* 鎷 with the meaning of knob or conch-shaped, and *ou* is said to represent the water-bubbles. Hence, the name "floating bubble nail." *V.* 昌演繁露. Cross reference should be made between Nos. 2032, 4048 and 8494. The character 鎷 is not in Giles' dictionary.

* * *

A classical term meaning "to court favour through an intermediary," and which seems to have escaped the notice of lexicographers, is 媚竈 to flatter the stove. Cf. Giles' *Dict.* No. 11,625, 寧媚於竈 "better be civil to the Kitchen God—and secure a good report". This term originated with Wang Sun-chia (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2,229), during the conversation between Wang and Confucius when the latter wished to call on the King of the Ch'i State with a view of winning him over to his theories of government. Wang asked Confucius whether he would rather pay court to the god of the furnace than to the god of the southwest corner of the house. Thus in an oblique manner he conveyed the hint that it would be better for Confucius to flatter him rather than the King because it would be through his (Wang's) influence that the King would listen. Cf. Analects *Pa Yih*, book 3; chap. xiii. The term 媚竈 is now commonly understood to mean "court favour through an intermediary."

* * *

It is popularly believed among the Chinese that Chang Liang (*Biog. Dict.* No. 88) was the inventor of kites. But according to the 識齊雜記 Han Hsin (*Biog. Dict.* No. 617) was the inventor. In the above-mentioned book it is stated that Han Hsin had plotted with Ch'ên Hsi to dig a tunnel beneath the palace and in order to measure off the distance, he invented a kite for the purpose. 韓信約陳豨從中起乃作紙鳶放之以量未央宮遠近欲穿地入宮中.

As Han Hsin was in collusion with Ch'ên Hsi when the latter revolted against the Emperor in 196 B.C., we may practically ascribe that date for the invention of the kite.

* * *

We have to acknowledge the receipt with thanks of a capital Calendar from Watson's Mineral Water Co., the only firm that has thus favoured us.



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# RECENT LITERATURE

*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LI—1920.

THERE are two improvements in this issue as compared with the previous volume: first, and of least importance, the proof-reading has been done more carefully and there are fewer of the mistakes which disfigured the pages of Volume 50. Then there is this time a greater variety in the subjects treated; indeed the matter is very varied, and the whole forms a very readable number.

It may be said that if a book is readable it fulfils its purpose: what else is a book for except to be read? This is not strictly true, however, in the case of such Journals as this. The papers published by learned Societies are usually too dry and difficult for the ordinary reader, but they are perhaps invaluable for reference, or they lead to profitable discussion among specialists, and mark an advance in the knowledge of some subject.

The term "research" has been much degraded in recent years through the spread of education. It may soon even come to be used in the kindergarten. It now consists in the dragging together of all the passages in an author or in literature generally which bear on a single subject; these are arranged in order, chronological or other, are woven together with a running commentary, are called a thesis and perhaps offered for a degree. Such work may be most helpful to the student himself, but it may not be worth anything as a contribution to other peoples' knowledge. Even new facts brought to light still require a critical judgement which can co-ordinate them with the previously known and point out their effect on the general mass of knowledge. In fact, originality is the desideratum, and not every writer has it.



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We do not accuse the Journal before us of having too much of the *réchauffé* character in it; but we are inclined to say that its being so very readable makes it less authoritative. The Editor of the Journal calls attention to the preceding 50 volumes and the wealth of material therein. We recall many of the papers which have become standard literature for students of China, which are often referred to still. Bretschneider, Faber, Macgowan, Edkins and others wrote such papers. The question is to what extent will recent numbers also be treasured as contributions to knowledge, and be quoted in footnotes of learned works?

The Society is a Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; and must be supposed to have the same ideals: with this distinction, that since the parent Society has such a vast field in India it more or less assumes that China can be left to the local Society. But evidently the Society being one there should be the same scholarly and serious treatment given to China as to India. How far this is so in practice may be seen at once by comparing the last issues of the London and Shanghai Journals.

The fact is that popular lectures with lantern pictures can seldom be suitable for reproduction in a learned Journal. It is most desirable to have them, and often they are well worthy to be printed; but for the Journal a different class of paper is required if future numbers are to be as valuable as earlier ones.

As to the articles in this issue all can be read with pleasure. Dr. Stanley's comparison of Greek and Chinese Art Ideals is refreshing. His statement that the effect of Taoism and Buddhism on Chinese art has been retrograde and degrading might cause profitable discussion. Mr. Mason's account of a Chinese biography of Mohammed is something quite new and is of extreme interest. Dr. Chatley's paper on coal in China, and Mr. Skvortzow's on botany and zoology are written by men who understand their subjects and may be regarded as authoritative. The other papers are almost all such as can be read with pleasure and profit.

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*Calendrier-Annuaire pour* 1921. Zikawei, La Mission Catholique. $2.00.

This welcome and invaluable almanac is issued for its 19th year. We think it could be improved by a short prefatory note indicating new features in the work. For example we have in the present issue a careful chronicle of the students' strikes. Some such preface is the more necessary because the Table des matières has an insignificant place, hard to find, less than half-way through



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the volume. More than half the book is an appendix, the index to which comes in the proper place at the end.

Apart from this question of arrangement we have nothing but praise for the little book, which seems to contain everything, from the nebula in Andromeda and antilogarithms to four decimals, down to tables for conversion of taels into dollars and precautions against tuberculosis.

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*The Origins of the Chinese.* E.T. Williams. Reprinted from American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Vol. 1, No. 2.

PROF. Williams, now Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in the University of California, is not a stranger to China, and has already other studious works to his credit. In this paper we have the latest—but it will not be the last—attempt to solve a problem that may prove for ever unsolvable.

He gives us first the opinions of various writers as to whether the Chinese immigrated from the south or the west or are autochthonous. The opinions are all in English, and we think some French and German writings might also have been cited. More discrimination should also be used in such matters: not every opinion is worth quoting since many are but themselves borrowed from authorities and have no authority in themselves. Some of the writers cited have not studied the subject but merely state what, so far as they have read, are the conclusions of experts. Opinions of Hirth or Chavannes are of value; but there is no use in also quoting Smith or Jones who simply accept and repeat what those scholars have said.

Prof. Williams himself is a student of the question and has formed his own theory. He takes us back to what are generally regarded as legendary times, before Yao and Shun. His arguments are based on Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's *Shih Chi*, which begins with Huang Ti, on the Tribute of Yü, and especially on the legends of the Shan Hai Ching. He agrees with de Lacouperie that the Chinese entered from the west, and that the Bak Tribes are the *pai hsing*, the followers of Huang Ti; and to this extent he also supports C. J. Ball against Parker and Hirth—that there was a "related origin" between the Sumerian and Chinese languages, both peoples having migrated from Central Asia, but in different directions.

The paper is frankly for the general reader; for writings in another language are only given in an English translation, and we



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are told twice in footnotes that *Mencius* is one of the Chinese Classics. But the paper is scholarly, a valuable résumé and a valiant defence of a definite theory.

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*Etudes sur la Phonologie chinois*, par Bernhard Karlgren. In three parts, pp. 700, Upsala, 1915-1919.

*A Mandarin Phonetic Reader* in the Pekinese Dialect (same Author and Publisher).

To review such a ponderous work of learning as this would require more space than we can give and also, since Chinese Phonology is a new science, it would require long study. It will be criticized piecemeal in many journals by many students, but a single reading means a very cursory examination and a very short review.

The preface is written in some scorn of most others who have attempted work on these lines, and nearly all of them are damned as amateurs. One would take the attitude of the writer to be that of a young man, and perhaps in years to come he will do more justice to the men who have been great sinologues even without much knowledge of phonology. If M. Karlgren had made his début in China with Williams, or even with Legge, he would probably not have chosen phonology as a subject for the doctor's degree.

We believe Prof. Saintsbury has a very elaborate work on the prosody of the English poets. We think phonology as unimportant compared with sinology as prosody is compared with poetry. Prof. E. H. Parker is the writer most fully and harshly treated in the preface. Perhaps his phonology of the dialects is all wrong, but he has done most valuable work in other departments, and we hope that M. Karlgren will be able to do as much outside of phonology.

As old-fashioned students, who learnt Chinese by direct speech with natives, we are only bewildered by this new science. Nor do we quite see how the sounds of any dialect can be fixed with such scientific accuracy as is pretended to, seeing that to our knowledge the speech in a single district may vary as much as Yorkshire talk and Somerset. As Prof. Maspero—whom M. Karlgren praises—says, he has had to change his opinion on one point because the one native he had enquired of gave him a wrong sound.

The first of these two works is in French, the other is in English. We do not think it will ever be a popular reading book. Here again we find criticism,—of Mateer's tones. Those of us who have



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heard Dr. Mateer talking Chinese we might almost say brilliantly will think he was perhaps on the whole as effective as his critics.

With regard to the system of transcription for Chinese sounds, we can only say that we might almost as well learn Chinese itself right off !

---

*Mélanges d'Histoire et de Géographie Orientales*, Tome II. Par Henri Cordier. Paris, Jean Maisonneuve & Fils. 1920.

By the same mail that brought this work we received also the third volume of Prof. Cordier's *Histoire Générale de la Chine*, two volumes of which had already appeared in the year and a supplementary volume to the Cordier-Yule *Marco Polo* has also appeared ; so that we were astonished that even so hard-working a man as M. Cordier should be able also to put out this book ; we find, however, it has only entailed the labour of collection, all the papers in it having appeared in various periodicals, and mostly from ten to twelve years ago. This makes the work of criticism easy ; we need do little more than ennumerate the subjects chosen. These are nearly all concerned with China, with articles on Baghdad, Delhi, etc. Prof. Cordier is well-known as an expert in careful research and compilation and we are indebted to him for many excellent and valuable résumés, as in this book, of works which we have not the time or the opportunity to read. We have here, for instance, brief but most clear accounts of the work of Stein and Pelliot in Central Asia, and again an unusually full account, though naturally not up-to-date, of the Chinese Maritime Customs.

We have not yet seen the first volume of the work, which was already printed on the eve of the war, but not distributed till last year. The two volumes, admirably printed, make a most welcome and useful addition to the library of any student of Far Eastern things.

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*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*. Hanoi.

We heartily welcome this second number of the twentieth volume, devoted to a Chinese subject. It is a study of the Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) dialect in the Tang dynasty, by Prof. H. Masperò. This is one of the partial works suggested in M. Karlgren's work noticed above. M. Karlgren is referred to, and with approval, in many places. The work is too technical to be of much use to the general student, but to the specialist it will be of great value.

We are glad to notice that among the articles promised in future issues there is one by G. Bouillard, "Les Sépultures Impériales des Ming."



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# THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

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THE NEW
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# CHINESE CULT OF MILITARY HEROES

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

*(Concluded)*

The figure of Kuan Ti looms far larger than life-size through a mist of romance created by the popular drama and by a great work of fiction. Were it not for this, his place in the affections of the Chinese people might long ago have been disputed by another great national hero—Yo Fei (岳 飛). This high-souled patriot lived nèarly a thousand years after Kuan Ti; there has been much less time, therefore, for the growth of legends. As a historical figure, however, it may be questioned whether Yo Fei should be regarded as in any way inferior to Kuan Ti either as soldier or as patriot. He had the misfortune to live during a very unhappy period of Chinese history and in an age of military decadence. How far his talents and virtues would have carried him had he lived in an epoch of progress and expansion it is difficult to say. Certainly he was a man of whom any age and any country might well have been proud.

Yo Fei was born in 1103 and died in 1141. He was a native of the province of Honan. As a boy he was studious, but the natural bent of his mind soon showed itself in the fact that his favourite books were those which discussed warfare and military tactics, such as the *Ping Fa* (兵 法) of Sun Tzŭ (孫 子), described



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by its English translator as "the oldest military treatise in the world."* Like Kuan Ti he was also fond of the *Tso Chuan*, with its vivid descriptions of battles and sieges. As he grew up, Yo Fei became a noted archer, and soon distinguished himself in martial exploits against the Golden Tatars, who were at that time engaged in gradually driving the Sung emperors from the plains of northern China. Had Yo Fei been adequately supported by the Court and Government, it is possible that the invaders would have been expelled from China. Unfortunately, the emperor Kao Tsung (高宗), who praised him to his face, spoke very differently of him behind his back. Some accounts say that the emperor dreaded Yo Fei and was by no means elated at his victories, for he was afraid that the redoubtable general would force the Tatars to send back the emperor Ch'in Tsung (欽宗) whom they had carried off as a prisoner at the beginning of his reign. In that case, Kao Tsung would have had to resign his throne, unless he were prepared to fight against its legitimate occupant. Yo Fei was also unlucky enough to incur the active hostility of the powerful Ch'in Kuei (秦檜), Kao Tsung's trusted minister.† It was this minister who was mainly responsible for the cession of northern China to the Tatars. He may conceivably have thought that it was impossible to drive the Tatars from Chinese soil and that it was therefore useless to continue a ruinous struggle; but it seems far more probable that he knew and understood the emperor's secret wishes and decided for purely selfish reasons to do everything in his power to gratify them. At any rate he appears to have entered into a treasonable agreement with Wu Shu (兀朮), a Tatar prince, to bring about a peace advantageous to the invaders. At his country's expense he obtained the reward he sought—namely, the favour of a worthless monarch and the tangible benefits that usually accompany such favour. Yo Fei earnestly desired to continue the struggle, and stoutly opposed the purchase of peace by a disgraceful cession of territory. At last he recognized that the influences at Court, far more to be dreaded than the armed forces of the enemy, were too strong for him. When compelled to retire and leave the enemy in possession of territory that he felt quite competent to defend, he made bitter complaints that the fruits of his ten years of strenuous labour had been destroyed in a single day. As a vigorous opponent of the peace policy, Yo Fei was regarded by Ch'in Kuei as a dangerous enemy. Hence, when Wu Shu sent urgent representations

* *Sun Tzŭ on the Art of War*, translated by L. Giles (London, 1910).
† H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, No. 392.



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to Ch'in Kuei to the effect that so long as Yo Fei remained alive it would be impossible to make peace, Ch'in Kuei did not hesitate to take the hint. He caused charges of treachery to be trumped up against his country's most loyal soldier, and in 1141 succeeded in having him arrested. Shortly afterwards, Ch'in Kuei personally issued a secret order for his summary execution, which was duly carried into effect; and it was falsely reported to the throne that Yo Fei had died a natural death in prison. It is not unlikely, however, that the emperor was well aware of, or shrewdly guessed, the real circumstances. As time went on, the true history of the events that led to Yo Fei's betrayal and death gradually came to be known among the people, and though Ch'in Kuei lived fourteen years longer, loaded with honours and high in the good graces of his sovereign, he has earned an immortality of infamy in his country's annals. The princely rank which was conferred upon him at the time of his death was taken from him fifty years later, and his honorific title was changed to *Miu Ch'ou* (謬醜)—"False and Foul." On the other hand, the name of the warrior whom he defamed and slew has gathered fame and honour with the passing of the centuries, and his tomb, which is situated near the margin of the romantic Western Lake, outside the walls of Hangchow, is a place of pilgrimage for all Chinese who love their country and wish to show their reverence for the memory of a national hero.

The gradual elevation of Yo Fei to a place among China's patron-saints and divinities began in the reign of Hsiao Tsung (孝宗) (1163-1189), who succeeded the weak and vacillating Kao Tsung on the throne of the Sung empire. That ruler restored the honours and titles of which Yo Fei had been deprived after his impeachment. He also ordered a re-burial of his body, and gave a large sum of money to defray the cost of an official funeral. It was further decreed that a temple should be built and dedicated to the hero, and funds were provided for the performance of periodical sacrificial rites. The dead man also received, by imperial warrant, the honorific designation of *Chung Lieh* (忠烈)—"Loyal and High-principled." In 1179 the same emperor conferred upon him the additional title of *Wu Mu* (武穆)—"Heroic and Reverent." A few years later an imperial scroll was presented to Yo Fei's temple, bearing the inscription *Pao Chung* (褒忠)—"In recognition of loyalty." In 1121 he was raised to the posthumous rank of Prince, under the title of *O Wang* (鄂王)—"Prince of Hupeh." This is the title which is inscribed on the slab in front of his tomb. In 1225 the emperor Li Tsung gave him the new title of *Chung Wu* (忠武)—"Loyalty and Martial



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Prowess." These are the characters which, together with the word "Wang" (王), denoting "Prince," appear on his "spirit-tablet" in the Republican "Temple of Military Heroes," of which more hereafter.

It would appear that after the collapse of the Southern Sung dynasty in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the fame of Yo Fei underwent a temporary eclipse. The Mongol usurpers, who established their short-lived Chinese dynasty on the ruins of the Sung empire, were not likely to be interested in maintaining the reputation of a Chinese patriot who had striven so long and faithfully to save China for the Chinese. His temple fell into decay; and when a restoration took place the work was undertaken not by the Government but by Yo Fei's own lineal descendant in the sixth generation. Some years afterwards, when it had again suffered from neglect, it was restored as a result of the representations of a Buddhist monk of the T'ien-t'ai mountain, named K'o Kuan (天台僧可觀). Soon after the accession of the Ming dynasty (in 1368), the Court—which was now Chinese once more—again began to take an interest in the great Sung soldier, and a further restoration of the temple was effected. In 1517 a Court eunuch named Wang T'ang (王堂) founded a separate shrine in honour of Yo Fei's parents, wife and children. The inscription written for the shrine consisted of the words *I Mên Chung Hsiao* (一門忠孝)—"A Loyal and Dutiful Household." An honorific scroll was presented to the temple by the emperor Tai Tsung (代宗) (1450-1456), and the local officials were instructed to offer the usual Spring and Autumn sacrifices at his tomb. In 1457 the emperor Ying Tsung (英宗) conferred a scroll with the characters *Chung Lieh* (忠烈)—"Loyal and High-principled," and the temple at Hangchow was repaired at State expense. From this time onward it bore the name of the *Chung Lieh* temple (忠烈廟). In 1539 the emperor Chia Ching (世宗) sent a deputy to offer sacrifices at the tomb on his behalf. He also wrote a *chi wên* (祭文)* in which he spoke of Ch'in Kuei as *Kuei Tsei*—"Kuei the Scoundrel (檜賊)."

Very little official notice was taken of Yo Fei during the Manchu period (1644-1911), and this for an interesting reason. The Golden Tatars against whom Yo Fei had fought so strenuously, were kinsmen of the Manchus, and therefore when a Manchu

*A *chi wên* is an oration or address which, after it has been publicly recited at the tomb, is ceremonially committed to the flames: the idea being that it will by this means pass from the material to the immaterial world and so reach the discarnate spirit himself.



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family seated itself on the Chinese throne four centuries after the Golden Tatar rule in China had come to an end, racial pride if not "filial piety" demanded that the Manchu sovereigns should show respect for the memory of their Tatar predecessors on the Dragon throne. This was why the emperor K'ang-hsi carried out a costly restoration of the mausolea of the Tatar emperors (near Peking) which the Ming dynasty, naturally enough, had allowed to fall into decay. And it was similar feelings that prevented the Manchus from going out of their way to honour the memory of the great soldier who had been the deadliest enemy of the Tatar race. Nevertheless, nothing was done to injure his reputation or deprive his spirit of the honours which it already enjoyed. Indeed the Manchu emperor Ch'ien-lung was gracious enough to visit the temple of Yo Fei and make an offering there; and when it was reported to him that the spirit of the hero had spurned the imperial incense by miraculously causing the incense-burner to move away from its place in the central courtyard, the magnanimous emperor did his best to put matters right by explaining that he was not really a direct descendant of the Golden Tatar sovereigns, and by presenting to the temple a scroll of honour bearing the autograph inscription "Great Hero" (大丈夫).

Yo Fei has not developed into a many-sided deity and patron-saint like Kuan Ti, but in one locality, at least, he has become a tutelary spirit or *T'u-ti* (土地).* In the district of Lin-an, near Hangchow, there is a Government school which was built on a piece of land that had formerly belonged to Yo Fei's family. For this reason, he has been nominated the *T'u-ti* of this particular locality.†

The tomb of Yo Fei at Hangchow consists of a large circular mound in front of which stands an upright stone slab bearing the simple inscription *Sung 'Yo O Wang* (宋岳鄂王)—"Yo of the Sung dynasty, Prince of Hupeh." In front of the slab is the usual stone tablet for sacrificial offerings and for the burning of incense. Among other objects of interest in the enclosure are four large characters boldly inscribed on a wall which is otherwise blank. There is a story that when Yo Fei was first charged with treason he rent his clothes and exposed his back, on which those four characters had been indelibly inscribed by his mother when he was a boy. The characters were *Chin chung pao kuo* (盡忠報國)—"Loyal and true to death." Those Chinese visitors to the tomb who are acquainted with this

*See *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 155, 371-7, 382.

† H. Doré, *op.cit.* vol. xi, p.896.



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story—and few are not—must be deeply moved when they enter the sacred enclosure and unexpectedly find themselves faced by this simple inscription. It would be difficult to choose a more appropriate epitaph for one of the truest and most loyal champions of China's rights.

According to history and tradition there were four persons mainly concerned in the shameful persecution and murder of Yo Fei. They were Ch'in Kuei himself; Ch'in Kuei's evil-minded wife, Wang Shih (王氏); a general named Chang Chün (張俊); and an official Mo Chu-hsüeh (万俟卨), who pronounced the sentence of imprisonment. The memory of these four has been held up to public execration in a very significant way. Their images, made of iron, have been set up within the walled enclosure which contains the tomb of Yo Fei. On one side are the images of Ch'in Kuei and his wife; on the other those of Chang Chün and Mo Ch'i-hsüeh. They are in a kneeling posture and bound as if awaiting execution. In front of each image is a cage-like structure of stone, which is supposed to represent a prison; and for hundreds of years past untold thousands of pilgrims to the tomb of Yo Fei have considered it a duty and a pleasure to throw slime and filth on the figures of those whom they regard as the treacherous murderers of the national hero. As for Ch'in Kuei, it is not only his iron image that has been subjected to daily insult. His very name has undergone, and still undergoes, one of the worst indignities that could well be imagined; for it is used as the synonym for a spittoon. Of the four images, three were put up by a military officer named Li Lung (李隆) in 1513. The fourth—that of Chang Chün—was added later. Chang Chün was by no means devoid of merit as a soldier; indeed he was one of the four great Chinese generals of his time, the others being Yo Fei himself, Han Shih-chung* and Liu I (劉錡). All these generals, except Chang Chün, have been given their places among the twenty-six great soldiers whose "spirit-tablets" are exposed to public veneration in the (Republican) Temple of Heroes, to be described hereafter. Chang Chün alone has been excluded, and for no other reason than that he joined the "False and Foul" Ch'in Kuei in making a dishonourable peace with his country's foes and bringing ruin and death on one of her noblest sons.

From a remark of Yo Fei's which has been preserved in the records of his life, we may judge that the China of his days suffered from some of the same evils as afflict her now. The emperor Kao Tsung asked him when the empire would return to a

*(韓世忠) See Giles, *op. cit.* No. 625.



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condition of peace and prosperity. Yo Fei's reply was prompt. "When civil officials cease to be money-lovers and military officials are not afraid to die."

As Kuan Ti was specially venerated by the late Manchu dynasty, it would not have been surprising if the victorious revolutionaries had decided to treat that divinity with cold disdain and to abolish the official rites connected with his cult. The establishment of a nominal Republic has not had this result; but Kuan Ti's position is not precisely what it was before 1911, for he is now required to share his quasi-divine honours equally with another. That other is no other than Yo Fei.

The change took place in the third year of the Republic (1914), under the Presidency of Yüan Shih-k'ai (袁世凱). Up to that time, Kuan Ti had taken precedence of all other "military" divinities, and his temple was known as the *Wu Miao* (武廟)—"Military Temple." In 1914, however, it was decreed by the President that the "Military Temple" was to be devoted to the cult not of Kuan Ti alone but of Kuan Ti and Yo Fei and twenty-four other celebrated military leaders and patriots who were considered worthy of partaking in the ceremonial rites. Kuan Ti and Yo Fei were to share the highest honours equally, and the twenty-four others were to be regarded as their spiritual "associates" (從記者), just as numerous famous scholars and philosophers are "associated" with Confucius in the rites of the *Wên Miao* (文廟) or "Civil Temple."

Nothing was done to interfere with the existing Kuan Ti temples or their rituals; but it was considered necessary to emphasize the changes introduced into the official "military" cult by dedicating a new temple to Kuan Ti and Yo Fei and their Associates. The temple which was chosen for the purpose comprises a large group of buildings situated immediately to the north of the palace of Prince Ch'un (醇親王), ex-Prince Regent and father of the young emperor Hsüan T'ung. It was erected by the imperial government about a quarter of a century ago and was intended for use as an Ancestral Temple for Prince Ch'un, but had never actually been used as such when the dynasty was deposed. When it was taken over by the Republican Government (in exchange for a building which had formerly been one of the principal Kuan Ti temples in Peking) it was speedily converted into what might be described as the "mother-church" of the re-organized cult of Military Heroes. The main buildings of this temple are covered with beautiful coloured tiles and stand in spacious courtyards. The principal hall or chapel is called the *Wu Ch'êng Tien* (武成殿) —"Hall of Military Perfection"—in contradistinction to the *Ta*



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*Ch'éng Tien* (大成殿) or "Hall of Great Perfection" which is the name of the principal sanctuary in the Temple of Confucius. The interior, with its magnificent timber pillars and its richly-decorated roof is impressive in the stately simplicity of its arrangements. There are no images. The canonised heroes are represented by their "spirit-tablets" only — that is to say, plain oblong pieces of wood, each bearing the name of the person whom it represents. In the place of honour at the north side of the hall, facing the entrance, stand two tablets side by side, somewhat larger than the others. These are the tablets of Kuan Ti and Yo Fei. It is to be noted that Kuan Ti's tablet does not bear all his titles or the highest of them. He is merely *Kuan Chuang Mu Hou* (關壯穆侯) "Kuan the Marquis of Martial Dignity"—the earliest of his posthumous titles. The designation on Yo Fei's tablet also consists of four characters—*Yo Chung Wu Wang* (岳忠武王)—"Yo the Prince of Loyalty and Martial Prowess." On the east and west sides of the hall stand the tablets of the twenty-four "Associates"—twelve on each side. The names of these persons —all of whom are well-known historical characters—are as follow :

(1) Ch'i Chi-kuang (戚繼光), died 1585. (No. 304). *
(2) Fêng Shêng (馮勝), 14th century. A great general under T'ai Tsu, first emperor of the Ming dynasty. Elevated to ducal rank. His military career ended in 1387.
(3) Hsü Ta (徐達), 1329-1383. (No. 792).
(4) Hsü Lieh-wu (旭烈兀), 13th century. A Mongol general, a member of the imperial Mongol family. Between 1250 and 1260 he carried his successful arms as far as Persia.
(5) Han Shih-chung (韓世忠), died 1151. (No. 625).
(6) Ts'ao Pin (曹彬), 930-999. (No. 2009).
(7) Kuo Tzŭ-i (郭子儀), 697-781. (No. 1075. See also *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (China Branch), vol. xxxv, 1903-4, pp. 1-20).
(8) Su Ting-fang (蘇定方), seventh century. A victorious general of the T'ang dynasty. He carried on successful warfare in Korea and also among the Mongol tribes of the north-west. Was raised to ducal rank.
(9) Li Ching (李靖), 571-649. (No. 1112).
(10) Han Ch'in-hu (韓擒虎), 527-581. (No. 612).

*The members given in brackets after some of the names refer to H. A. Giles's *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, where brief biographies will be found.



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(11) Wang Chün (王濬), third century A.D. Warred successfully against Wu (one of the "Three Kingdoms") largely through his daring use of large river-junks. He brought about the surrender of Sun Hao (Giles, No. 1807), the last monarch of the Wu dynasty.

(12) Chang Fei (張飛), died 220 A.D. (No. 51).

(13) Chou Yü-chi (周遇吉), middle of 17th century. A general of the last years of the Ming dynasty, famous for his physical strength and his skill in archery. Fought against the Manchus and against marauding bands, and also (in Shansi) against the notorious rebel Li Tzŭ-ch'êng (李自成). Was made a Grand Guardian of the Heir-Apparent and received the posthumous honorific title of *Chung Wu* (忠武) — "Loyal and Soldierly" — a title which was also conferred upon Nos. 5,7,15 and 21 on this list.

(14) Lan Yü (藍玉), 14th century. A soldier of the Ming dynasty. In recognition of his military exploits, raised to ducal rank.

(15) Ch'ang Yü-ch'un (常遇春), 1330-1369. (No. 143).

(16) Kuo K'an (郭侃), 13th century. He and his brother Tê-hai, and also their father Pao-yü, were distinguished generals of the beginning of the Yüan (Mongol) period. He accompanied Hsü Lieh-wu (No. 4 in this list) on his western campaigns and was believed by the enemy to possess supernatural power. As soldier and as statesman he served Shih Tsu (Kublai Khan) with distinction. He was partly responsible for establishing the capital at Peking and for the measures which brought about the extinction of the Sung dynasty.

(17) Liu I (劉錡), 12th century. A skilful leader, and in the reign of Kao Tsung (1127-1162) overcame the Hsi Hsia tribes and won a battle against the Golden Tatars.

(18) Ti Ch'ing (狄青), died 1057. (No. 1910).

(19) Wang Yen-chang (王彥章), 862-922. (No. 2247).

(20) Li Kuang-pi (李光弼), died 763. (No. 1162).

(21) Wei-ch'ih Ching-tê (尉遲敬德), 585-658. (No. 2267).

(22) Hsieh Hsüan (謝玄), 4th and 5th centuries, A.D. Was a son of Hsieh An (Giles, No. 724). Fought for the Chin imperial house against Fu Chien (Giles, No. 579) in the last quarter of the fourth century and routed him in a great decisive battle.

(23) Chao Yün (趙雲), died 229. (No. 196).



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(24) Ho Jo-pi (賀若弼), 6th and 7th centuries A.D. Distinguished in both letters and arms. Fought successful battles for the emperor Wên Ti of the Sui dynasty and was ennobled.

President Yüan Shih-k'ai was responsible for the selection of the twenty-four "Associates," and his choice is not considered, by Chinese historical students, to be altogether above criticism. They declare that several names which have been omitted are more famous in Chinese annals than several that have been included. Up to the present, however, nothing has been done to amend the list.

A little-known episode which took place towards the close of Yüan Shih-k'ai's monarchic-presidency is worth narrating on account of the interesting light it throws on the methods by which "canonisations" may be effected in China. At the end of the Ming period there was a high official named Yüan Ch'ung-huan (袁崇煥). He attained his "doctorate" in the Wan-Li reign (ending 1619) and afterwards became Governor of the Liao-tung province in Southern Manchuria. He also became a Censor, and was President of the Board of War during the reign of the last emperor of the Ming dynasty. He had the reputation of personal courage and was "fond of talking about war," though he was a *wén* (civil) and not a *wu* (military) official. Finally he was put to death as a result of slanderous accusations said to have been made against him by his political enemies. Now this man Yüan Ch'ung-huan belonged to the same ancestral stock as that of Yüan Shih-k'ai. Accordingly, when Yüan and his friends began the agitation which was intended to place him on the throne, it was considered right and fitting that the name of Yüan Ch'ung-huan, henceforth to be regarded as an ancestor of the new imperial clan, should be given an honoured place in the roll of national worthies, and that his virtues should be publicly acknowledged and emphasized. Apart from considerations of "filial piety," this project if carried out would tend very usefully to show the world that the founder of the new dynasty was no mere *parvenu*, but belonged to a family that had already produced illustrious members.* In accordance with this scheme, Chu Jui (Military Governor of Chehkiang), Liang Shih-i (well known in the Chinese political and financial world), the Civil and Military Governors of Kirin, and other influential persons were induced to submit Memorials to the President in which the surpassing merits of Yüan Ch'ung-huan

* For similar reasons a foolish attempt was made by some of Yüan's flatterers to prove that he was the descendant of the "Yellow Emperor," whose reign is assigned to the 27th century B.C.



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were set forth in glowing terms, and the recommendation was made that he should be canonised as a national hero and share in the religious honours accorded to Kuan Ti and Yo Fei.* The President's endorsements on these documents consisted of brief directions that the Memorials should be referred to the Department of Ceremonies for consideration and report. No one, however, was in the least doubt regarding the President's private wishes in the matter ; and if Yüan's attempt to seat himself on the throne had been finally successful it is quite certain that the Department of Ceremonies would have humbly begged His Majesty graciously to accede to the earnest prayer of his loyal subjects by elevating the illustrious hero and patriot Yüan Ch'ung-huan to a position at least equal to that of Kuan Ti and Yo Fei. But things turned out differently. Since the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai, the transcendent qualities of his ancestor have ceased to stir the enthusiasm of Chinese patriots or sycophants, and Kuan Ti and Yo Fei have been left undisturbed in their martial supremacy.

The reorganization of the cult of Heroes was based on sound considerations of practical statecraft and national expediency. The main objects were to encourage patriotic ideals among the people, to raise the public estimation of the profession of arms, and to inspire the soldiers themselves with military zeal and professional pride. On the occasions of the periodical ceremonies appointed to be carried out in honour of the twenty-six heroes, army commanders are enjoined to bring their troops to the local "Military Temple" so that they may be spectators of the rites and have an opportunity of showing their reverence for the memory of the great soldiers of past days. The troops are also expected to take oaths of allegiance and good conduct. The motives of the Government in this matter were given apt expression by the well-known Republican general Ts'ai Ao (蔡鍔), who in the following Memorial signified his strong approval of the new regulations.

"In order to control properly the people of the country, it is necessary that respect and reverence should be shown to the spirits of our great dead. It is indeed a most excellent idea to order the military and navy to take the oath of allegiance in the Temple of War Heroes.† To achieve merits in order to show

* English translations of some of these documents were published in the *Peking Gazette*, August 21st and November 5th, 1915. One sentence runs: "For the past thousand years there has been none so great as he, and his merits surpass those of any of the 24 great National Heroes recently canonised by the Bureau of Ceremonies."

† Sailors as well as soldiers take part in the cult. In the popular mind the military and naval professions are not yet clearly differentiated.



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appreciation of the favours of the Master was the declaration of General Kuan Yü, and 'faithful unto death' was the oath taken by General Yo Fei. The lives and actions of these two National Heroes, as recorded in the histories of the Han and Sung dynasties, are indeed a model for all military men of this country. We have found that the foundation of this nation is still in a precarious condition and the heart of the people has deteriorated. Consequently it is specially important at this time to set before the people the lofty ideals of these two Generals."*

The first ceremony at Peking took place in January 1915. President Yüan Shih-k'ai did not attend in person but commissioned General Yin Ch'ang (殷 昌), his chief military aide-de-camp and Commander of the Model Army Division, to act as his deputy. The general led his officers and soldiers to the newly-established Temple, and there they took the military oaths, which may be summarized as follows: —

(1) To be loyal.
(2) To be obedient.
(3) To protect the people of China from enemies.
(4) To be ready to die for their country.
(5) T. be diligent and zealous in their duties, to respect their superiors and comrades, and to be true and upright in speech and action.
(6) To abstain from taking part in political movements and from joining political societies or parties.

The ceremony is as simple as it is impressive, and though some foreigners have asserted that it fosters superstition and "shows in a painful manner the backward strides that are being taken by the Government,"† such complaints show a curious lack of sympathy and understanding. The religious significance of the cult is, indeed, very slight. The soldiers are not called upon to subscribe to any dogmas or beliefs regarding the powers or functions supposed to belong to the objects of the cult, nor do they prostrate themselves before any idol. They are merely expected to bow the head as they file past a row of wooden tablets bearing the honoured names of those who fought and in many cases died for their country.‡ And surely no more fitting-place

* *The Peking Gazette*, June 7th, 1915.

† This sentence occurs in an account of the ceremony as held in a provincial city. See *North-China Daily News* (Shanghai), October 7th, 1915.

‡ A short account of the proceedings at Peking appeared in the *North-China Daily News*, January 26,1915. Similar ceremonies have been regularly carried out ever since, both in Peking and in the provinces. The Spring ceremony in 1920 took place on March 31st, and in Peking the President (Hsü Shih-ch'ang) was represented by the general who had attended on behalf of Yüan Shih-k'ai.



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could be chosen for administering the military oaths of loyalty, obedience and self-sacrifice than a building which has been dedicated to the memory of the heroes who are believed to have been the highest embodiments of those ideals.

Nevertheless though China in the course of her long history has produced many heroic leaders and many brave soldiers, the Chinese are not a people (to their honour be it said) who delight in warfare or in military glory for its own sake. They are right to honour those who have fought bravely and died nobly for China, but they will be wrong if, following in the footsteps of the bellicose West, they seek to exalt the military virtues above all others or come to regard aggressive warfare as necessary for their nation's greatness or the full development of its soul. Fortunately it is improbable that they will ever do so. Their present experiences under the rule of selfish military chieftains, with their devastating hordes of rapacious followers politely termed armies, are not likely to destroy the peace-loving instincts of the great masses of the people or to induce them to elevate the soldier above the sage in the scale of human values.



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# NOTES ON PLAYFAIR'S

## "THE CITIES AND TOWNS OF CHINA"

BY

C. M.

The well-known Moslem inscription at Hsi-an, which bears the date 天寶元年 (A.D. 742) ends with the note 關中萬年縣石公刻 "Cut by Mr. Shih of Wan-nien district in Kuan-chung." Of this Mr. Broomhall wrote in *Islam in China*, p. 87, "It is questionable if a monument of 742 A.D. could have borne the name of Wan-nien hsien, which, according to Consul Playfair's *Cities and Towns of China*, belongs to the posterior Chou dynasty."

The late Dr. Stanley Jenkins, who had lived at Hsi-an, wrote to me that the district had "lost that name [Wan-nien] by the 3rd year of Sui K'ai Hwang [A.D. 583]." Playfair, who does not claim completeness for the historical part of his work, does in fact say "*P. Chou*, Wan-nien; *Sui*, Ta-hsing; *Five dyn.*, Ta-nien;" (2nd. ed., p. 200). But the *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 38, fol. 5r° begins the list of districts as follows: 萬年 隋大興縣武德元年改爲萬年乾封元年分置明堂縣治永樂坊長安三年廢復併萬年天寶七載改爲咸寧乾元復舊也 "Wan-nien. Ta-hsing hsien of the Sui; changed to Wan-nien in the first Wu-tê year (618); in the first Ch'ien-fêng year (666) the subsidiary hsien of Ming-t'ang was established with the magistrate's office in the Yung-lo fang; in the third Ch'ang-an year (703) this was abolished and joined again to Wan-nien; in the seventh T'ien-pao year (748) [Wan-nien] was changed to Hsien-ning; in Ch'ien-yüan (758-760) it returned to the old [name, Wan-nien]." The *Hsin T'ang Shu* c. 37, fol. 2r° agrees generally with this, giving the date 702 for 703, and 757 for 758-760. The *Sui Shu* c. 29, fol. 2r° has 大興開皇三年置後周舊郡置縣曰萬年 "Ta-hsing, constituted



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in the third K'ai-huang year (583); the old chün under the later Chou (557-580) was made a hsien and called Wan-nien." From the *Chou Shu* c. 4, fol. 1v°, we learn that Wan-nien hsien was thus divided off from Ch'ang-an (分長安爲萬年縣) on July 8, 558. It seems to be worth while to make this small addition to Playfair, as it refers to the capital of the empire under not the least important of the dynasties.

* * *

Hsi-an itself fares no better. "*T'ang*, Kuan-nei." But 關內 Kuan-nei was the name of the province (道). 京兆郡 Ching-chao chün of the Sui was changed to 雍州 Yung chou in 618, but restored for a few years in 690. Yung-chou was changed to 京兆府 Ching-chao fu in 713, and Ching-chao remained the name of the place till it was changed to 安西路 An-hsi lu in 1279, 奉元路 Fêng-yüan lu in 1312, and 西安府 Hsi-an fu in 1369. Under the T'ang the city was known at different times as 西京 Hsi-ching, 中京 Chung-ching, or 上都 Shang tu. 永興 Yung-hsing in the Sung was the name of a 軍 chün containing both 京兆 Ching-chao and 河中 Ho-chung fu. See *Chiu T'ang shu* c. 38, fol. 4, 5; *Sung Shih* c. 87, fol. 1; *Yüan Shih* c. 60, fol. 1; *Ming Shih* c. 42, fol. 5. Playfair mentions neither Ching-chao nor Fêng-yüan, though he gives both under 長安 Ch'ang-an.

* * *

Turning from north to south I looked up Kuang-chou (Canton) and found "*S.A.*, Yang-ch'êng; Ts'in, in Nan-hai *chün*; *Wu*, P'an C.; *T'ang* and *Sung*, Ch'ing-hai; *Ming*, Kuang-chou Fu." Anyone who has studied the native geographies (地理志) will probably agree that Chinese *cities* have no names. This is, of course, hyperbole; but it is a distracting fact that the name which we too fondly attach to a city really describes an administration or administrative area, the headquarters (治) of which may be moved from place to place while the name remains the same, or may remain in one place while the name of the administration changes. Remembering this we turn to the *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 41, fol. 19 and find the great province of 嶺南道 Ling-nan tao. The first division is 南海節度使 Nan-hai chieh tu shih, comprising 17 州 chou. Of these chou the first is 廣 Kuang, called apparently indiscriminately or at different periods, 廣州 Kuang-chou or 廣府 Kuang fu. Kuang-chou comprised 10 縣 hsien of which the first two were 南海 Nan-hai and 番禺 P'an-yü. The position of the 州 chou (i.e., presumably, of the governor's residence) is by unusual good fortune described.



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It was 300 paces west of P'an hill, and 1 *li* south of Yü hill (番山在州東三百步禺山在北一里). The identity of these hills seems to be doubtful, but they were, *at most*, three *li* from the present city. (Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih c. 275, fol. 9).

Here then was a territory well known as Kuang-chou in the T'ang dynasty with its headquarters very near the site of the headquarters of more modern Kuang-chou fu, and it is rather misleading to introduce the name Kuang-chou for the first time in the Ming dynasty. Moreover, the two pages devoted to Kuang-chou and its ten hsien in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* do not mention either 清海 Ch'ing-hai or 咸寧 Hsien ning, which Playfair gives as the T'ang name of the Nan-hai hsien. And in the Sung dynasty (*Sung-Shih* c. 90, fol. 1) it was much the same. 廣 Kuang is first of 14 chou in 廣南東路 Kuang-nan-tung lu, and it includes 8 hsien of which the first two are still Nan-hai and P'an-yu. But here 清海軍 Ch'ing-hai chün and 咸寧縣 Hsien-ning hsien are mentioned, the latter with no very obvious connection with Nan-hai. On the other hand Playfair's statement is exactly supported by the 廣輿形勝 *Kuang yü hsing shêng*— 春秋爲南越地舊稱羊城秦置南海郡 . . . 三國吳曰廣州隋曰番州唐宋曰清海元明爲廣州府) "In the Springs and Autumns it was in southern Yüeh, and formerly called Yang-ch'êng; the Ch'in founded Nan-hai chün; . . . Under Wu, in the three kingdoms, it was called Kuang-chou; in the Sui it was called P'an-chou; in the T'ang and Sung Ch'ing-hai; and in the Yüan and Ming Kuang-chou fu."

* * *

福州 Fu-chou. Playfair; "*T'ang*, Chien C. and Ch'ang-lê; *Sung*, Fu C. and Wei-wu; *Ming*, Fu-chou." *Kuang yü hsing shêng*: 唐曰建州曰福州曰長樂 . . . 宋曰威武元明爲福州府, moving Playfair's Fu C. from the Sung to the T'ang. The *Sung Shih* c. 89, fol. 1, gives 福 Fu as the first of the 6 chou in 福建路 Fu-chien lu. The entry is 福州大都督府長樂郡威武軍節度 making Wei-wu (exactly like 清海 Ch'ing-hai under Kuang-chou) not an alternative name for the city, but another administration with its headquarters probably in the same place.

The *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 40, fol. 11, gives Fu-chou (福州中都督府) in the eastern division of the 江南道 Chiang-nan tao, noting that it is the same as 閩 Min-hsien of the Sui, and that it was named 泉州 Ch'üan-chou in 627, 閩州 Min-chou in 711, 福州 Fu-chou in 725; transferred from Ling-nan to



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Chiang-nan tao in 734 ; and later called 長樂郡 Ch'ang-lo chün, and 福州 Fu-chou finally in 758. 建州 Chien-chou seems to have been quite a separate place.

* * *

Here I should have stopped had not my eye fallen upon Hang-chou "*Sui*, Hang C. ; *T'ang*, Yü-hang ; *Sung*, Lin-an ; *Ming*, Hang-chou Fu." From the *Sui Shu* c. 31, fol. 3v°, it seems that 杭 Hang was made a chou at the beginning of the dynasty, but changed to 餘杭郡 Yü-hang chün in 607. The *Chiu T'ang Shu* c. 40, fol. 7v°, says that Hang-chou was restored in 621 and after various rather intricate changes was made subordinate to 餘杭郡 Yü-hang chün in 742, and finally reconstituted in 758. From that time till 995, at least, Hang-chou seems to have remained, and indeed, in spite of changes in administration in 995 and 1107, it continued until it was made Lin-an fu in 1129 (*Sung Shih* c. 25, fol. 7v°, 升杭州爲臨安府). In 1278 it became 杭州路 Hang-chou lu (*Yüan Shih*, c. 62, fol. 1), and in December 1366, 杭州府 Hang-chou fu (*Ming Shih* c. 44, fol. 9v°). The Republic has made it 杭縣 Hang hsien.

The information given above will be found in a simple form and even more detail in the 大清一統志 *Ta ch'ing i t'ung chih*.



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# A RELATION OF THE KINGDOME OF COCHIN-CHINA

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED)

*(Concluded)*

## OF THE EELPHANTS [*sic*] AND RHINOCEROS.

There are many *Elephants* in the woods of *Cochin-China*, of which they make no vse, because they haue not the skill to catch them and to make them tame, but they have some brought vnto them from a neighbouring countrey called *Cambogia*, which are instructed and disciplined before. These are as great againe as the *Indian Elephants*, the print of their foot which they leaue behind them, is a foot and halfe in the Diameter : The teeth which come out of their mouthes, of which *Iuorie* is made, are oft times thirteene, sometimes fourteene foot in length ; but those of the female *Elephants* are much shorter : Whence may easily be coniectured, how much greater the *Elephants* of *Cochin-China* are, then those which are brought into *Europe*, whose teeth are not aboue two foot and a halfe in length.

They are long liued ; and thereupon when I once demanded how old one of them was, his Conductor answered me, that he was threescore yeeres old when he was brought out of *Cambogia*, and had liued fourty yeeres in *Cochin-China*.



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And because I haue trauelled many times on *Elephants* in this Kingdome, I can report many things of them which will seeme very strange, but are neuerthelesse true.

The *Elephant* doth ordinarily carry thirteene or fourteene persons, who are thus in this manner accommodated ; Euen as we put Saddles on our Horses, so doe they put vpon their *Elephants*, a kind of Engine fashioned like vnto a great *Hors-Litter*, within the which there are foure seates ; and it is fastned and tied with chaines vnder the belly of the *Elephant*, in like manner as the Saddle is with the Girthes to the Horse. This *Litter* hath two entries or open places on each side, in which are bestowed sixe persons, being ranked by three and three ; and another behind, wherein two persons are placed ; and then the *Nayre* (who is the Coach-man or Conductor), placing himselfe on the Head of the *Elephant*, that he may guide and gouerne him. It hath not onely happened vnto me to trauell by Land in this manner, but many times also by Water, passing in this sort ouer some arme of the Sea, sometimes more than halfe a league from the Land. And to speake trueth, it is a maruellous thing to him that neuer saw it ; to see such a great and huge masse of flesh, loaden with so heauy a burden, to goe swimming and crossing the waters like a Boate with Oares. True it is, that he made it sufficiently appeare, that he suffered much, as well in the paines he tooke to carry the great masse of his body, as for his difficulty of breathing ; Insomuch that to ease and refresh himselfe in this great trauell, he tooke vp the water in his trunke, and cast it vp so high in the aire, that one might haue thought it had beene some *Whale* of the Sea.

By reason of his great corpulency, it is an extreame difficulty for him to bow downe ; and although he must needs doe it, for the commoditie of those that are to goe out or enter into the *Litter*, yet he neuer doth it but when the *Nayre* commandeth him ; and if whiles he is so bowed downe, any make too long stay, either in complying with friends or otherwise ; he raiseth himselfe on his feet, with impatience to remaine so long in such a violent posture.

It is no lesse wonder, to see how at the commandment of the *Nayre*, he maketh his body in manner of a Ladder, for the greater commodity of those that are to enter into the *Litter:* For the first step, he offereth his Foot, which is distant enough from ground ; for the second he presenteth his Pasterne, at a conuenient distance from the first ; and for the third, he boweth his Knee ; the fourth step, is on the bone of his Flanke which is cast somewhat outward for the purpose ; and from thence he receiueth you on his trunke, and carrieth you to a chaine fastned to his *Litter*.



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Hereby euidently appeareth, how much they haue bin deceiued who haue written, that the *Elefant* [sic] could neither bow himselfe nor lie downe, and that the only way to take him, was to cut the tree against which he was to leane when he went to sleepe : because that by the fall of that tree which was to sustaine and support him, he must of force fall downe without any ability to raise himselfe againe : by which meanes, he should be an assured prey to the Hunter that pursued him. All this is but a fable ; although it be out of doubt, that he neuer lieth downe to sleepe : that Situation being so incommodious and violent for him, as hath beene expressed : and therefore hee sleepeth alwayes standing, with a continuall agitation of his head. . . . .

This beast is exceeding strong, and hath not his like. I haue seene one myselfe . . . alone to draw ten small Boats one after another, taking them betweene his Teeth, with great dexterity, and casting them into the Sea. . . . His motion to those that are not vsed vnto it ; bringeth the like incommoditie as they find in the Ship, that are not accustomed to Sea-voyages.

For the Docilitie of the *Elephant*, I shall say more maruellous things, then those which are ordinarily rehearsed : Which will make it manifest, that with great reason it was said by one, *Elephanto belluarum nulla prudentior ;* seeing hee doth such things as will giue men iust cause to beleeue, that they cannot see how they should be done, without Intelligence and Prudence.

First then, the *Nayre* vseth an Instrument of Iron about the length of foure hands breadth, with which he doth sometimes beate or pricke him, with a sharpe crooke which is in the end thereof, to awaken him, and make him attentiue to what is commanded him, yet notwithstanding hee doth ordinarily rule and direct him with words, in such sort, that hee seemeth to vnderstand his language : And there are of them, that vnderstand three or foure, according to the Countreyes where they haue lived. So it seemed that hee on which I trauelled, vnderstood the Language of *Cambogia*, whence he was brought, and that of *Cochin-China*, where he serued. But who would not wonder to see the *Nayre* talking to his *Elephant*, informing him of his voyage, of the wayes he is to goe, in what Inne hee intendeth to lodge, what prouision hee shall finde there, and to tell him particularly what he is to doe in all that Iourney thorowout ; and that the *Elephant* performeth all with as much punctuality, as a man of sound Iudgement. In such sort, that hauing vnderstood whither he is to goe, hee goeth straight directly thither, without seeking of a beaten way, and without any astonishment, if he meet with riuers, Woods, or Mountaines, but imagining that he shall euery where make his



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passage, hee passeth through all difficulties: For if there be a Riuer in his way, hee either wadeth, or swimmeth through it; If hee be to passe through a Wood, hee breaketh the branches that hinder him, pulleth vp whole Trees with his trunke, and cutteth off others with a sharpe Iron, made like vnto a Sithe, which for such purposes is fastened vnto the forepart of the *Litter*; and when occasion serueth, hee draweth first the branches and boughes to him, then he taketh this Iron and cutteth them away; making himselfe an open passage through the thickest Forrests whatsoeuer, whereby men perceiue that the *Elephant* hath beene there and opened the way. All this hee doth easily, and readily to execute the commandements of the *Nayre*. One onely thing this beast findeth incommodious and grieuous, which is, when any thorne or other sharpe thing pricketh the soles of his feete, which he hath very tender and sensible; going therefore but softly, and with great circumspection, when hee is to passe through such dangerous places. I was once on a Iourney, in which there were seuen or eight *Elephants* in company, when I hard [*sic*] the *Nayres* each of them aduertising his beast to take heede to their footing, because they were to goe for the space of halfe a League, through certaine sandie places, in which there were commonly some Thornes growing: At which warning the *Elephants* bowed downe their heads, and looking attentiuely with their eyes, as men commonly doe when they seeke after somewhat that is lost, they went faire and softly, with great heedfulnesse, whiles they were in that danger, till such time as being told that they were past feare, they lifted vp their heads, and continued their pace as before. In the euening, being come to their Inne, the *Nayres* bid the *Elephants* goe to pasture in a Wood, without taking their *Litters* from their backes: And when I questioned them why they did not discharge them of that burden, they answered me, that the *Elephants* were to feede on the boughs, and bodies of trees, and therefore that they might cut them downe at their pleasure, with the sharpe Iron we speake of, they were to keepe on their *Litters*. The next day, being to lodge in a place where there was no Wood, the *Nayres* brrought [*sic*] each of them a great faggot of greene trees for their *Elephants*, I tooke great delight to obserue how one of them with his trunke tooke these boughs more nimbly than the rest, pulled them with his teeth, and did eate them after with as good an appetite as wee would eate a figge, or any other fruit. The next day discoursing with the other trauellers, being about some twenty persons, I told them what pleasure I tooke in beholding how handsomely this *Elephant* did make shift to feede on those boughes.



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Whereupon the *Nayre* by commandement of the owner of this *Elephant*, called him aloud by his name, which was *Gnin*, who being gone a little aside, presently lifted vp his head, as hearkning what he would say to him: Remember saith the *Nayre* the father the passenger, that was pleased yesterday to see thee eate: Take presently a truncheon such as thou hadst then, and comē into his presence, doing as thou didst: No sooner had the *Nayre* spoken, but the *Elephant* holding a Truncheon in his mouth, commeth before me, and finding me out amongst the rest, presenteth it vnto me; then peeleth and eateth it, and doing me a profound reuerence, retireth himselfe as it were laughing, with signes of gladnesse and reioycing: And I remained astonished, to see in a beast so much aptnesse to vnderstand and to doe what was commanded him. Yet he is obedient to none but to the *Nayre* or to his Master, and endureth not to see any other get vpon him; which if any attempt to doe, and he see it, they doubt he would cast downe his *Litter*, and kill him with his trunke. Therefore when any are to get vp on him, the *Nayre* couereth his eyes with his eares, which are very huge and vnhandsome. When he sheweth himselfe resty in doing what is commanded him, and doth it not so readily as hee ought, the *Nayre* hauing both his feet vpon his head, beateth and chastiseth him soundly, giuing great blowes with a staffe, in the midst of his forehead; . . . the *Elephant* trembleth euery Limbe and Ioynt; yet endureth it with much patience. . . .

The tame *Elephant* fighteth onely with two sorts of beasts, which are the *Wilde Elephant*, and the *Abade* or *Rinoceros*; for this latter he is commonly too hard, but by the former he is ordinarily ouercome.

The *Abade* is a beast which hath some resemblance of the *Oxe*, and somewhat of the *Horse*; and is of the bignesse of a little *Elephant*: He is couered all ouer with Scales, which is to him as an armour; he hath but one horne in the midst of his forehead, which groweth straight, being formed like a Pyramide: his feete and hoofes like those of an *Oxe*. Whiles I was at *Nouoemon* a Towne in the Prouince of *Pulucambes*, the Gouernour went out once to hunt an *Abade*, which was in a Wood not farre from our dwelling: He was accompanied with more then a hundred, some on foot, others on horsebacke, with eight or ten *Elephants*. The *Abade* commeth out of the Wood, and at the sight of so many enemies, not onely sheweth no signe of feare, but furiously goeth against them all; thereupon the company diuiding themselues into two wings, the *Abade* runneth through the midst of them, and came to the rereward where the Gouernour was mounted on



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an *Elephant*, which sought to take hold on the *Abade* with his trunke, but could not, by reason that the other made so many leapes and friskoles, seeking to pierce the *Elephant* with his horne. The Gouernour knowing well that this beast could not bee wounded, but where he had no Scales, which was onely in his flanke, watched when in his leaping his belly was towards him; and taking his aduantage, threw a dart at him, with which he pierced him through, which caused great acclamations and shoutings of ioy throughout all his troope; who there presently in the field made a great bonfire of wood, wherein whiles the Scales of the beast were burning, they daunced and leaped about it; and when, as by degrees, the flesh came to be rosted, they cut out euery one his Carbonado, and merrily eate it. Then they opened the *Abade* to take out his Heart, his Liuer and his Braine, whereof they made a delicate dish, which they presented to the Gouernour, who had retired himselfe somewhat aside to a higher place, where hee solaced himselfe with their iollity. I being present at this piece of seruice, obtained of the Gouernour, the Nayles or Hoofes for my share, which are esteemed to haue the like vertue and property, that the Hoofe of the *Elk* hath. The Horne also is thought to be as soueraigne against poyson, as the *Vnicornes* Horne is held to be.

## OF THE TEMPERAMENT MANNERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE COCHIN-CHINOIS, OF THEIR MANNER OF LIUING, CLOTHING, AND MEDICINES.

The *Cochin-Chinois* are little differing from the *Chinois* in their Countenance, being all of Oliue colours; those I meane that are toward the Sea: for the others which are farther into the Land towards *Tunchim*, are as white as those of *Europe*. In the lineaments of their faces they are like the Inhabitants of *China*; flat nosed as they are, with little eyes. They are of a meane stature; neither so little as the *Iaponois*, nor yet so tall as the *Chinois*; but in strength and agility of body, they exceed them both: They surpasse the *Chinois* also in courage and valour. . . . The *Cochin-Chinois* is more gentle and courteous in conuersation, then any other nation of the East: and albeit on the one side they stand much vpon their valour; yet on the other side, they hold it as infamous to be transported with choller. And whereas all the other Easterne nations hold the *Europeans* for profane people, and haue them naturally in horror; in such sort, that when wee land in any of their Countreys, they betake themselues to flight. In *Cochin-China* on the contrary, they contend who shall conuerse with vs most; they aske vs many questions,



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they inuite vs to eate with them, vsing all kind of Courtesie, Ciuility, and Familiarity. So it happened with me and my companions at our first arriuall there; where it seemed vnto vs, as if we were amongst our ancient acquaintance . . .

They are of a liberall inclination, and beneficent to the poore, neuer refusing their alms to those that aske it, and would thinke they had failed much in their duty, if they had denied them, as holding themselues bound in iustice to relieue those that are in want. By means whereof, it happened that some strangers making ship-wracke in one of the ports of *Cochin-China*, and hauing no knowledge of the tongue, by which they might beg what they needed, holp their necessity sufficiently by learning this one word, *Doy*, which signifieth, I am hungry: For as soone as they perceiued strangers complayning in such a manner, and crying *Doy* at their doores, they went out all auie, being touched with compassion, and gaue them somewhat to eat, whereby they got suddenly so much prouision, that the King hauing granted them a Ship, to carry them into their Countrey, there was not one of them willing to take that opportunity, they were become so affected to that Countrey, where they had found such as would liberally furnish them wherewith to sustaine themselues without working: Insomuch that the Captaine of the Ship was driuen to constraine them with a good cudgell, and with the flat of his Sword, to embarke themselues, as they did with good store of *Rice* which they had gathered, going but from doore to doore, and crying, I am hungry.

But as these *Cochin-Chinois* doe shew themselues prompt and liberall in giuing, so are they as much or more in requesting whatsoeuer they see to their liking; for they no sooner can cast their eye on any thing which they thinke rare and curious, but they are desirous thereof, and will say vnto you *Sin Mocay*, which signifieth, giue me one of those: and they hold it a great discourtesie to deny them any thing, though it be rare and precious, or no more such to be had; and account him base that refuseth them, whereby men are driuen either to hide what they haue, or to be ready to bestow it on him that shall aske it.

A *Portugal* Merchant, nothing liking this strange custome (as indeede there are few that like well of it) seeing himselfe euery day importuned to giue whatsoeuer good thing hee had, was one day disposed to carrie himselfe in like manner toward them; and so comming to a poore Fisher-mans boate, and laying hands on a great panier full of Fish, he saith vnto him in the language of that Countrey, *Sin Mocay*, Giue me this; the good man without further discourse gaue him the panier as it was, to



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carry away, which the *Portugal* carried to his House accordingly, wondering at the liberality of the poore man. But hauing consideration of his pouerty, he paid him afterward the value. . . .

In all the Houses of *Cochin-China*, be they neuer so poore, three sorts of sitting are vsed. The first, and least of all is, on a Matt stretched out on the ground; whereon all doe sit, that are of the like quality and degree. The second is on certaine Coards or Girts, stretched out and couered with a finer kind of Matts then the former, where those of the better rancke place themselues. The third is on a Tent which is raised from the ground, about some two foote and a halfe, made in manner of a Bed, which is reserued onely for the Gouernours, or Lords of the place, or for such as are dedicated to the Seruice of God: On which they alwayes make our Fathers to sit. . . .

The *Cochin-Chinois* eate sitting crosse-legd on the ground, hauing a round Table before them, brest-high, curiously wrought, and the edge or border about it gilded with Siluer or Gold, according to the quality of the persons. This Table is not very great, the custome being, that euery one haue a seuerall Table; and that as many guests as are inuited or expected, so many Tables be prepared for them, which is also obserued when they eate in priuate, vnlesse haply the Husband and Wife, or the Father and Sonne bee contented with one Table. They haue neither kniues nor forkes at the Table, not needing any. They haue no need of kniues, because their morsells are before cut out in the Kitchin; and in lieu of forkes they haue little stickes finely polished which they put betwixt their fingers in such sort, that with their dexterity they can take vp any thing therewith. They haue as little need of table Napkins, seeing they neuer foule their hands, but alwayes take vp their meat with those stickes. . . .

They vse also to drinke a dayes, of a certaine warme water, in which the root of an hearbe which they call *Chia* hath sod; of which this drinke taketh the name, being very cordiall, and not a little helpfull to disperse the noysome humours of the stomach, and to facilitate the digestion. The like is vsed in *Iapan* and *China* also; sauing that in *China*, in lieu of the root, they seeth onely the leaues of the tree, and in *Iapan* they take them in powder, but the effects are the same; and they all call it *Chia*. . . .

They haue also the vse of Blood-letting by Phlebolomie; yet they are more sparing thereof, then with vs in *Europe*; neither doe they vse Lancets, but haue many Goose-quills, into which they fasten diuers little pieces of Porcelane that are very sharpe, fashioned and placed like the teeth of a Saw, some greater, and some lesse. And when they are to open a Veine, they apply one



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of these quills thereunto, and giuing a little stroake thereon with their finger, they open the Veine with the Porcelane, which entereth no further then is requisite. But that which is yet more strange, is, that when they haue drawen Blood sufficiently, they vse no band, nor Ligature about it: but onely wetting their thumbe with a little spittle, they presse it on the wound, and make the skin returne to his place, the Blood suddenly stanching, and the ouerture closing together: Which I attribute to their opening of it with the Porcelane, which maketh the Veine to close up, and to heale so easily.

## OF THE CIUILL AND POLITICKE GOUERNEMENT OF COCHIN-CHINA.

Their Gouernement in Generall, hath some affinity with that which is vsed in *Iapan* and in *China*. But as the *Iaponians* account of Armes, much more then of Sciences, and the *Chinois* on the contrary esteemeth highly of the Siences [*sic*], and maketh no great reckoning of Armes: The *Cochin-Chinois* not following the course of either of these nations, doe not reiect or abandon the one, as if they were wholly addicted to the other; but are indifferently affected to either, according to their occasions. And accordingly doe recompence and preferre, sometimes the Doctors, and sometimes the Souldiers, to the offices and dignities of their Kingdome.

*Cochin-China* hath many Vniuersities, in which there bee Readers and Schooles and Degrees; to which their Schollers are aduanced by examination, as they are in *China*; teaching the same Sciences, vsing the same Bookes and Authors; namely, *Zinfa* or *Confus*, as the *Portugals* call him; being an Author of as sublime and profound Learning and Authority with them, as *Aristotle* amongst vs, and indeed more ancient. These bookes are full of Erudition, of rare Histories, of graue Sentences, of Prouerbes and such like, all concerning good manners; such as *Seneca*, *Cato*, or *Cicero* here with vs. Many yeeres labour is spent in learning the propriety of the Phrase, Characters and Hieroglyphikes in which they are written. But that part which they account most of, and haue in greatest estimation, is Morall Philosophy; comprehending the Ethik, Oeconomik and Politick. And it is a goodly sight to see and vnderstand them in their Halls, when they reade and pronounce their Lectures aloud as if they sang: which they doe, to accustome themselues, and to get a habite, to giue to euery word his proper accent; of which they haue a great number that signifie many seuerall different things; whereby may be



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gathered, that to conuerse with them, it is requisite to know the principles of Musicke and Counter-point. . . .

Besides those Bookes which treate of Morall Philosophie, they haue also of Sacred matters, as they call them, concerning the Creation, and beginning of the World, of reasonable Soules, of the Demons, of Idols, and of their different Sects; these Bookes they call *Sayc Kim*, to distinguish them from the profane, which they terme *Sayc Chiu*. . . .

They dispatch all their affaires more readily, rather according to the Martiall Law *More belli*, then by pleadings at the Barre with Iudges, Notaries and Proctors with their dilatory proceedings. The Vice-Royes and Gouernours of Prouinces, supplying all those offices, and giuing publike audience foure houres euery day in a faire large Court within their Pallace; two houres in the forenoone, and two houres in the afternoone. Thither goe all that haue controuersie, to represent their pretensions and their plaints; and the Vice-Roy or Gouernour leaning on a window, vnderstandeth the grieuances of each one after the other. And because the Gouernours are ordinarily men of good iudgement and experience in affaires, questioning the parties to good purpose, and obseruing also the apprehension of the assistants, which they coniecture by their countenance, and the approbation which they haue of the demandant or defendant, they discouer easily the trueth of the businesse forthwith, and pronounce their sentence aloud without delay, which is presently executed, without appeale or any other formality; whether it bee death or banishment, or whipping, or pecuniary amends; chastising euery offence as the Law requireth.

The crimes whereof they are most commonly accused, which are seuerely chastised among them, are many: But aboue all, they punish rigorously the false accusers, Theeues, and Adulterers. When the first are conuicted to haue charged any falsly with a crime, whereof he was not guilty, hee is condemned, without mercy, to endure the same punishment which the other should haue suffered, if he had committed that whereof he was accused. And indeed experience hath made it appeare, to be the best course of sifting out the trueth. Their theeues are punished according to the proportion of the theft: If they haue stollen any thing of great value, they cut of [*sic*] their heads: If of lesse consequence, as a Hen, they lose only a finger; and for the second offence they cut off another: If they be taken with a third, they must loose [*sic*] an eare; and for the fourth offence they cut off the necke.



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The adulterers, be they men or women, are exposed to the *Elephants*, who kill them in the manner ensuing. The offender is conducted out of the Towne into a Plaine, where in the presence of an infinite number of people, he is brought into the midst of the place, with his hands and feet tied neere vnto the *Elephant*, vnto whom the sentence of the party that is to be put to death is read, that he may execute it from point to point. The order being this: That first he shall seize on him, take him and straine him with his trunke, and hold him so suspended in the aire, shewing him to all the world; then that he cast him vp with violence, and receiue him againe on the point of his teeth, that by the heauy fall of his weight he may gage himselfe thereon, and that then he dash him against the ground, and that in the end hee tread him vnder his feet. All which the *Elephant* doth, without failing in any one point, to the great astonishment and terrour of all that are present, who by the punishment which they see inflicted on another, doe learne, that fidelity is to be kept betweene those that are married.



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# A STUDY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA—1692-1744

BY

HOLLIS W. HERING, M.A.

## INTRODUCTION

The modern period of missions in China may be said to open with the great Jesuit St. Francis Xavier. He himself never succeeded in reaching China, for when once his destination became known, the formidable wheels of opposition were set in motion by the Portuguese, and he could get no further than San-ch'uan, an island near Macao.* At this time, 1552, or soon after, Macao formed the chief point of contact between China and the West, for here the Portuguese had managed to establish a trading post. The city was of mixed population, and a *modus vivendi* had been reached whereby supreme control was vested in a Chinese mandarin, the Portuguese remaining primarily under the rule of a captain-general. These traders were from the start inimical to all missionary work, foreseeing danger to their business if any collision with the Imperial authorities should result from it.†

But the work attempted by Xavier was nevertheless continued. The great Society of which he was a member was alert and persistent, and in 1557 prevailed upon Paul IV to establish a bishopric in China with residence at Macao. By the bull of January 28, 1585, Gregory XIII entrusted the spiritual government of all China to the bishop of Macao, and the missionary care to the Jesuits, confirming, at the same time, the "Jus patronatus" to the King of Portugal.‡ The bull further prohibited, under grave

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* Cordier: *L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine*, 61. † Jenkins: *The Jesuits in China*, 154. ‡ Ljungstedt: *Portuguese Settlements*, 181.



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penalties, the establishing of any missions in China except by the Jesuits. In 1600, by his bull *Onerosa*, Clement VIII modified the restrictions of Gregory XIII, allowing other orders to enter China, but, as the missionaries themselves understood it, this permission was limited to those coming by way of Goa and Lisbon.*

Obstacles were placed in the way of the Jesuits not only by the Portuguese. For years the Chinese were hostile, and to overcome this opposition the Jesuits fell back on Western scientific knowledge. It was by their high scholarship that the great leaders of the missionaries—Ricci, Schall, Verbiest—worked their way literally step by step to the capital and there entrenched themselves.† And there was still a third class opposed to them. The Dominicans and Franciscans had been prompt to avail themselves of Clement VIII's bull. On their arrival in China, however, they found the Jesuits (so they claimed) making scandalous compromises with the native religions, and they protested violently to the Pope.‡ This was the beginning of the famous dispute over the Chinese Rites which eventually was so disastrous to the China mission.

At first, however, the Jesuits were too strongly established in Peking to be affected seriously by it. In 1629 they were made the official correctors of the calendar ; in 1650 the first public Catholic church in the capital was dedicated ; while in 1664 Schall was confirmed in a high rank of mandarin. § By 1668, the Emperor K'ang Hsi was beginning to exercise his power, and as he had a strong bent for European sciences, he showed more and more favour to the missionaries. The astronomer Verbiest became his favourite, and was succeeded by the great Father Gerbillon. The latter, with the Portuguese Jesuit Pereira, the Emperor sent on a successful embassy to Russia to settle a boundary dispute. ¶ Wishing as a reward to show Gerbillon a particular mark of favour, he published on March 22, 1692, his great Edict of Toleration, permitting Christianity to be preached freely throughout the empire. ‖

Thus, in 1692, the China mission saw before it a rosy future. During the following fifty years, from 1692 to 1744, the Roman Catholic mission in China fell from a situation of power and in-

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* Perez : *Origen de las Missiones Franciscanas*, 131.

† Baddeley : *Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-maps*, 259. *Catholic Encyclopedia :* V, 11, "Schall."

‡ McCabe : *Candid History of the Jesuits*, 191.

§ *Catholic Encyclopedia :* V, 13, "Schall."

¶ Crétineau : *Histoire Religieuse - - - - de la Compagnie de Jésus*, V, 5

‖ Rohrbacher : *Histoire Universelle de l'Eglise Catholique*, XXVI, 616



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fluence to one of repression and proscription. These years divide naturally into three periods—the Golden Period (1692-1707); the Period of Suspicion (1707-1723); and the Period of Repression (1723-1744); and always we find evident three currents of influence: the Chinese, European powers, and the missionaries. By a consideration of the work of each of these influences in each period, we shall endeavour to show that *this decline was due to a lack of harmony among the missionaries and to a lack of tact towards the Chinese which inspired in the latter a fear of political interference on the part of the European powers sending out the missionaries.*

## The Golden Period

### 1692-1707

The period between 1692 and 1744 was a tragic one for the China mission. But in 1692 there was little indication of this. The future looked bright; in that year K'ang Hsi issued his longed-for Edict of Toleration,* and on the whole the country was friendly. The tolerance of the Chinese can be traced in the general attitude of the three great divisions of the people—the mandarins, the people at large, and the Emperor.

### I

Probably the most antagonistic of all classes were the mandarins. Covetous and grasping, their main aim seemed to be to squeeze money from the foreigners.† Yet they opened up the provinces fairly freely, for by 1700 the missionaries were established in Fukien, Shantung, Shansi, Shensi, Hupeh, Kuangtung, Kiangsi, Chekiang and Kiangnan.‡ Father Premare, in his letter of 1699 to the great Père La Chaise speaks of the partiality of the mandarin ruler of Macao for the French, adding that some of the Chinese nobles had even embraced Christianity.§ Typical of the nobility was the attitude of the Board of Rites. Composed of the most influential mandarins, and, next to the Emperor, the highest governing body of China, Gonzales describes it as hostile to the Law of God and to the missionaries.¶ But this same Board registered, with very slight opposition, the Edict allowing Christianity to be preached throughout the country.

Among the people at large there were, of course, wild rumours as to the horrible practices of the missionaries. Charges were

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* Appendix, I. † Gonzales: 193. ‡ Moidrey: *Hiérarchie Catholique*, 182. § *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVI, 362, 370. ¶ Gonzales: 298.



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made that they tore out the eyes of sick people ; that they bought their disciples with money ; that the two sexes were mixed together in secret meetings (a heinous offence against decency among the Chinese). Inevitably, they were accused of secretly fomenting a revolt in order to get possession of the Empire.* But the number of conversions shows that these slanders were not universal and, so far from closing the field to them, were not even interfering with a very decided progress. At the beginning of this period, the Société des Missions Etrangères recorded more than 30 ordained native priests, 300 catechists, and 40,000 baptisms.† During the first few years of the eighteenth century, the Catholics claimed that in the governor-generalship of Kiangnan and Kiangsi alone there were 100 churches and 100,000 converts.‡ Considering the fact that in the total period from 1580 to 1724 only about 500 missionaries were sent from Europe (i.e., less than an annual average of four individuals during a century and a half) § the people among whom such progress was made must surely have had an open mind. By 1703, Peking had three churches, while there were two beautiful ones in Canton and in Fochan.¶ The records of baptisms which Father Noel presented in 1703 read like reports of the present-day mass movements. In 1696 and 1697, Provana (at Kiang-chou, Kiangsi) is credited with more than 1,000 ; Simoens in Chintin with an equal number ; while in cities in which Christianity had been preached for some years the baptisms ranged from 1,100 to 1,200 annually.‖ Most of the converts were of the lower classes, for, as Noel says, the mandarins were very hard to convert, although they all admitted Christianity to be a most holy and reasonable religion, and honoured those who preached it.⁋ That the people generally during these years were cordial to the missionaries was certainly the belief of Premare, for he says frankly that there was no missionary who, knowing the language and attending strictly to business, could not with the help of catechists baptize from 400 to 500 Chinese each year.°

Strikingly noticeable was the fact that the most influential person in the kingdom, the Emperor, was the one most favourably disposed to the missionaries. When Father Gerbillon returned after his successful adjudication of the Russian boundary dispute, the Emperor made him head of the great Board of Mathematics,

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* *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVIII, 391, 392. † Launay : *Nos Missionnaires*, 34. ‡ Williams : *Middle Kingdom*, II, 303. *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVII, 161. § Williams : 305. ¶ *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVII, 165. ‖ Ibid. 169. ⁋ Ibid. 173. ° Ibid. XVI, 397



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and from that time forward K'ang Hsi showed signal favour to the Westerners. In 1697 he allowed Bouvet to return to France for more missionaries.* In January, 1699, he granted to Gerbillon permission to build in the palace enclosure, even naming mandarins to aid him in the work. † Indeed, according to Gonzales, the Jesuits claimed he went much further and ordered a large sum of money to be drawn from his exchequer to help build this church inside the august walls. ‡ It is indisputable that the church was built and in the palace grounds. The Dominican, however, is sceptical about the monetary aid of the Emperor, as, he says, for this statement we have only the authority of the Jesuits! However, he was prejudiced! K'ang Hsi's liberal attitude was even more plainly shown when Bouvet landed in China with his French companions, for he at once sent to the Jesuit a command to bring five of them to court. At the same time, he gave special orders that the other missionaries of the party should have entire liberty to go throughout the empire, preaching Christianity, and that the merchants should be permitted to establish a counter in Canton. § Moreover, when, in 1704, floods devastated Shantung, the Emperor, disgusted with the graft shown by his mandarins, turned all the relief work over into the control of the Jesuits.¶

K'ang Hsi, however, was himself too strong a character to be ruled by these favourites. During this period, the dispute concerning the Chinese Rites was growing steadily more acute. K'ang Hsi watched it for awhile, but naturally viewed it entirely from a political point of view. As Crétineau shrewdly observes, he had no intention of sacrificing the peace of his kingdom to Christianity,‖ and finally, on August 2, 1706, he called before him the leader of the disturbance, Maigrot, bishop of Conon. In this interview, having shown Maigrot's utter ignorance of Chinese, the Emperor said to him severely:

> "We honour Confucius as our master, thereby testifying our gratitude for the doctrine he has left us. We do not pray before the tablets of Confucius or of our ancestors for honour or happiness. These are the three points upon which you contend. If these opinions are not to your taste, consider that you must leave my empire. Those who have already em-

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* Crétineau: V, 55. Bouvet carried with him, according to Crétineau the forty-nine Chinese volumes forming the beginning of the present collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

† Jartoux to De Fontancy, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVIII, 6.

‡ Gonzales: 168.

§ Bouvet to La Chaise, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVI, 382.

¶ Jartoux to De Fontaney, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVIII, 28.

‖ Crétineau: V, 67.



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braced your religion, perceiving the perpetual conflicts that reign amongst you, begin to doubt its truth, and the others are rendered every day less disposed to embrace it. For myself I consider you to be persons who are come to China not to found or to establish your religion, but to break it down and destroy it. If it should come to nothing you can only impute it to yourselves."*

He then handed down his own decision on the disputed questions in permanent written form, and followed this by the Edict of December 30, 1706. This edict, which was published in a circular letter, banished Maigrot from the kingdom and ordered test questions to be applied to all missionaries: "Will you teach Christianity after the system and principles laid down by Father Ricci? or according to the definition of the Bishop of Conon?" † The edict proclaimed emphatically that "No European is to be allowed to remain in China unless he obtains letters patent from his Majesty; all who come afterwards must present themselves at Peking for the said letters,"‡ and naturally this patent was granted only to those agreeing with the decisions of Father Ricci and the Emperor on the disputed points.

II

Of the European countries, the most hostile to the missionaries, in fact the only one actively opposed to them, was Portugal. And even here opposition came more from the Portuguese in Macao than from those in Europe. Gonzales declaims against the worldly motives displayed by these traders in Macao, who proved ever the persecutors of the missionaries instead of their refuge and their support.§ That this was due at first to their fear of an upset in their trade relations is clear, but when they found the missionaries could not be completely excluded, a strong national feeling became evident. Portugal claimed the right of patronage in all the churches of the Far East by the bull of Alexander VI, and when Bouvet wished to return to China with the French candidates from the Société des Missions Etrangères, the Portuguese at once saw a national character in the party and raised the cry "aucun envoi de missionnaires français."¶ This resistance later included the Spanish missionaries, and resulted in a

* Jenkins: 92.

† Jenkins: 118. Walshe says that to this was added the requirement that the missionaries should express their determination of never returning to Europe, but he is the only authority I can find for this statement.

‡ Jenkins: 111, 112. § Gonzales: 193.

¶ Launay: 17.



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direct appeal from the Council of the Indies to the King of Spain. The Spaniards complained bitterly of the Portuguese attitude that "no one can engage in . . . conversions without the license of the ecclesiastical and secular powers of Portugal."* Moreover, in 1697, the Procurators of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians (Spanish) claimed that "the persecution is increasing with which the Portuguese missionaries afflict our Spanish, in trying to effect their expulsion from the kingdom."†

The Portuguese were not the only ones to see political and economic advantage in relations with China. The French were waking up to the situation, and Louis XIV, with his ministers Colbert and Louvois, understood thoroughly that the interests of France in the Far East could be well served by a French mission, even by one directly pursuing only a religious aim.‡ Louis, therefore, endeavoured to give to the Chinese mission a national stamp, and in this his wishes were strongly seconded by the French Jesuits in China.§ From the start, he sent out only men of the greatest calibre—such as Fontaney, Visdelou and Parennin. These men were charged to make investigations in astronomy and science (heretofore considered the domain of Portugal), and, most significant of all, to verify the maps of China.¶ To strengthen this national co-operation, when in 1703 the church in the palace enclosure was formally opened, the French king donated to its treasures a wonderful silver service and other rich presents.‖

Perhaps the European power which showed the least appreciation of the situation in China was the one most vitally concerned in it, i.e., the papacy. China was a vast country, rapidly opening up to missionary work, and in 1696 the Pope divided it into fourteen apostolic-vicariates—only fourteen.⁋ These divisions were too large for effective administration, especially as at this time the dispute concerning the Rites was waxing hot.

In this great controversy there were three points at issue: (*a*) Should the Chinese converts be allowed to render to Confucius worship required by law and, to all appearances, religious in character? (*b*) Should certain ceremonies in honour of ancestors be tolerated? (*c*) What Chinese term should be used to express the idea of God?° Ricci (a thorough Chinese scholar) had declared these ceremonies to be civil in nature, therefore to

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* Perez: 128. † Ibid: 131. ‡ Brucker: *La Mission de Chine de 1722 à 1735*, in *La Revue des Questions Historiques*, XXIX (1881), 492.

§ Crétineau: V, 51. ¶ Ibid: V, 55. ‖ Jartoux to De Fontaney, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVIII, 10. ⁋ Moidrey: 253. °Crétineau: V, 59.



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be tolerated ; and the Jesuits had followed his teaching. But in 1693, Bishop Maigrot, in his office of Vicar-General of Fukien, issued an ill-starred edict in regard to the term for the Deity, forbade the use of ancestral tablets, condemned Chinese philosophy (thus striking at Confucius), and prohibited the use of Chinese books in the Christian schools.* It must be remembered that two points of view actually existed in China. The Jesuits, in order to judge the sense of the religious words and the Chinese ceremonies went to the mandarins and the educated classes for instruction. The Dominicans and the Apostolic Vicars (such as Maigrot) rested their interpretation on popular tradition and the superstitious practices introduced by the Bonzes. It was on account of these ceremonies, to which the Chinese were invincibly attached, that there arose the accusations against the converts of idolatry or apostacy. Yet not to suffer these ceremonies, which the élite of the nation had pronounced purely civil in nature, was, in the eyes of the Jesuits, to expose the mission to inevitable shipwreck. †

After Maigrot's edict, the Jesuits appealed to Rome, but the Pope was far from appreciating the true seriousness of the situation. Perhaps with the idea that the controversy would wear itself out, he delayed answering until 1701. ‡ This was fatal, as it gave time to the parties in China to become violent and irreconcilable. The Dominicans were particularly fervid for the purity of the Faith ; but in a letter to the Congregation of the Propaganda, the Bishop of Ascalon declared in 1707 the sentiment of most of the Augustinian and Franciscan missionaries to be the same as that of the Jesuits.§ At last Clement XI endeavoured to clear up the situation, and appointed Charles Maillard de Tournon his legate *a latere.*¶

De Tournon was well esteemed in Europe, and although of a nervous, imperious disposition was capable of winning deep devotion from those with whom he came in contact. But Clement's

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* Jenkins : 22-26.

† Crétineau : V, 56. The following quotation from a recent missionary periodical is interesting as showing that the general principle here involved is still a matter of dispute.

"Would it not be, therefore, a wise missionary policy to incorporate as much of the accustomed native ritual and ceremony as possible into the Indian Christian's life, realizing that although certain things might come perilously near retaining old beliefs, yet that the risk was justified, when it was considered how sound was the principle, psychologically at any rate, of calling a convert gradually out of darkness into light?" H. S. Kerridge, of India, in *The East and The West*, January, 1919, p.39.

‡ Jenkins: 38. § Rohrbacher: 633. ¶ Jenkins: 38.



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lack of appreciation of the parties involved was shown by appointing this man to China with such wide powers at this time. Besides the actual missionary tangle, two elements in the situation complicated affairs—the Portuguese national pride and jealousy of their rights; and Chinese customs and prejudices. De Tournon's blind devotion to the papacy led him, as the Pope's representative, to ignore all national or international claims made by Portugal; while, to an intensely proud, self-centred nation revering age both in man and customs, the Pope was sending a young man of only thirty-four years, with hardly even an elementary knowledge of the usages of China, and absolutely no knowledge of the language.†

## III

The missionaries themselves during this period thought the future rosy. As has been said, however, they were dividing more and more sharply into two factions. Of these, those powerful at court were headed by the Jesuits under the leadership of the Portuguese Father Pereira. This ensured the Portuguese political support, to which might be added that of the French on account of Father Gerbillon. Moidrey points out in this connection that

> "il faut distinguer la mission portugaise, érigée en vice-province en 1623 et qui reconnaissait le patronat du roi Très-fidèle, et la mission française, . . . avec ses supérieurs distincts, sous la protection du roi Très chrétien. La vice-province a eu des membres de presque toutes les nationalités; elle a toujours eu plus de maisons." ‡

The Jesuits had three Churches in Peking, besides a Church for women which the ladies of the city were especially zealous in ornamenting with their jewels.¶ It is doubtful whether this Church had much influence, since Ripa tells us that it was only open once in six months; § yet that it was allowed in the capital at all is significant. In the two great governing bodies (The Board of Rites and the Board of Mathematics) the Jesuits were influential. Gerbillon himself was the head of the latter, while several times they had been able to bring to bear enough pressure on the Board of Rites to have registered a decision favourable to them. As one instance of this might be cited their securing the church at Nimpo, through the authority of the Board, despite the op-

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* Jenkins: 66. † Moidrey: 187.

‡ Noel: *Mémoire sur l'Etat des Missions de la Chine*, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XVII, 162. § Ripa: *Memoirs during thirteen Years' Residence at the Court of Pekin*, 96.



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position of the Viceroy of the Province.* Mention has already been made of the great favour shown to them by the Emperor. Both Ripa and Jartoux call attention to K'ang Hsi's public assertion that during the whole of his reign the missionaries at Peking had committed no fault deserving even a reprimand†—a statement to be accepted cautiously.

One great element of strength in the position of the Jesuits among the other missionaries was their distance from the Pope. At the very time that they were hounding the Jansenists in Europe for disobedience to the papacy, they were showing themselves contumacious in the China mission. The Spanish Franciscans pointed out that the Jesuits ignored the revocations of Sixtus V and Paul V as to the missionary control of China ; ‡ while perhaps the most flagrant act of disobedience was to be found in their toleration of Father Porquet. In 1706, this Jesuit at Canton issued three propositions, deemed "shocking" by the horrified Father Gonzales. The second of these is the frank declaration that "Le pape ne peut dêfinir infailliblement les controverses de la Chine." §

However strong the Jesuits may have considered themselves, however favoured they were by the Chinese, this Golden Period was one of continuous attack on them by the other Catholics. De Tournon, coming to China as a result of the insistence of the Dominicans, in order to settle a dispute, found conditions very bad. The partisans of the Jesuits and the partisans of the Bishop of Conon divided the country very neatly into two camps ; and de Tournon, who had from the start antagonized the Portuguese by utterly refusing to admit that a papal legate should be bound by any right of the Portuguese king, soon found the Jesuits under the patronage of the latter blocking him in every way. To be sure, having stopped at Malabar on the way out, and being scandalized by the Jesuit practices there, he arrived in China prejudiced against them. The arbitrary style which he adopted did not tend to smooth over matters, and his investigations of the charges of misconduct brought against them the Jesuits took as a direct declaration of war.¶ De Tournon had his first interview with the Emperor on December 31, 1705. This, of course, had to be arranged for through the medium of the court missionaries and, all things considered, it is hardly a matter of wonder that the Legate considered the whole affair staged by the Portuguese

* Goville, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient :* III, 26.
† Ripa : 110. *Lettres Edifiantes :* XVIII, 24.
‡ Perez : 131. § Gonzales : 182. ¶ Jenkins : 66.



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Jesuits as an exhibition of the influence of the Fathers rather than as a complimentary recognition of the Pope through his representative.* His own utter ignorance of the Chinese language greatly discredited him with K'ang Hsi, and he felt that this had been emphasized by the active hostility of the Jesuit interpreter during the interview. It must be remembered that de Tournon was the representative of the Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, and when the Jesuit Porquet, apparently with the tacit consent of the other Jesuits in China, declared that "Les missionnaires ne sont point obligez d'obéir au Mandement de M. le Patriarche sur ces controverses," † he openly pronounced the order in China insubordinate.

Of the other orders, the Dominicans were the most bitter against the Jesuits. With all, the most serious disagreement was concerning the Rites, and the horror of the Dominicans was especially aroused by Porquet's first proposition, as issued in Canton, viz. :

"Celui qui dit que les âmes des défunts se reposent sur les tablettes, ne pêche point contre la foi."‡

Yet up to 1707, as the king of Portugal is expressly told, most of the Augustinians and Franciscans agreed with the Jesuits,§ whose help they both needed and claimed. The door in China was by that time open to all orders as to the Jesuits, to the half contemptuous annoyance of the latter. Perhaps the others were not very skilful in their use of this liberty, for, in October of 1703, Father Goville wrote :

> "M. Basset, nommé provicaire apostolique par M. de Lyonne, a, dit-on, bien des affaires dans le Yunnan, affaires avec les Chrétiens, affaires avec les mandarins. M. Appiani, missionnaire italien de la Propagande en a aussi de son côté . . . Ils seront ensuite obligés, selon leur coutume, d'avoir recours aux PP. de Pekin pour pacifier les troubles." ¶

But the Jesuits were criticized by their fellow-missionaries for more than their attitude in respect to the Terms and ancestor worship. They were openly charged with usury and worse. Jenkins cannot find that they made any defense against the accusation of the Franciscan Fra Michele Fernandez that they let their houses for base purposes in order to obtain more money for them.‖ McCabe, who is prejudiced against them, accuses them of having charged 24 per cent. interest on loans ; but even

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* Jenkins : 53. † Gonzales : 182. ‡ Gonzales : 182. § Rohrbacker : 633.
¶ Goville, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient* : III, 27. ‖ Jenkins : 161.



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Jenkins speaks of their trade in wine and tobacco, their lucrative business as money-lenders, and their concern about their real and personal property in China.* Jenkins has made a very thorough study of this situation, the result of which he sums up as follows :

> "It cannot be denied . . . that the Jesuit mission had become not only the centre of political intrigues, but of a commercial and even sordid traffic with the ignorant natives, in which the financial skill of the Fathers was more conspicuous than their zeal for the cause of Christianity."†

Perhaps, however, the critics would have done well to sweep before their own door, for Ripa, arriving in 1706, caustically remarks :

> "I may here take occasion to observe that, if our European missionaries in China would conduct themselves with less ostentation, and accommodate their manners to persons of all ranks and conditions, the number of converts would be immensely increased,"‡

and he continues with strictures on their "lofty, pompous" manner, their "garments of rich material," and their luxurious living, "with a few honourable exceptions."

It is to be noted, therefore, that during this Golden Period China showed a friendly, open mind to the missionaries, promising a goodly future. Yet in this same period are to be found the seeds of disruption, sown by inharmonious conduct among the Orders, and by tactless behaviour towards the Chinese on the part of the Pope, his representative, and the missionaries in China.

## The Period of Suspicion

## 1707-1723

Towards the end of the Golden Period a change in the attitude of China was evident. The perpetual disputes among the missionaries were closely followed by the watchful Chinese, and their conclusions fairly well summed up by the Emperor K'ang Hsi in his censure of the Bishop of Conon quoted above.

> "Those who have already embraced your religion, perceiving the perpetual conflicts that reign amongst you, begin to doubt its truth, and the others are rendered every day less disposed to embrace it."§

### I

The first among the Chinese to reflect this change were the mandarins. When those of Kwei-chow learned of the displeasure

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* Ibid : 158. † Ibid : 52. ‡ Ripa : 43. § Jenkins : 92.



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of the Emperor with Maigrot and de Tournon, anticipating that all Europeans would be banished from China, they insisted on the withdrawal of Le Couteux from that province. As the missionary himself notes, however, they were careful to reimburse him for the house which he had just bought.* Even those missionaries provided with the Imperial permission were continually molested, the mandarins making a point of having them come to the tribunals to show their patents; and this, in China, was sufficient to put anyone in an equivocal position.†

In 1711, a memorial directly attacking Christianity was presented to the Emperor by Fan Chao-tso, a censor of the Empire. He seems to have been exasperated by the refusal of his daughter-in-law (a neophyte of the French Jesuits) to worship the ancestral tablets. The memorial was a bitter attack on Christian doctrines and customs as being contrary to the ancient and honourable usage of China, and was published broadcast through the province of Shansi.‡ To the dismay of the missionaries, the Emperor sent it to the Board of Rites. Nothing serious resulted, as Fan had the poor judgement to meddle several days later with some plans for dykes which the Emperor had drawn up; and, in his disgust, the latter branded the censor as an ignoramus. This characterization the missionaries took pains to make known to the Board.§ It was significant, however, that at the end of the affair, the Emperor sent four mandarins to the missionaries, warning them to be on their guard against giving the least advantage to their enemies by any indiscrete action, either by themselves or their converts.¶

Much more serious was the memorial presented in 1716 by Ching Mow, the military mandarin of Canton. He represented that the foreign trade and the propagation of the Christian religion were highly detrimental to the Empire.‖ This memorial was first sent to the Military Board, and by them referred to the Board of Rites.

The attitude of the Board of Rites during this period is interesting. Their judgement on the memorial of 1711, greatly influenced by the Emperor's wrath against the mandarin presenting it, stated that the Europeans had fixed their residence in China with his Majesty's positive permission, that they had rendered themselves useful to the Empire in the formation of the calendar, the manufacture of arms, the war against the Muscovites, and in numerous other ways; and that, as they had never offended against anyone, it would not be right to forbid to them the use of their

* Le Couteux, *in Revue de l'Extrême Orient:* III, 36. † Ibid: 34. ‡ D'Entrecolles to De Broissia, in *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVIII, 403. § Ibid: 397-402. ¶ Ibid: 402. ‖ Ripa: 92.



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own religion on the mere assertion that it was false; that those who were furnished with the imperial patent should not be molested, and that those who had none might be banished to Macao.* Their real attitude is more truly seen when, at the request of the Jesuits, the Emperor ordered the names of the Europeans who had received the patent to be sent throughout all the provinces. The tribunal obeyed the order, but dismayed the missionaries by publishing also the names of those who had been banished, thus officially confirming to the people what had hitherto been rumoured only, namely that the anger of the Emperor had been aroused against some of the missionaries.†

In answer to Ching's memorial of 1716, however, the Board came out from under cover, and ordered that Canton should be closed against the foreigners, the Christian religion prohibited, all Christians imprisoned and the churches demolished.‡

The mandarins certainly had reason at times to feel exasperated. Jartoux gives a typical little incident in which the missionaries at the court refused to do some welding because one of them thought he had seen somewhere a picture resembling the instrument needed, representing it to have something to do with idol worship. The court mandarins assured them many times to the contrary, the Emperor's son assured them to the contrary, but not until the Emperor himself intervened would they continue the work. The prince, we are told, was very angry, yet not one word did he let fall against Christianity. He vented his anger on the missionaries, exclaiming: "On ne blâme pas votre attachement à votre religion, mais on blâme avec raison votre entêtement sur les choses que vous ne sçavez pas."§

The growing suspicion and dislike were also reflected by the people at large. In Shantung, in 1709, the Franciscans were insulted, and one imprisoned.¶ D'Entrecolles mentions numerous persecutions and difficulties endured by the converts as evidence of the unpopularity of Christianity,‖ and there was a constant confusion "through malice or misunderstanding" between those having the patent, and those without it. That the tribunals were in no hurry to clear up these misapprehensions is evident from the trial of Father Bayard. Arrested by mistake, and falsely accused of not having the patent, his trial passed through various tribunals, and dragged along for over two months, to the

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*Ripa: 81. †Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient:* III, 34. ‡Ripa: 92. §Jartoux to De Fontaney, in *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVIII, 18. ¶Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient:* III, 34. ‖D'Entrecolles to De Broissia, in *Lettres Edifiantes:* XVIII, 368.



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great detriment of Christianity's standing in the Empire.* The Chinese officers were very zealous, and represented the resistance of some converts to the Emperor's commands in regard to the Chinese rites as showing a tendency on the part of the new religion to undermine the Emperor's authority.†

Even K'ang Hsi, to whom the missionaries had long been accustomed to look for support, was growing cautious. Although by no means closing the country to them, he yet insisted on the Imperial Patent. On the declaration of the Board of Rites in 1711 banishing to Macao all those not furnished with it he wrote with his own hand, "I approve." ‡ He waited some time before answering their protest against the decision of 1716, thereby rendering the missionaries very uneasy. His answer, when it came, was satisfactory, for he decreed that the commerce of Canton should be reopened, and the suppression of Christianity suspended, but he gave as his reason that "His Majesty is invariably true to his word, and never abrogates what he has once decreed." § We know that about 1712 the Emperor ordered the Viceroy at Canton to ferret out news from the European vessels, as he suspected the missionaries of concealing information from him.¶ Furthermore, that he had no intention of resigning any of his authority to the Pope is evident in his treatment of Mezzabarba. This legate, arriving in 1720 with the distinct purpose of enforcing the Pope's decision on the rites as opposed to the Emperor's, found himself utterly unable to secure any concession from the latter.‖ Why, indeed, asked K'ang Hsi, should he give over to a foreigner any of his authority over his subjects ?

K'ang Hsi, it will be remembered, valued the missionaries for their scientific attainments. He, therefore, ordered them to make a map of China, which work occupied three of them from 1708 to 1718.⁂ But he did not trust them very far. In the case of Korea and Tibet they were not allowed to make the survey themselves, but had to use the mandarins and lamas they had previously instructed.° The mandarins everywhere were charged to entertain and help the missionaries, yet, in reality, this was merely a ruse to keep the latter under constant surveillance. Consistently, K'ang Hsi refused to grant to them permission to go near any of the borders.°°

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* Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient :* III, 33. † Williams : II, 304. ‡ Ripa : 81. § Ibid : 93. ¶ Contancin, in *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient :* III, 43. ‖ Ljungstedt : 175. ⁂ Brucker : 497. ° Ripa : 65. °° Brucker : 505.



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Perhaps this Emperor's attitude is best summed up as cautious. His frank distrust of the power and designs of the West is clearly indicated in his written advice to his successors :

> " Les Oross (Muscovites), Hong-mao (Anglais ou Hollandais), Foulanki (Français, Portugais, Espagnols)... viennent à bout de tout ce qu'ils entreprennent, quelque difficulté qu'il y ait ; ils sont intrépides, habiles, et profitent de tout. Tant que je règnerai, il n'y à rien à craindre d'eux pour la Chine. Je les traite bien, ils m'aiment et cherchent à me faire plaisir... Mais si notre gouvernement devient faible, si on manque d'attention sur les Chinois des provinces du midi... que deviendra notre empire ? " *

## II

The causes of this change in the attitude of the Chinese were scarcely appreciated by the Europeans. In Macao, the Portuguese followed the lead of the Portuguese Jesuits in Peking, and literally persecuted to death the Cardinal Legate de Tournon. He had not come to China by way of Lisbon, nor had his appointment been approved by the King of Portugal, but as the Pope'-representative he claimed authority over all Christians in China. Thus he ran counter to the *Jus patronatus*, conferred upon Portuguese kings by successive popes. The Captain-General of Macao at this time, Don Diego Teyxeira, was, unfórtunately for de Tournon, a fanatical upholder of this right of patronage.† When the legate, therefore, returned to Macao, in 1707, Don Diego promptly imprisoned him, and proceeded to make this imprisonment more and more harsh. Indeed, the indignities to which de Tournon was subjected seem to have aroused the sympathy of the Chinese officials. For the Chinese governor of the district, on being asked by the Procurator of Macao to remove the Chinese servants of the Legate, refused, charging them instead to serve de Tournon faithfully.‡ It was during this imprisonment that the party of which Ripa was a member arrived at Macao, carrying with them the Cardinal's hat sent to de Tournon by Clement XI.§

Russia also seemed blind to this change of attitude. In 1720, the Russian Count Ismailof came to Peking to conclude a commercial treaty with the Chinese. Apparently he felt that the missionaries were very powerful. Although almost insolent

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* Brucker : 503, quoting from unpublished document of Père Gaubil : *Reflections of Kang-hi.* †Jenkins : 123. ‡Jenkins : 137. §Ripa : 32.



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to the Emperor in his refusal to bow to Chinese customs, he seemed anxious to curry favour with the Jesuits. Ripa had by this time become one of the court interpreters, and it is he who reports the eulogy pronounced by K'ang Hsi to Ismailof on the missionaries,* "in order," he explains, "by making our good qualities known, to palliate anything of a contrary nature."† The French Jesuits entertained the Count with a sumptuous feast and music, followed by dances and sleight-of-hand. ‡

But of the European powers again the one who most damaged the mission was the Pope. Clement XI, by the bull *Ex illa die* of 1715, supported de Tournon's decision in regard to the Rites, and thereby placed himself squarely in opposition to the Emperor. § K'ang Hsi insisted on having his own decision subscribed to before granting to any missionary the permission to reside in China ; but by this Bull, no European missionary could go to China without subscribing to a formula in which he promised fully and entirely to obey the orders of Clement XI upon these ceremonies, and to observe these injunctions without any reservation. ¶

The Bull was taken to China by the Patriarch Legate Mezzabarba, a polished politician. His embassy took a distinctly political turn, for John V of Portugal, anxious for the Pope to grant investiture to the three elect bishops of Macao, Nanking, and Peking, caused the court of Lisbon to bear the expenses of the Patriarch from Lisbon to China ; and the Senate those of the Legate, his retinue and attendants, not only during their stay in China, but also on their return journey to Europe. ‖ With this Portuguese backing, few difficulties were put in the way of Mezzabarba's interview with the Emperor. All went smoothly until he stated that he had come to China to submit the decision of his Holiness concerning the rites. ⁋ Finding the Emperor immovable, he quietly accepted the inevitable, and in 1721 returned to Europe.

Before leaving the country, however, "for the sake of saving religion from being banished," he used his power as papal representative to modify the bull *Ex illa die* by eight "permissions." These very nearly nullified the Bull. Although given in good faith, to save the mission, they were one of the heaviest blows dealt it. The controversy now flared out anew, with three parties : those holding with the Jesuits, those with the Pope, and those with the Pope's representative. So exercised over these permis-

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* *Ubi supra.* †Ripa : 111. ‡Ibid : 113. §Ljungstedt : 176.
¶Williams : 304. ‖Ljungstedt : 194. ⁋Williams : II, 303.



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sions were some of the orders that they sent Castorani (a Franciscan, and vicar of the bishop of Peking) to Rome, to protest to the Pope. *

III

There is no doubt that some, at least, of the missionaries appreciated the growing danger in which they stood. In 1709, Le Couteux wrote: "Jamais la mission, mon cher Père, et les Jésuites de Chine en particulier, n'ont eu plus besoin de secours du ciel, que ces trois ou quatre dernières années."† The Jesuits at Peking were quick to feel the subtle change in the atmosphere and hardly needed to have it pointed out to them by K'ang Hsi's warning to act discreetly. ‡ They still were powerful at court, and were employed continually by K'ang Hsi, but that they had lost some of their influence even with him was evident at the death of Father Gerbillon. Despite the fact the Jesuit had been his close friend, the Emperor departed from his usual custom and gave no orders for a special funeral. It would have seemed discreet, under the circumstances, to have minimized the differences between themselves, but instead the French and Portuguese Jesuits at Peking obstinately resisted all efforts of the Emperor to unite them in one society.§

Nor were the missionaries at Macao much more politic. On his way thither on January 20, 1707, de Tournon issued a charge to all missionaries in which he required them

> "to give a distinct negative on all the questions which formed the Imperial test, to abjure all the rites and observances which the Chinese laws enjoined—the sacrifices to Confucius and to their ancestors, the tablets for the dead—and to declare the incompatibility of all these doctrines and practices with the Christian law."¶

After thus throwing down the gauntlet to the Emperor, he proceeded to a bitter war with the Bishop of Macao. This Bishop (Johannes de Cazal) was also a Privy Councillor, and managed to secure the support of the Archbishop of Goa, the Metropolitan of the Portuguese Indies. On June 5, 1707, Cazal sent out a pastoral letter, enclosing one from the Archbishop of Goa, in which the latter forbade the Catholics in China to recognize the Legate. The reason given was that the Archbishop, as Primate of All Asia through the patronage of His Portuguese Majesty, claimed the power which de Tournon was arrogating to himself.‖

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* Ljungstedt: 176. † *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*: III, 32. ‡ *Ubi supra*.
§ Ripa: 125. ¶ Jenkins: 120. ‖ Gonzales: 174.



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The Bishop of Macao, therefore, was endeavouring to undermine de Tournon's position by challenging his Legatine credentials.* De Tournon promptly replied by excommunicating the Bishop,† whereupon the Bishop posted a monitory on the very door of the Legate's residence, exhorting the latter to revoke his censures within three days under pain of excommunication, and to exhibit to his diocesan the proofs of his legation.‡ To add to the general feeling of good-fellowship,in 1708 the imprisoned Cardinal Legate issued a decree forbidding any Superior, even of the Company of Jesus, to enter into his charge, or to go to or from his mission without his, de Tournon's, permission. This was diametrically opposed to the constitution of the Jesuits, and they therefore ignored it.§ It was probably they, however, who inspired the edict issued that same year ordering the cessation of all communication between the Cardinal and the Chinese mandarins; requiring also all missionaries coming to court for the patent to be first vouched for by the Jesuit Father Ozorio. Ozorio was to be held responsible for their conduct in regard to the Chinese rites.¶ As a final exhibition of tact and forbearance towards the Chinese, de Tournon named Philibert Leblanc vicar apostolic of Che-kiang, although the Emperor had expelled Leblanc from China for not having the patent.‖

De Tournon died in 1710, and after his death, a letter reached China which the Pope had sent to the Emperor in his care. Fearful lest it should still further irritate K'ang Hsi, Cordeira (the Legate's executor) and the ecclesiastics of Macao suppressed it for two years. Arrested then by the Portuguese on the charge of being "gens contraires aux ordres et intentions du Roy de Portugal," Cordeira finally sent the letter to the Viceroy, in the hopes of securing release thereby, and it was by him forwarded to the Emperor. In this letter, among other things, the Pope excused the Cardinal, and begged the Emperor to revoke any severe edicts he might have issued against the missionaries.⁂ Under the circumstances, one is inclined to agree with Contancin in regard to its publication: "C'estoit beaucoup exposer la Religion et les missionnaires, mais ces Messieurs ne doutent de rien."

Throughout the country, the missionaries found themselves in an awkward position. If they subscribed to the Emperor's formula they challenged the doctrine of Papal infallibility;

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* Jenkins: 123. † *Ibid*: 127. ‡ Williams: II, 303. § Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*: III, 35. ¶ Gonzales: 296. ‖ Moidrey: 154. ⁂ Contancin, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*: III, 44-46.



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if they did not so subscribe, they automatically were banished from their field of labour.* The outlook was serious, as by the end of this period they were responsible for 300,000 converts.† Many of the friars argued that the decision about the rites was too important to be decided by anything less than a general council. ‡ Others made liberal use of Mezzabarba's " permissions." Even Gaubil, however, admitted the uselessness of this latter course :

> " Les Lettrés et gens en place qui voudraient se faire chrétiens nous quittent dès lors que selon les ordres du Souverain-Pontife nous leur publions les décrets, même avec les permissions que laissa M. le patriarche Mezzabarba." §

The following picture, drawn by the Jesuit le Couteux, vividly portrays the situation :—

> " . . . à vous parler franchement, jamais la religion, ni ses ministres ne se relevèrent, tant dans l'esprit du prince que parmi les mandarins et le peuple, du tort que leur ont fait les affaires arrivées depuis ces trois ou quatre dernières années. Le nom Européen est tombé à la Cour dans un mépris dont je n'ose vous dire la cause : l'Empereur a perdu infiniment de l'estime qu'il avait pour l'Europe ; de luy, cela a passé aux grands de la Cour, et de là dans les provinces ou nous nous sommes vus tout d'un coup tombés pour la considération et la confiance que les mandarins avoient auparavant pour les missionnaires . . . Les Pères de la Cour ont à présent de la peine à trouver des recommandations pour les missionnaires des provinces, et sans ces recommandations il est impossible de s'y soutenir contre l'aversion et le mépris que la nation chinoise a toujours pour les étrangers." ¶

In this period therefore, by their wrangles among themselves, the missionaries brought Christianity into disrepute with the observant Chinese. By tactless insistence on regarding the authority of the Pope as superior to that of the Emperor in China itself they strengthened the suspicion of a political animus on their part.

[*To be concluded*].

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*Jenkins: 111. †Williams: II, 304. ‡Ljungstedt: 194. §Brucker: 501. ¶ Le Couteux, in *Revue de l'Extrême Orient :* III, 38.



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# HOW TO USE THE CHINESE ABACUS OR "SUAN-P'AN" (算盤).

BY

MAIYING YOMING KWAUK.

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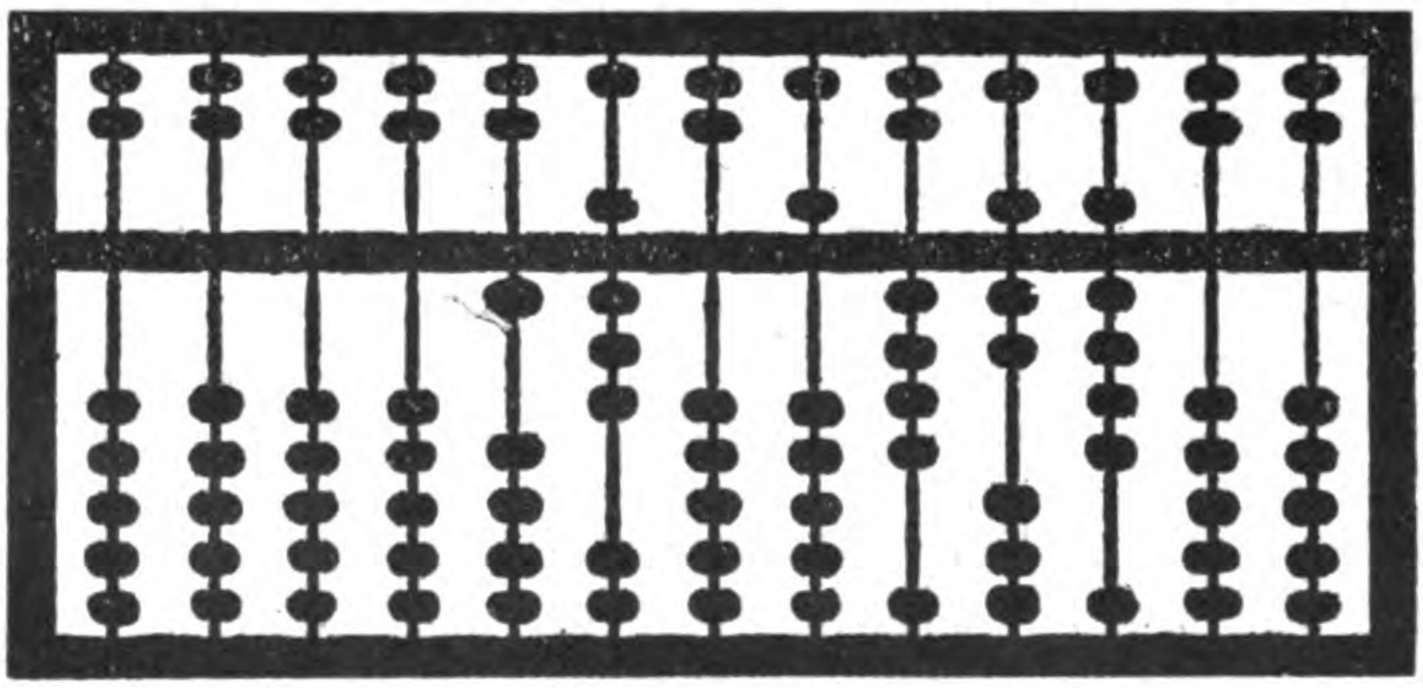
**The following notes on the use of the Suan-P'an have been prepared by a member of the staff of the Huangpu Conservancy Board, Mr. Kwauk, and will probably be of general interest to all those who have seen the facility with which the Chinese use the instrument, as well as serving to revise the erroneous notion that the abacus is only suitable in kindergarten schools for teaching arithmetical notation.—HERBERT CHATLEY.**

* * *

Since Westerners in China, especially those in close contact with natives using this instrument, are often found interested in knowing about the Chinese abacus or "Suan-P'an," I take pleasure in writing this paper to explain rudimentarily the principles governing the use of this calculating instrument. I hope that it will prove to be useful to them as it does to Chinese, especially for addition and subtraction.



The figure shown above is one-fourth the actual size of a common abacus, but, in order to make it clearer, the beads have been drawn still smaller. In reality, the beads on each rod are close to each other and to the partition or the upper or the lower edge, and the space between those on the adjacent rods is much smaller than that shown.



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## HOW TO USE THE CHINESE ABACUS OR "SUAN-P'AN"

*Construction of the Instrument.*—It is constituted of three parts, viz:, the frame, the rods, and the beads. The frame is usually made of wood with a longitudinal partition bar at about one-third the height from the upper edge, and a smooth plate at the back. The rods are ordinary slender cylindrical bamboo sticks. Sometimes they are made of brass. The usual number of the rods is 9, 11, 13, 15 or 17. The beads are perforated balls of blackwood or of any other hard wood, very rarely of ivory or bone, running on the rods.

Each rod has five beads below the partition bar and two above. The length of the rod is, however, made greater then the aggregate thickness of the seven beads and the partition bar, by about two beads' thickness in each segment. The surfaces of the rods and of the holes in the beads are made very smooth so that the beads can slide on the rod easily.

*Notation.*—When in use, the instrument is always placed horizontally as shown in the above figure.

Of the five beads on one rod below the partition bar, each signifies one unit, and of the two above, on the same rod, each signifies five (5) units. The beads on any one rod represent a value ten (10) times as great as do the corresponding ones on the next rod to the right. Only those beads moved close to the partition bar are counted as digits (excluding 0), the rest at the upper and lower edges are considered as noughts. The values of the beads are additive one to another.

In addition or subtraction, any space between the rods can be taken as the decimal line, provided that the same space is adhered to throughout the whole operation in each case. In multiplication or division, it is not always simple to have the decimal place of the result mechanically indicated by the beads. Even for addition or subtraction alone, it is not practicable to have the decimal line in all cases fixed at any particular place on the abacus.

*Illustration.*—Let the space between the 3rd and 4th rods from the right be taken as the decimal line; the beads on the 4th rod of the abacus shown in the fore-going figure represent, then, seven (7) as the beads close to the partition bar are only two below and one above that bar, i.e., two "ones" and one "five," and the one at the top and three at the bottom should be considered as zeros. Those on the 5th rod represent 40, as the beads on this rod signify ten times as great as those on the 4th one do. 500 is shown on the 6th rod; zeros on the 7th; 80,000 on the 8th; 100,000 on the 9th; and 0.9 on the 3rd as it is at the right of the



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decimal line. The numerical value that the figure shows is therefore 180,547.9.

This notation is, however, adapted only to the right-handed abacus operator. For a left-handed one, the order of the places should be reversed, i.e., with the position of the decimal line assumed unchanged the above exampled beads should be read as 9.745,081 instead of 180,547.9

*Manipulation.*—Whereas it is easy to move the beads at random up and down on the rod with any one of the ten fingers, the following rules enable one to operate the abacus expeditiously :—

*Rule* 1. Use only one hand, either the right or the left.

It is not the practice for every abacus operator to use his left hand. The writer can use either hand, but more frequently the right. Naturally, it is easier to train the right hand than the left, and, hence, the former is recommended. The advantage claimed by the left-handed operator is that it will not disturb the engagement of the right hand which can be used for writing, while performing the calculation with the left.

*Rule* 2. Use the thumb to lift the beads below the partition bar, and the fore-finger to lower them ; and use the middle-finger exclusively for both lifting and lowering the upper two beads.

## Operations.

*Addition.*—Assuming a space between the rods for the decimal line, put the beads in such a position that they will represent one of the addends. Approach to the partition bar a set of the beads representing another one of the addends ; then another set of the beads for the third addend ; and so on. When all the addends have been added, the resulting position of the beads will show the amount wanted.

*Subtraction.*—Place the beads to represent the minuend, from which take away from the partition bar sets of the beads representing the subtrahends, respectively, and the result shows the difference required.

*Multiplication.*—Set the multiplicand on the abacus ; multiply mentally the second figure of the multiplier by the last digit of the multiplicand, and put this partial product on the abacus at the position two places right of that digit ; then the 3rd figure by the same digit, then the 4th, etc., and put these partial products in the proper order after the first partial product ; finally that of the first figure of the multiplier by the said last digit is put on, and at the same time that digit is taken off. The partial products of the next last digit of the multiplicand by the multiplier are put on in the exactly same manner as just



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described for the last digit; and so of the others. The result will show the relative positions and values of the figures of the required product, but not the position of the decimal point which is generally to be determined mentally.

*Division.*—Put the dividend on the instrument; find the integral number of times that the first figure of the divisor is contained in the first two digits of the dividend; let this integral number take the place of the first digit of the dividend on the abacus, multiply that number by the remaining figures of the divisor and subtract this product (really, this product is composed of the partial products of the remaining figures of the divisor) from the partial dividend headed by the remainder of the one-place division. This gives the first figure of the required quotient and the remainder left. By proceeding in the same manner, the second, the third, etc., figures of the quotient sought can be obtained.

*Evolution.*—With the number of the rods greatly increased, evolution can be performed with this instrument practically in the same way as with the pen. For higher mathematical work, the ancient Chinese mathematicians employed tallies to supplement the abacus. To extract a square root of few figures, I have, however, found that it is more convenient and expeditious, with this instrument, to use the following process rather than the ordinary one. It is based on the same principle that is used to perform this operation with the American "Marchant" calculating machine.

Set the given number on the abacus, and split it into pairs. From the first pair or the oddment as the case may be, subtract, successively, the numbers 1, 3, 5, 7, etc., until the remainder is not great enough to be subtracted again. For safety, put on the extreme left column of the abacus the number of the times that these subtrahends have been applied. This number will be the first digit of the figures wanted. Subtract from the second pair and the remainder of the first, the sums of 20 times that first number plus 1, 3, 5, 7, etc.; and put the new number of the operations on the next left column. And so on for the succeeding numbers. Half the sum of the last subtrahend plus 1, is the square root sought, and should be the same as shown on the left columns of the abacus.



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# THE ORIGINAL HIEROGLYPHIC SYSTEMS

BY

THE REV. H. W. WHITE, D.D.

Alphabets and scripts are all traceable back to hieroglyphs, bird-track writing, as the Chinese call them. Of the hieroglyphic systems five have heretofore been considered as self-derived and independent, viz., Egyptian, Babylonian in its old Sumerian form, Chinese, Hittite, and Aztec. (Canon Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*.) Other ancient scripts, when recovered, have attracted interest, but as they become known each one finds its place in one or other of these systems. Thus, e.g., the researches of Schliemann, whose thrilling rise from a Chicago grocer's clerk to a first-rank scholar and archaeologist captivated the attention of the world, brought the Karian or Cretan script to light. But Karian is now clearly recognized as derived chiefly from the Egyptian. An interesting stele in Egyptian-Karian bi-lingual text was presented to the University of Sidney by Sir Chas. Nicholson. In the text well-known Egyptian forms are used in their alphabetic sense, e.g., (1) * used as a "t", (2) as "p". But other forms are clearly Greek, thus (3) is the Greek "φ," (4) is the Greek "χ," and (5) is "ϒ," "U" or "Y." A. Rowe, in the *R. A. S. Journal*, Jan. 1920, thinks this stele was written by a Greek Karian scribe living in Egypt with the troops of mercenaries.

Without following these by-paths, let us consider the "Big Five" systems of hieroglyphics. No one has yet questioned that Egyptian and the ancestor of the Babylonian-Assyrian cuneiform, —call it Accadian, Sumerian, Old Babylonian, what you will—are self-derived. As to the Chinese, Ball has proved consanguinity

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*The bracketed figures refer to the plate (p. 137).



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with Sumerian, yet both are recognized as independent systems. Our problem at this time is with the other two, Hittite and Aztec.

Sayce, taking his cue from Prof. Jensen, in successive articles from 1903 down to 1915 laid the basis for the interpretation of the Hittite. Just before the world war valuable material was unearthed by a German exploring party at Boghaz Keui, the later capital of the Hittite Empire, and Delitsch translated some of the texts. During the war, Friedrich Hrozny, Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Vienna, working on advance sheets of the report by this party, brought out, first an elaborate grammar, and later translations of some of the more important texts. Hrozny's work has been enthusiastically welcomed by some, e.g., by S. J. Crawford, Professor of English Philology in Madras Christian College (*R. A. S. Journal*, Jan. 1919). Sayce finds some weak points in Hrozny's armour (*R. A. S. Journal*, Jan. 1920), but appreciates much of his work.

The chief point of difference between Sayce and Hrozny is one which in itself solves our problem for us. The latter considers Hittite as Indo-European, or perhaps Indo-Germanic. He thinks he finds the present participle, declension with six cases, and sundry words of Indo-European stock. Sayce challenges him on many points, and maintains his original proposition, that Hittite is a composite of Egyptian, Sumerian, and other ingredients. The Indo-European element he fully recognizes but attributes it to Karian influence. On either view of the Hittite we may safely conclude that the text on which they have been working is not an independent, self-derived system.

Prof. Campbell calls attention to the fact that there remains yet another Hittite script, different from these texts, which no one has been able to decipher. This may have secrets to unfold some day, but can hardly change the philological position of the Hittite.

For the present we shall find Hittite useful as a sidelight on Egyptian, Sumerian and Chinese. We find it takes the Egyptian-Chinese form for "mountain" rather than the Sumerian. (See *New China Review*, Feb. 1920). But "knife" takes the Sumerian form (15) rather than the Egyptian (16). The Hittite "sun" also follows the Egyptian-Chinese form in preference to the Sumerian, inserting a dot in the circle. Not only so, but Sayce notes that it is largely used for the "sun-god," which gives an interesting suggestion as to the origin of that dot. So also as we note the Hittite radical, or determinative, if we prefer the Egyptologist's terminology, for divinity, written thus (6), we see where our Chinese 神 got its origin. (*N.B.*—While



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not one of the radicals it was used as one. See Chalfant, *Early Chinese Writing*, No. 352.) The Hittite term was a pictogram of the Stone used for worship, tied around the middle. Compare, e.g., the Black Stone of Mecca, and similar customs elsewhere.

Coming now to Aztec, later students have brought to the front Maya, an older and kindred dialect, an aunt, as it were, of the Aztec, which takes precedence of it. Maya-Aztec civilization has been studied from many points of view. Kinship has been claimed for them with Egypt, Carthage, Java, South India, and the lost continent Atlantis. Lord Kingsborough in nine volumes attempts to identify the Aztecs with the ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Le Plongeon went one better than them all, showing, as he thought, that Egypt was peopled from Yucatan.

These studies may be not without some basis in fact. For that all human races are from a common stock is traditional belief. It is anticipated by many that a firmer line of proof will be found by taking an Oriental point of departure. Humboldt in his *Vues des Cordillères* attempts to show that Mexican civilization was of Asiatic origin. For example he notes the custom prevailing both in Mexico and among the Mongolian races of formulating year cycles by combining two systems of notation. The Chinese cycle of sixty years is found by running together the list of animal symbols of the zodiac, viz., *rat*, *ox*, *tiger*, *hare*, *dragon*, etc., with the ten celestial stems based on the five elements, *wood*, *fire*, *earth*, *metal*, *water*. The Aztec fifty-two year cycle was formed by combining four of the day symbols : *reed*, *rabbit*, *house*, *flint*, with numerals up to thirteen. Both Chinese and the Maya-Aztec races had simpler calendar records, and these cycles were chiefly for astrological purposes.

Relationship of the Maya-Aztec with other races has also been sought along philological lines. Thus, *e.g.*, T. S. Denison, of Chicago, starting out with the idea maintained by Max Müller, William Dwight Whitney, A. H. Keane, and others, that he was working on a self-originated language, after some years of study, came to the conclusion that Aztec was of Aryan stock. (See his *Primitive Aryans of America.*) He thought he saw identity in word roots and in grammatical forms. But his work is based entirely on phonetic values. Tracing relationship between a Sanskrit "go," an Anglo-Saxon "cow," and an Aztec "qua-qua-e" (pronounced ka-ka-way), or between a Sanskrit "cvan" (c = k), a Greek Κύων, a Latin "canis," an English "hound," and an Aztec "Itzcuintli," from a supposed "kun" root, involves considerable imagination, and is difficult to substantiate. There may be something in the inflectional systems he brings out, but relationship can hardly be considered proven.



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As to the Mayan and Aztec hieroglyphs, to find any relationship with the other systems is a far cry. The structure and style of these systems is unique. In the Maya especially grotesque human faces leer out from every part of the writing. The Mayan glyphs, to adopt the lingo of Mayan scholars, instead of being placed in line, whether horizontally or vertically, or even grouped, as sometimes with the Egyptian, are presented in a compact block form. For examples see (7) (8). Maya writing was not intended for popular use, but was a cryptic system of the priest-class. (*Report of Smithsonian Institute*, 1903). It was based on a system of chronology supposed to have come down from a starting point five million years in the past,—may be even sixty-four millions. Such a chronology cannot be historical in origin. Mayan history seems to have emerged from savagery, or at least from obscurity, about 100 B.C. Granting them a considerable antiquity, we need hardly accept as historical a scheme which would not only contradict the ancient records of other lands, but would put Mayan ancestors in the Glacial Age.

Their chronology may be mere mythology—it was the priest-class which recorded it. Or we may understand it as based on astronomical calculations, for their scribes seem to have been wonderful astronomers (See Morley, *The Inscriptions of Copan*, p. 35, etc.) Nevertheless their hieroglyphs are characteristically and distinctively filled with this chronology. Their calendar was based on the day unit, with months, years, "katuns," cycles, and great cycles, all based on their anomalous vigesimal system of notation. This system differs radically from all other systems of calculation. Instead of reading units, tens, hundreds, it reads units, twenties, 360s, 7,800s, 144,000s, and 2,880,000s, each step being multiplied by twenty except the second which was multiplied by eighteen. What a multiplication table those Mayan boys must have had! The position of a number indicated whether it was a unit, a twenty, or what, the higher position being, not horizontally to the left, but one line above the lower. (See *Report Smithsonian Institute* 1903).

As to the numerical symbols, Egyptian, Sumerian, Hittite, and Chinese all used bars, whether perpendicular or horizontal. Hopkins has shown (*R. A. S. Journal*, April, 1916) that in Chinese this probably arose from the use of tally sticks or counters. Hence one bar represented one tally, and when they came to a five or a ten, they crossed two tally sticks, thus making the 五 character in its old form (9) and the ten character (十). But the Maya used a dot for a unit, and represented fives by bars. Thus nine



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was (10) and thirteen was (11). Higher numbers were indicated by position, as we have noticed above.

The Maya writing, so far as deciphered, is limited to calendaric glyphs (See Morley, *The Inscriptions of Copan*, p. 36). No historical records have been discovered. There were such, but the Spanish Jesuits destroyed them because they were "full of superstition and lies of the Devil," as one of them wrote. (Morley p. 44).

The kindred Aztec has historical records. Their writing is largely pictorial. Thus take this form (12). (Morley, *Inscriptions, etc.*, p. 37). On the left is a human body wrapped in cloths, representing a death, and the water animal on the head gives the dead man's name, Ahuitzotl. On the right is a man crowned, and the spare crown attached gives his name, Moctezuma II.

Both in Maya and in Aztec certain pictograms had acquired definite, symbolic significance. In the figure above, the rabbit head *tochtli*, was the recognized name for one day of the month: and according to custom the year took its name from the first day. The ten dots indicate the numeral ten, and this referred to the Aztec fifty-two year cycle. Thus we have here in plain language, so to speak, the statement that on the tenth year Tochtli the ruler Ahuitzotl died and was succeeded by Moctezuma II.

Again take the pictogram (13). (Morley, *Inscriptions at Copan*, p. 40). In the upper square is the fixed symbol of the year Acatl, which was the eleventh of the cycle. The H-shaped figure was the Aztec ball court, and stood as the symbol of the city Tlachquiaco. The picture shows the snow falling from a bank of clouds, and water standing in the court. The water symbol, (14) so different from our Chinese hieroglyph, was seen also on the water animal above. Here we have the record of a fall of snow at that city in the eleventh year Acatl.

The Mayan day symbol is interesting as showing a different conception from that used in the Egyptian, Sumerian, Hittite, Chinese scripts. It was five concentric circles, (17) irregularly drawn.

Some hold that in the Aztec and Maya scripts the symbols not only acquired a definite significance, but also were used phonetically to spell out words. So, e.g., says the author of the article on Mexico in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, and for authority he quotes Aubin's introduction to Brasseur's *History of Mexico*. But Cyrus Thomas, in the *Smithsonian Report* 1903, and Morley also, think this is not yet proven.



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In view of the manifest differentials of the Maya-Aztec systems we may safely conclude that they are not derived from either of the other original hieroglyphic scripts. They seem to have been evolved *de novo*, it may be at a comparatively late date. As these are developed systems, there may have been, must have been, earlier unformulated symbols of communication, hieroglyphs from which these hieroglyphs were developed. The knotted cord and notched stick era, known in the history of the other scripts, may yet be discovered in America. Indeed the twisted rope or twisted silk character, known in Egyptian and Chinese hieroglyphs (18), has a counterpart in the Maya, but in a somewhat divergent form (19). As yet there is, however, nothing in the recovered scripts on which to base relationship with the Old World

We may now conclude that the original systems of hieroglyphs were four, not five, as Taylor thought. Comparative philology is based on this classification.



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(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)

(9)

(10)

(11)

(12)

(13)

(14)

(15)

(16)

(17)

(18)

(19)



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# GREGORY LOPEZ, BISHOP

## (An Apology)

Most humble apology is due to the Editor and readers of the *New China Review* from me for having printed the life of Gregory Lopez (in Vol. I, pp. 480-487) from the *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* before I had seen or heard of the short but really more detailed notice of him in *La Hiérarchie Catholique* (Var. Sin. No. 38), 1914, by J. de Moidrey, S.J., pp. 22-25. A friend has very kindly drawn my attention to this interesting work, and I hasten to ask those who may be interested in the subject to note the following additions and corrections :—

Lopez's native names were 羅文藻, 我存. Lo Wên-tsao, O-ts'un ; not much like Huc's A-lou, but strangely like the famous Leo Li (李之藻, 我存). He was born about the year 1610, and was baptized at the age of 16. It was in 1639 that he went with the Franciscans to Macao and Manila. He entered the Dominican Order at his birth-place, Fu-an, and was ordained priest at Manila in 1656. The years of persecution when he was left alone in charge of the missions were 1665 to 1671. M. Moidrey says that the title of his bishopric should be Basilinopolis. The news of his appointment did not reach him until 1677, so that my note on p. 482 is without point ; and it is rather implied that his refusal was a matter of form. The Pope's second letter of 1679 reached Manila in 1681, and thither Lopez went for consecration in March 1683. It was not he that refused to have an Assessor, but "the Province" that, owing to his attitude on the Rites question, refused to appoint one. There is some reason to think that at this time Lopez had left his Order. At any rate it was by a Franciscan Bishop, della Chiesa, who had only reached China with J. F. a Leonisse on August 27 (or 28), 1684, that he was consecrated at Canton on April 8, 1685. He is found at 無錫 Wu-hsi and Ch'ung-ming 崇明 in 1686, and



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at Nanking and in Shantung in 1687. By a letter of March 29, 1688, he was empowered to appoint his successor, and before August 28 he had appointed his Vicar general, Leonissa, explaining very bluntly in a letter written from Hang-chou that he had been careful to choose an Italian as the only possible means of avoiding friction with the Congregation. On August 1, 1688 he ordained three Chinese Jesuits priests. He was himself, M. Moidrey says, the first Chinese priest, Bishop and Dominican, but by no means the first member of any Order, as there were fifteen Chinese Jesuits before 1634. A bull of April 10, 1690, made Lopez Bishop of Nanking, but he never used any title but his old one of Bishop of Basilea and Vicar Apostolic of Nanking. He died at or near Nanking on February 27, 1691 as is said in a letter of Joseph Suarez, S.J., dated at Peking on April 10 and quoting a letter received that day which Leonissa had written on March 4. This letter from Leonissa is perhaps the one quoted at the end of my article (pp. 486-7). Lopez was buried on May 3, 1691, at the 雨花臺 Yü hua t'ai.

M. Moidrey gives his authorities for the above statements in considerable detail, and one is all the more inclined to trust him as he is not afraid to correct himself, pointing out a long list of *Rectifications* at the end of the book; but I am sorry nevertheless to be unable to verify his statements and references for myself.

A. C. MOULE.



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# NOTES AND QUERIES

## Notes by L. C. Arlington.

Dr. Giles in his *Biog. Dict.* No. 2006, does not mention the fact that Ts'ao Mao invented the seven-character line poetry. V. 習青集.

* * *

The inventor of the four-character line poetry is said to be Wei Mêng (韋孟) who lived in the After Han dynasty. He was a native of 彭城 in Kiangsu. He was a poet and Historiographer; and owing to his offending the Emperor with his remonstrances was banished from court. *Ibid.*

There is nothing mentioned in his biography concerning the invention of the four-character line.

* * *

The reputed inventor of the three-character line poetry is Hsia Hou-chan (夏侯湛). He was famous as a poet and essayist and a bosom friend of P'an Yo (*Biog. Dict.* No. 613). Most of his poems have disappeared, and his name even is only known to the curious in literature; he invented the three-character line to perpetuate his name, but only a few fragments are scattered in various libraries, where they are scarcely disturbed even by the antiquarian. *Ibid.*

* * *

*The Manchu Emperors' sacred pearl.* There has long been a belief among the Pekingese that the Manchu Emperors had a sacred pearl which was able to ward off dust from the Emperor's body.

All my efforts to trace the origin of the legend were fruitless, until one day scanning the pages of the 閱微草堂 written by



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Chi Yün (*Biog. Dict.* No. 301), I was rewarded by discovering the origin of the pearl; which is as follows:—

A sentry patrolling the precincts of the Ch'ang Ch'un Yüan (暢春園) in Peking one moonless night suddenly noticed something sparkling in the creek; on a closer examination he observed that water was bubbling up at the exact spot where the gleam of light was; and on digging down he found a large oyster, which on being opened was found to contain two pearls joined together in the shape of a gourd. The pearls were presented to the Emperor Kang-hsi who said that they must have been sent from heaven for his special protection, so he wore them as cap-buttons. They are called the Pi ch'ên chu (避塵珠), or "keep dust off pearls." They are said to have been handed down from Emperor to Emperor and are now in the possession of the ex-Emperor Hsüan T'ung.

It may not be amiss to make a few remarks on the above-mentioned work, which may be translated "Metaphysical Researches in a Grass Hut"—taken from the name of the house the author lived in during his exile in Urumtsi, and wherein he wrote the "Researches." The work consists of a collection of short stories of ghosts and goblins, somewhat akin to the *Liao Chai Chih I*, but it cannot compare with the later work for beauty of expression; most of the stories are vulgar, obscene, and exceedingly licentious. How a man, particularly a scion of a wealthy and distinguished family considering himself a "scholar and a gentleman" could so far degrade himself as to leave behind him such a work passes comprehension. Chinese scholars pretend to enjoy it for its exquisite literary style and as a model of word-painting; forgetting altogether its immorality and consequent ill-effects, not only on their own morals, but on those of their offspring. Young China should, like Savonarola, levy contributions for another "Bonfire of Vanities," as most graphically described in the forty-ninth chapter of George Eliot's tale of *Romola*. What a holocaust of cards, dice, face-paints, false hair, licentious books, and all the paraphernalia of frivolity and vice for a Reformed China!

* * *

A term worth noticing is 含滋, e.g., 璣衡建寅萬物含滋 "when the handle of the Plough points to 寅 (in the beginning of spring) all verdure shoots forth from the earth."

* * *

No. 9603 喬夫 in Giles is also "the god of bailiffs." Another character in the Chinese Pantheon is 楊 侯 "god of the waves."



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Giles says nothing about the "classical" pens under either No. 8597 or No. 6348. The Emperor Liang Yüan Ti in 552 A.D. decreed that there must be three grades of pens (筆有三品): the 斑管筆 for use of expert calligraphists; the 金管筆 for the use of loyal and filial men; and the 銀管筆 for use of virtuous men. *V.* 留青集.

* * *

Under No. 12,571, 馬嵬坡 in Shensi, the modern 馬嵬驛 was, according to the 學圃 taken from the name of a man of the Chin (晉) State, who built a (city) wall there to protect his troops from a night attack. Although it is well-known that Yang Kuei-fei died there, the name of Ma-Wei-P'o has nothing to do with her "death" or "hanging."

* * *

No. 12,540 棘聞; according to the *Tso Chuan* in the 13th year of Duke Chao (昭公), the Ch'u 楚 State—modern Hupeh—was called 棘聞.

* * *

The T'ang Emperors followed the practice of the rulers of the 夏, 商, and 周 in bestowing land on officials in lieu of salaries; with this difference: the three dynasties above mentioned called it 圭田 on which the holder had to pay taxes; whereas, in the T'ang it was called 職田 and was exempt from tax. *V.* 隨園隨筆

* * *

*The One-Eyed Graduate.* During the Sung dynasty a man named 陳若 who held the office of senior Secretary of the Board of Revenue, and was of mediocre ability, succeeded through favouritism in taking second place in the palace examination. He was in consequence nicknamed 瞎榜; defined as the "One-Eyed graduate," hence, a *hsia pang* is one who obtains a diploma for studies through favouritism. *Ibid.*

* * *

The wife of Fan K'uei (*Biog. Dict.* No. 539) whose maiden name was 呂弟婆, was created Marquis of Linkuang (臨光侯). *Ibid.*

* * *

No. 5678 孺子 is also applied to a wife and to a concubine. According to the 國策 the marquis of Hsieh had seven favourite concubines 薛侯所寵七孺子妾也; and the 師古註 records that Liu Hsi the marquis of Tung Ch'êng met his death



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at the hands of his wife: 東城侯爲蠶子所殺妻也. Another authority, the 杜預註 states that 南蠶子 was the wife of Tso-ch'iu Ming (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2024).

* * *

The Third moon is also called 竹月; this term is frequently given in the newspapers, but is not to be found in any dictionary. I cannot discover the origin of the term, but it is probably owing to the fact that the first young bamboo shoots forth from the earth during spring.

* * *

According to the 馬總傳 the 國子監 (Giles' *Dict.* No. 1640) Imperial Academy was established during the reign of the Emperor 大業 of the Sui dynasty in A.D. 605; hence, no 監生 existed before that date.

* * *

Under No. 8588 式 should be prefixed to 貧版 because the census tables were "reverenced" by the Emperor when they were submitted to him. According to the 論語, before paper came into use it was the custom for the census-takers to travel about with a board strapped on the back, on which they recorded the number of the population. It being the practice of the Emperor to make obeisance when receiving the boards, the people when they saw a census-taker coming along, stood "respectfully" aside.

* * *

*Republic versus Monarchy.* The proportion of civil to military officers to-day under the Republic compares favourably with that in the Ming dynasty. I am of course, alluding to times of peace. China is not at war, yet what do we see? According to the 明史 chap. 劉體乾傳 during the Han dynasty there were only 7,500 military and civil officials all told; during the T'ang the number had increased to 18,000. In the Sung there were 34,000; but in the 5th year of the Ming Emperor 成化 A.D. 1470, there were 80,000 military and only 20,000 civil officers; or 4 military to 1 civil. Unfortunately the proportion of civil to military officers during the Han, T'ang and Sung are not given.

The large proportion of military to civil officers during times of peace however, points a moral for the Republic, and for all those who may be inclined to favour militarism. During the Ming (as now under the Republic), selfish material interests and their class representatives were very strong; popular power was weak; the soldier was the master The Mings were not



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at war when the military predominated, and was probably the cause of their eventual downfall; they were from that fact alone preparing for it. Is the Republic with its predominant military prestige following in the footsteps of the Ming ?

* * *

*Ichabod.* During the reign of the Sung Emperor 太祖 all those military officers who were superannuated or otherwise disqualified, were relegated to the palace and made to perform menial duties. These were called 剩員 "Surplus burdens." *V.* 通考.

* * *

Chinese place names have been changed so often that it is difficult to keep track of them. For ancient geographical purposes it is best however, to notice them when they are discovered.

Kuangling (廣陵) was the ancient name of Chêkiang and so was Yangchow. Chêkiang was also called 曲江, and so was the ancient name of the modern prefecture 韶州 in Kuangtung. The old name of 長安 was also 曲江 and 陪州. The character 陪 (not in Giles' *Dict.*) means a ladder, sound of 該 and 陪. *V.* 枚乘七發觀書 And the 二世賦 by 司馬相如 According to the 升菴外集 chap. 羅刹江賦 the district of 錢塘 in Chêkiang was also called 曲江.

* * *

The official rank of *T'ung p'an* 通判, dates from the Sung dynasty. The Emperor T'ai Tsu did away with 藩鎮 the generals in charge of the frontiers and created and appointed officers with the rank of 通判 to supersede them. They also had jurisdiction over the 刺史; hence, they had both military and civil rank of a high order. It was only during the Ming dynasty that they were subordinated to a lower rank as at present —i.e., assistant sub-Prefect. The epistolary title *Pieh chia* 別駕, which is synonymous with *T'ung p'an*, originated with the famous poet Su Tung-po who wrote the following to his friend 子由: 杭州別駕無功勞.

* * *

According to the 留青新集 Shih Chou (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1707) invented altogether 540 of the Greater Seal characters.

* * *

*A few Chinese Puzzles.* (1) 鴻紀 Sacrifice to the goose. In the Chin history, chap 江鄧傳 it is stated that the Emperor ordered an altar to be made for the wild goose so that he could sacrifice to it. What was the reason for this sacrifice ? (2).



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The T'ang history records that in the 2nd year of K'ai Yüan (開 原) the Emperor gave a banquet to an "old retainer" in the 含 元 殿. Who was the "old retainer"? (3). In the Chou shu (周 書) it is stated that there was a "bawling-out-official at Yochou" 大 呼 藥 州 呼 藥 之 官. What is a *hu yao chih kuan*? (4). In the Tung Han history it is stated that the Emperor used the following words: 飛 蓬 隨 風 微 子 所 歎. Who was Wei Tzŭ, and why did he sigh? (5) In the Chin history, chap. 樂 論 occurs the following: 君 子 惡 大 陵 之 歌 北 里 之 舞. The songs of Ta Ling were probably licentious, and the dances at Pei Li took place among the demi-monde. Can any one give an explanation? (6). In the Sui history; chap. 帝 紀 the following is recorded: 形 湯 之 所 文 命. Hsing T'ang would appear to be the name of a place; but what about the rest of the sentence? (7). Connected with the above is: 動 威 雷 門 之 閫. Lei mên would also appear to be the name of a place; but what was the dignified or majestic movement that took place there?

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In copies of this issue sent out from the Office a slip has been inserted to notify that further numbers will not be sent unless a definite order for the year is sent in. This will hardly apply to American and European subscribers, but they also should send their orders at once. At the present cost of printing it is desirable to know beforehand how many copies are required; but besides this the *Review* has no wish to be obtrusive and force this year's issue on last year's subscribers. Those who value it will not think the sending of a postcard to order it for the year is too much trouble.

* * *

It is with the deepest regret that we record the death in March of the Rev. W. A. Cornaby. Our readers will share in this regret, recalling the several most interesting papers contributed by Mr. Cornaby to this *Review*, the latest having appeared in our December number last year. His death is a great loss to that diminishing number of missionaries who study and understand China and the Chinese.

* * *

We are sorry to learn that Prof. de Saussure will not be able to send the article promised for the *Review*, on account of a serious breakdown in health.



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# RECENT LITERATURE

*The Pageant of Peking*. Photographs by Donald Mennie and Introduction by Putnam Weale. Shanghai: A. S. Watson & Co., 1920, $35.00

This exquisite book seems quite a gift of the gods. The lovely pictures, the illuminating Introduction, the elegant letter-press and paper, the original and appropriate cover, combine to form a thing of beauty to which one returns again and again. The usual neglected splendour of editions *de luxe* is not possible in this case, for if one possesses a copy one's less fortunate friends will bring *their* friends to see it.

Until recent years there was a great lack for Westerners of precise information about Peking. Before the Revolution such information was mostly unobtainable owing to the apprehensions and misapprehensions with which foreigners as such were regarded by Court and people; but now reliable books on the capital, and pictures of its places of interest are making their appearance.

It is well it should be so; for the Peking of the Manchus is changing before our eyes. Atrocious new erections in supposed foreign style, an insult alike to East and West and clashing painfully with their surroundings, are on the increase; while many of the most beautiful native buildings are more or less decaying. Indeed, with the exception of the Confucian Temple, which piety keeps in good repair, and the Summer Palace (Wan Shou-shan), which is comparatively new, we see with pain that the former glory has vanished, or is vanishing. Nor is this strange: in the present state of exchequer and politics, money cannot sentimentally be expended on old buildings, as such; the spirit of the time also is against the cult of Imperial monuments or the upkeep of Buddhist temples and the like; and in the rigorous North China climate neglect is a speedy precursor of ruin. Again,



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the very site of Peking for a capital is now an anachronism in the view of many Chinese, however convenient in far off days; and if a more central metropolis is chosen, the northern city will suffer further neglect, if not complete eclipse. With these thoughts in mind, therefore, we welcome this delightful book for historical as well as æsthetic reasons. With this in hand future generations will be able to see how Peking looked, for example when the West forced her to receive its messengers, say between 1860—the date of the Treaty of Tientsin—and 1911, the year of the fall of the Manchus.

If these pictures, as pictures, could be improved, it is not this reviewer who could say how; they seem as beautiful as any can be which do not show the marvellous colouring that, after the magnificent distances, is the most obvious charm of Peking. The artist—for such the photographer is—has been specially sensitive to the æsthetic value of the many gateways and noble old trees; and the sympathetic studies of the common people give that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin. It does, however, appear to us a slight defect that the same border should be used both for the black and white and the sepia prints.

It goes without saying that those will most appreciate the book who know Peking best, and also that no two such persons would wish for quite the same selection of views;—from an anthology to a recipe-book, we all want our own favourites included. Therefore for any to say there should have been fewer roads or coolies or temples, and more of something else, is only an *obiter dictum*; yet we wish it had been possible to include something of the Ming Tombs in addition to the five-arched *p'ai lou*, and that something of the Manchu mausolea might have been shown, the more so as these are difficult of access.

As to the Introduction, the writer has wisely written for the average person, and in a rapid sketch has given the outline of Peking's history from the earliest time; strangely enough he stops short with Ch'ien Lung and then goes on to the general aspect of the city and neighbourhood to-day.

It is well for us of the West, who only know China in her weakness to have recalled to us her ancient glories under the Mongols, and the Mings and the earlier Manchus. Under which was Peking most glorious, we wonder. Under Kubilai Khan or Yang Lo or Ch'ien Lung? Each has his strong claims.

The world, it is true, mostly thinks of Mongols as destroyers, not as builders, and still less as beautifiers. Did not Chenghiz Khan—Kubilai's own grandfather—traverse half Asia with fire and sword? Did he not raze city after city to the ground, not



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from mere vandalism, but from a stern belief that they were hotbeds of luxury, effeminacy and vice, cumbering what ought to have been grazing ground for decent nomad folk? Did he not utterly destroy Chung Tu, on this very site of Peking when he conquered the Golden Horde? The Mongols were rough men of the wilds, ill at ease within walls, and Kubilai Khan himself laid out his new city of Khanbalig like a mighty camp, with great roads for his men, and wide spaces for his horses and camels. Indeed, were it not for the unimpeachable witness of Marco Polo, one might well hesitate to believe in the glories of the great Khan's capital; that testimony, however, is final. It was natural that a native of Venice should have been struck with the vast scale of Khanbalig, a city twenty-four miles in circuit, for in no place on earth was space more precious than in "the glorious city in the sea"; but that one who had been accustomed to hear mass in St. Mark's, and to view the Doge's Palace, and the "Wedding of the Adriatic" in the palmiest days of Venice, and who had withal travelled through many lands—that such a man can find no fitting words to praise Khanbalig, is proof positive that its splendours were real and regal indeed. To it, in fact, half Asia brought tribute, and all the arts and crafts of China and the spoils of the Southern Sungs were at the Great Khan's command.

But Peking, perhaps, was still more glorious under Yung Lo. This great Ming monarch to whom the name of "Peking" is due, working on the noble ground-plan and foundations of Kubilai made his "northern capital" lovely with the landscape gardening and winding canals and picturesque bridges of his early home in Mid-China; and there are many who will think that there must have been more refinement of ideas and workmanship and less merely barbaric splendour under the purely Chinese dynasty than under the Yüans.

Or shall we say, as this book says, that Peking was most glorious under the sway of Kang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung? With Mongolia re-united to the Empire, and Manchuria and Tibet added; with the tribute not only from Siam and Annam, but from Burma and Nepaul brought more regularly than ever before—countries with exquisite arts of their own to add to those of the Chinese; with an encouragement given to literature and art such as the Mongols did not dream of and Yung Lo could not rival; this was perhaps the acme of the city's greatness. Alas! none of the three was considerate enough to leave us a Pageant of the Peking they made and enjoyed, so we shall never know.

A closer acquaintance with the Pageant of *our* Peking, has revealed several minor errors. The Lama Temple is in every case



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misspelt the Llama Temple; whereas a llama is, of course, a Peruvian quadruped. Again, the "Ocean Terrace" is *Ying T'ai*, not *Ying Tai*; and the *Tan Chueh Ssu* (sic) is surely the *Ta Chueh Ssŭ* (大覺寺). In this connection we would protest against the increasing use of *ssu* for Wade's *ssŭ*. The sound intended is very simple, and adequately represented in French by the reflexive "se"; and it is, of course, the last syllable in such names as Llassa or Vanessa. *Ssŭ* is a useful symbol for it, but the diacritic mark is necessary to show the *u* is to be taken in "a Pickwickian sense."

The one serious criticism of the book we have to offer is its lack of cohesion. What order, if any, has been observed as to the pictures we have not discovered. For example, three of the most exquisite of them, those of the Pi Yün Ssŭ, are in three different places. Moreover, the monograph, though valuable, has practically no direct connection with the pictures.

We are ashamed to ask for more where so much has been given, but we venture to wish that a groundplan of Peking had been provided showing where the places depicted are; and that to some at least of the pictures a few words of explanation had been added. It is always difficult to know how much knowledge may be taken for granted in one's readers; but we think most people's ignorance of things Chinese is pretty thorough. Many copies of this book have gone to Europe, to benighted folk who think a "temple" or a "palace" ought to be one large pile, and do not dream that in China either of these words means a number of buildings around various courtyards, generally one behind another, which it is impossible to photograph except piecemeal, e.g., the Lama Temple has seven of these courts, of which the pictures No. XLIII and XII show us only portions.

Again, for those who do not know something of China how much more thrilling are the pictures XLV and LV when we learn they represent in part that exquisite, unhappy island to which the emperor was sent after the *coup d'état* in 1898—and where at last, after many tribulations, his soul passed to peace. And how interesting to be told that the wonderfully carved but un-Chinese-looking archway at Chü Yung Kuan (No. XIV) is in the Nank'ou Pass (of all places!) and bears those inscriptions in six languages some of which have so puzzled the archeologists.

Even to learn that Pi Yün Ssŭ means the "Temple of the Azure Cloud" is helpful; and how is any one to know what such names as Chü Yung Kuan mean when there is neither translation nor character?

Perhaps in the second edition, which we expect will be quickly called for, some of these favours may be granted. We are sure



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they would make the book more interesting and instructive; more beautiful it cannot be.

Messrs. Kelly & Walsh are responsible for the printing, etc., and they have never done better work, nor has any other firm in the Far East.

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*The History of Shanghai.* By G. Lanning—S. Couling. Vol. I. Printed and published for the Shanghai Municipal Council by Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. 1921. ($7.50).

This work has been long looked for and the appearance of the first volume will be very welcome to all who are interested in the Settlement. Mr. Lanning was one of our most useful and respected fellow-townsmen, and his sudden death when this volume at which he had laboured so long was near completion was a thing to touch the heart of the community.

At the same time a book must be reviewed on its merits, and we shall notice some faults in this posthumous work with the same frankness that we should have used had the author been alive.

The History proper does not begin till page 256—more than half-way through the volume. The previous 28 chapters are concerned with various introductory matter, beginning with the question "Whence come the Chinese people?" and concluding with an essay on extraterritoriality. We cannot think the history of the foreign Settlements required so long and wide an introduction. But Mr. Lanning seems to have regarded himself not as a mere compiler but as an historian in the wider sense, a philosophical interpreter of events and of civilizations. Now it is not unkind to say that he was not fitted for this part either by natural gifts or by prolonged and strenuous study. His reading does not seem to have been wide, though quotations from many works are given, and the references show that he depended more on primers, epitomes and encyclopædias than on great original works. It is not apparent that he ever read, for example, Marco Polo or De Groot; and the kind of book he did read and absorb was the flashy and famous but now much discredited *History of Civilization* by Buckle. The result is that whenever he is not narrating facts we are annoyed by amateurish philosophy and superficial judgements.

As a mere example of the plane on which he read and thought, the work refers to the late Dr. Richard as "one of our greatest authorities on China and the Chinese," and speaks of the Christian "antagonism to science which Dr. Richard so rightly regrets." Now Dr. Richard will hardly be claimed by his most affectionate admirers—of whom he has so many—as a great authority on China;



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and in the great conflict between science and faith his regrets hardly deserve to be singled out for mention above those of a thousand more important thinkers.

Throughout the introduction there is a strong but not very intelligent animus against dogmatic Christianity; which seems surely uncalled for and out of place in a History of Shanghai. The language used is severe. "The double despot of Church and State" is spoken of as the "first of all evils in the West" (p. 4). "Clerical trickery," "the fetters of faith," "the poison of priestcraft," are other strong phrases. As to the Bible, we read of "its possible infinity of good" and "its actual infinity of evil;"—"the world's greatest blessing and mankind's greatest curse;" and China is happy in having had no Bible. Intelligent men, we are told, agree on two statements; "there never was a fall of man" and "there never was a miracle." We are puzzled to know what place all these prejudiced pronouncements and all this shallow rhetoric can have in a history of the Settlement, for certainly the community here has never been torn by religious controversy nor, indeed, has it ever been much exercised over religious matters.

But apart from the irrelevance we have another objection to the intrusion of such discussions. There is a coarse proverb, "It's a dirty bird that fouls its own nest." Many Chinese will read the book; is it wise to expose the fact that" three-fourths of European people in these days never see the inside of a place of worship" except at a wedding, etc.; to tickle their sense of superiority by declaring dogmatic Christianity a failure (p. 43) while Confucianism "turns to truth as a sunflower to the sun" (p. 41); by dwelling most unfairly on the fact of religious persecution? The writer says "If she [China] has seen an *auto-da-fé* now and then, it has been political rather than religious:" and it is a very characteristic sentence, for *auto-da-fé* is not the term for a political holocaust, while the "if" and the "now and then" sound sadly satirical to those who have read of the fearful slaughter of prisoners in earlier Chinese history or can remember the fate of the Manchu garrisons only ten years ago. "No Holy Inquisition has ever stained her soil with the blood of her best and bravest"—but none the less it has been constantly done by other agencies. Our author himself in a somewhat patronising paragraph about missionaries (p. 34) says some "have suffered the pains, torments and trials of Fox's *Book of Martyrs* . . . for China has added her full quota to the 'noble army' and so must take her stand in that respect with Spain, England and the rest." And apart from Christian martyrs there has been far more of religious persecution in China than the author has been willing to fairly admit.



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The right position seems to be to admit and deplore that Church history is full of policies, events and teachings which are unchristian ; but to recall that it is "by their fruits ye shall know them ; that Western civilization with its strong Christian element is superior to Confucian with all its admirable possibilities, is a fact we must hold to. When we look at the poverty and ignorance of the masses in China, the position of woman, the corruption of officialdom and the weakness of the country, we say Christian civilization with all its drawbacks has done better than this for mankind. We may have much to learn from the East but we have far more to teach.

It is not only in the question of religion that the writer "gives the show away," if we may for once use that vulgar expression. We have often enough been irritated by thoughtless talkers who answered every criticism on Chinese backwardness by saying we were just as bad a century or a millenium ago. But here we have the argument elaborated in print and worked to death. Not only were our roads no better than Chinese a certain time back, and education and sanitation ; but even "anti-foreign feeling was every whit as pronounced in English history as in Chinese. "Drugs were in constant use and opium was almost as common as alcohol." The writer takes much pains and space to prove that bribery and corruption in England were once as bad as now in China ; and it is the same with respect to our prisons, our system of punishments, torture, etc., etc.

The reply to all this is that Europe has advanced beyond that stage, and without outside help has always striven for progress. Japan too, seeing the civilization of the West, has adopted much of it, made progress and become strong. Whereas China, in spite of the help she might so easily get, in spite of the example set her by her neighbour, in spite of the boasted age-old civilization on which she might have built, remains as weak and corrupt as ever.

Of course the author now and then trims and speaks of China as it really is; but throughout there is a desire to minimise all that is evil and to compromise on every point where plain speaking might offend.

The reason of this attitude is that the writer thinks it necessary to waste several chapters in proving that the Chinese are of the same flesh and blood as the rest of mankind. We are easily convinced of this without the point being so laboured : it is the Chinese who are loth to admit it. Various similar customs, in China and England, are compared. "Resemblances religious,



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political and linguistic" are given in detail. "There are others in law," which are given us in more detail.

But the most remarkable and the most unfortunate chapter in the book is Ch. VI, on "The Evidence of Language." We do not go to a History of Shanghai to learn Grimm's Law; and all the general philology in the chapter is of the most elementary order. But Mr. Lanning was struck with the resemblance in sound between many Chinese and English words; he made a collection of some 300 examples and they somehow got printed in the Journal of our local Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Resemblances there are of course; but whether they are accidental or show an original unity of speech is a question which only a trained philologist can profitably discuss. It requires a knowledge of Chinese, which Mr. Lanning disclaimed; further, knowledge of Chinese dialects and of the history of the changes in the language; and a wide if not deep acquintance with both Indo-European and other groups of tongues. Dr. Edkins perhaps did some harm to philological studies by methods that seemed wild; but he was a real student; Mr. Lanning's attempts will, we fear, provoke some ridicule. We are asked to believe for instance, that the O in the ancient Oceanus *may* be connected with 河 *ho*, a stream; and because sincerity is a matter of the heart, it is associated with the Chinese *hsin* 心 the heart. Why "sincerity" should be chosen we do not know, for "sin" is also a matter of the heart! We will not quote more, but only express regret that such puerile attempts at science should be found in such a work as this.

We cannot but call attention to the "might-have-beens" which are so tempting to many a historian. What would have been the state of the world if Napoleon had conquered at Waterloo; or if Columbus had died and been thrown overboard on his voyage west? And so on might be asked *ad libitum*. But our author goes too far when he asserts that it has been well for Europe that China was a long way off, because otherwise our persecuted Brunos, Galileos, Huxleys, Spencers and Darwins might have taken refuge within her borders; might have "endowed her capable sons with that scientific insight which was so lacking in China;" then "where would the West have been today?" We can only imagine with amusement the stalwart Huxley bolting from the horrid persecutions of Gladstone to find peace in Peking; or Darwin with a Chinese teacher trying to get enough Chinese to impart scientific insight to the natives. As the writer wisely concludes, "It is impossible to say what might or might not have happened." Yet he might have recalled the experiences of Ricci, Schall and Verbiest.



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Another point which we find more amusing than convincing is that we are apparently scolded for being so late on the scene compared with the Chinese. After mentioning the (mythical) origin of marriage in B.C. 2852 it is solemnly said "We wonder what and where our ancestors were at that early date." The expression on p. 60, "the lagging West," does not mean that we do not move quickly, but that we came late. Confucianism "calls for right doing for right's sake, thus antedating Tennyson by more than two milleniums ;" as though the Western world waited for Alfred Tennyson to teach this morality, and as though we did not learn it till 2,000 years later than the Chinese ! It is not by absolute dates of chronology that nations must be judged but by relative. It matters little whether a man is born in the eighteenth century or the nineteenth ; but if at sixty years of age he is no wiser than a later born youth of twenty he stands condemned : and so with nations.

There are various other matters we should like to discuss, as, for instance the statement that "most of the *fear* which formerly attached itself to ancestral worship has now disappeared ;" but we have said enough to show that the preliminary part of the volume contains much that is interesting even if it is but shallow, adding nothing to our previous knowledge, and even if it is quite out of place in an official account of the Settlement of Shanghai.

As to the second half of the work, when the author gets to his legitimate task we are happy to be able to praise it. It is full of the most interesting information, and as the author or compiler had access to all the necessary documents it may all be regarded as correct, while at the same time the official narrative is made lively by more intimate additions from many sources. The volume brings the history down to about 1857 ; there can be very few still alive who remember those early years in Shanghai, and still fewer who are resident here. Mr. E. Jenner Hogg died while the book was in the press, and we do not know who succeeds him as oldest resident. But all later comers must enjoy reading about the rise of the Settlement in which they now find so much to criticize : let them learn how hardly their privileges have been acquired; with what difficulties their predecessors had to strive ; and thankfulness will be increased and pride in our present Model Settlement. Especially in Britons will this pride be felt, since to their hard work are due nearly all the advantages which are enjoyed to-day by all alike.

That a more careful reading will discover errors and faults in the historical part of the work is probable ; but we hope the continuation will be as satisfactory as the account of the Settle-



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ment's first two decades. We can do without amateur philosophy but we shall enjoy exact and readable history such as Mr. Lanning has given in the second half of the book.

We are bound to point out some short-comings in the volume apart from the text. Why in the text is no indication given by star or figure of the passages which are annotated? It would be a great improvement too if the chapter heading appeared at the top of each page instead of 900 repetitions of "The History of Shanghai." But these blemishes, with the too numerous misprints, are trifles which do not weigh against the value of the work. It must not be omitted to be mentioned that there are some capital illustrations, of extreme interest.

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*Israel's Messenger*, February issue.

This bi-monthly continues its regular course. The present number gives a report of the dedication of the new synagogue by Rabbi Hirsch, and it has a good deal of interesting and instructive matter, both local and gathered from the whole Jewish world.

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*M.A.B.* Fisher Unwin, London. 1/- per ann.

This is received regularly and is always welcome though it seldom has anything of special value to students of Chinese. It is 'mainly about books,' and for those who wish to know about new literature its London Letter is admirable.

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Note on the review of "Fragments of Confucian Lore," in *The New China Review*, December, 1920, pp. 600-1.

The reviewer is of the band of those who find that on the whole Confucius does not repay study; his wisdom is on a level with that of Martin Tupper, though he is an interesting figure as the prophet of so great a people. As one who is constantly engaged, with both pleasure and profit, in re-reading the Four Books, I venture to put in a mild protest. The unhappy 10th book of the Analects is referred to,—this is sure to be the chief piece of evidence whenever anyone wants to enforce the doctrine that the Sage is stale, flat and unprofitable. I remember many years ago hearing a scornful reference to the platitudes of this book by Dr. Smythe at a meeting of the Ningpo Missionary Association; that was my introduction to this particular heresy. The same indictment appears in Soothill's "A Mission in China"; later Mr. Soothill made ample amends in the preface to his translation of the Analects, where he speaks of "this fine old Classic," and calls Confucius



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"China's greatest gentleman, whose company I have found edifying to the character." The keenest scorn of all, perhaps, is found in Bret Harte's famous skit, quoted by Giles in his Glossary of Reference. What causes doubts of the value of the Sage? The reviewer thinks it cannot be loss in translation, for we read the Bible in translation, and Plato as well, and are uplifted thereby. And yet it may well be that the latter two works are so far superior to Confucius, or to his reporters, that translation still leaves enough to enthuse us in the one case without doing it in the other. (Cf. De Quincey. "The great ideas of the Bible protect themselves. The heavenly truths, by their own imperishableness, defeat the mortality of languages with which for a moment they are associated.") Certainly Confucius loses more by translation into English than do the Bible and Plato. Moreover our translations of the Bible are the result of centuries of scholarly and literary effort. The good has been selected and increased, the evil has been purged away; and the work, done under the impetus of a mighty religious inspiration, had a force behind it that was bound to find its way into the result. As for Plato, he has been translated by men of literary power, whose imaginations were kindled by his ideas, and who were impelled to put him into an English dress that would arrest and inspire men whether they would or no. Take the number of men who were of the first grade both as linguists and as exponents of literary taste and power, who have been at work on Greek translation; take at the same time the body of our inheritance of some centuries of classical studies, which is at the service of the translator of Plato; and then compare the modest hand of scholars devoted to sinology and the inheritance we have from them, dealing as they were with a culture much farther from us than was ever that of Greece. After having done so, one has some understanding of the reason why the Analects are not as worth reading in English as are the Bible and Plato. Dr. Legge's translation filled the righteous soul of Mr. Ku Hung-ming with anguish, and he attempted a translation of his own; but the scholar shrugs his shoulders over the result, which is not always happy, even on the literary side. Finally, we may emphasize what was suggested above,—that even when other things are equal, Confucius loses more in translation than do the Bible and Plato. We should compare the best of the one with the best of the other; granted some platitudes and dreary stretches in Confucius; yet the other works are not all on a high literary level. Because of the difference in the genius of the two languages, the English cannot possibly convey the wealth of meaning that is suggested



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by the Chinese, especially when beside the sententiousness of Confucius we follow the pellucid stream of Chu-hsi. What appears vapid crass platitude in English, or mere eccentricity of thought, often makes a very different impression in Chinese. Some may say that if the ideas were great, they would be attractive in any style ; but this I cannot agree to be a just judgment.

HARRISON K. WRIGHT.



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# THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

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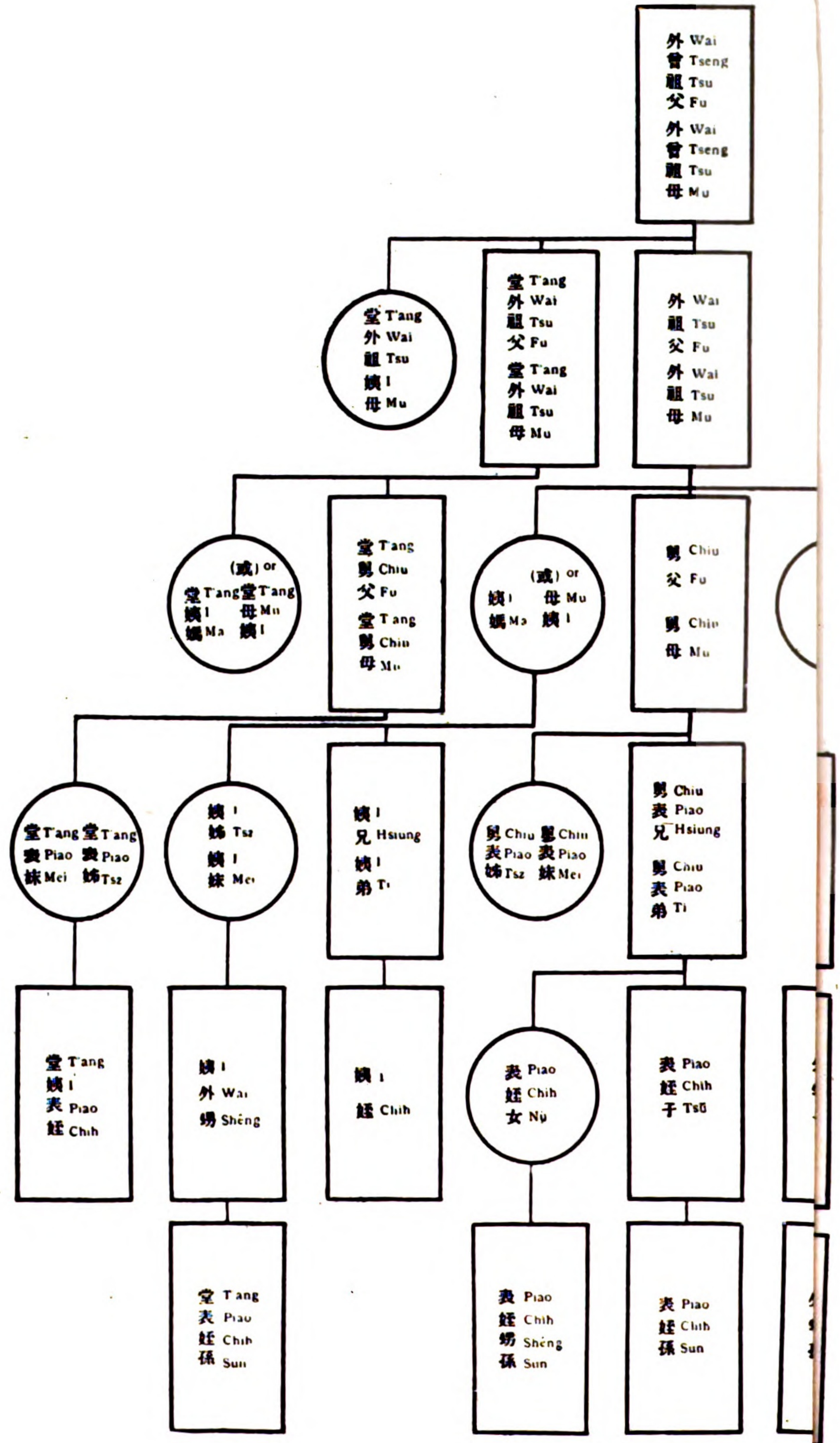


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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. III. JUNE, 1921 No. 3.

# CHINESE FAMILY NOMENCLATURE AND ITS SUPPOSED RELATION TO A PRIMITIVE GROUP-MARRIAGE

BY
H. P. WILKINSON, B.C.L.

The 'Classificatory System of Relationships' noticed first as in use by the Iroquois, and later found to be used by many other American-Indian tribes, is the foundation upon which Professor Morgan, who discovered and classified the terms used, built his theory of the normal advance of the human family from promiscuity, through the cohabitation of brother and sister, the communal family, and the tribal organization, to the marriage of single pairs, and later, through polygamy and polyandry, to the modern family.*

What Morgan found was that among many races the same word or words were used to indicate not only one relative of the speaker but several, that for instance, in the 'Malayan System,' the fifth of the stages thrcugh which he supposed the human family to have passed, "All the brothers of my father and of my mother are my fathers, and all the sisters of my father and of my mother are mothers." †

* Morgan. *Systems of Consanquinity & Affinity of the Human Family.*

† McLennan. *Studies in Ancient History and Primitive Marriage.* 1876. p. 338.



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Morgan thought that this classing together of relatives who, under the 'descriptive system' as in use in modern civilizations, have a separate and distinct appellation, arose from, and was a proof of a once allowed cohabitation between the persons included in the same class-name ; and that the system of relationship indicated by the class name was, or had been, a system of blood-relationship.

McLennan in his *Studies in Ancient History and Primitive Marriage* dealt severely with Morgan's theory ; and he pointed out, incidentally, that although promiscuity, and life in a communal family, might lead to uncertainty as to who a man's father was, and so lead to several persons being called 'father', it could not explain how several persons could be a man's mother.

This criticism of Morgan's explanation of the social facts which he held his 'classificatory system of relationships' to connote cannot, however, be applied to the many 'mothers' of the system as explained by Sir J. G. Frazer ; who in dealing in his *Totemism and Exogamy*, with the plural forms of the Melanesian words meaning mother, husband, wife and child says :

" Here as elsewhere the application of the classificatory system of relationship is only intelligible on the hypothesis that there was a time in the history of the race when a group of women were the common wives of a group of men, and when all the men were the "fathers" and all the women were the "mothers" of all the children born of the group marriage, these terms "father" and "mother" signifying merely that the persons so designated were members of intermarrying groups, not at all that they had begotten or borne, as the case might be, all the children whom they called their sons and daughters. Unless we can thus distinguish the classificatory sense of these terms from our own, it is vain to attempt to understand the primitive history of marriage."*

Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage* published in 1903, says of Morgan's views, in the same connection :—

" It is conceivable that uncertainty as regards fatherhood might have led a savage to call several men his fathers, but an analogous reason could never have induced him to name several women his mother."†

In dealing with the stages through which he conjectured human family life had passed on its way toward monogamy, Morgan beginning with 'Promiscuous Intercourse' as the first

* Sir J. G. Frazer. *Totemism and Exogamy.* Vol. 11, p. 74.
† Westermarck. *The History of Human Marriage.* p 89.



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stage,—'The Intermarriage or co-habitation of Brothers and Sisters' as the second,—'The Communal Family' as the third,—'The Hawaiian Custom' as the fourth,—the 'Malayan Form' of the Classificatory System as the fifth,— and 'The Tribal Organization' as the sixth, treats Chinese family relationships, as he knew of them, and those of the Hindus, and those of the North American Indians (his special study) as evidencing a form of family life seventh in an age-long ascent upwards from Promiscuity and, as a stage in development lower than his next stage, that of 'Marriage between Single Pairs.' Professor Morgan styled this seventh stage in his scheme 'The Turanian and Ganowanian systems of relationship': the 'Turanian' including a Chinese phase of human family life as he supposed it to have existed; and the 'Ganowanian' being a phase of family life evidenced, as he held, by terms of relationship used by the Indian tribes of North America.

P. G. von Möllendorff in his *Family Law of the Chinese* revised and reprinted in 1896, comments on Starcke's discussion of, and views as to, the terms of Chinese relationship. Had the scheme of his work permitted a detailed examination of the 'Chinese Classificatory System' as set out in McLennan's and Starcke's Tables, von Möllendorff would, without doubt, have pointed out once and for all their misunderstanding, inevitable indeed in view of the materials upon which those authorities worked, and the consequent unsoundness of the conclusions drawn by them and subsequent writers from the same materials, in so far, at any rate, as the Chinese family is concerned.

All that von Möllendorff says by way of criticism is:—"C. N. Starcke (*The Primitive Family*, p. 201-3, 206, 298) discusses the different terms of Chinese relationship, but his authorities were not free from error."*

Von Möllendorff's reason for leaving the matter thus may indeed have been that, of the three authorities on matters Chinese whom he mentions as having written on Chinese relationship, namely G. Schlegel, A. J. May, and G. Jamieson, Mr. May of the Hongkong Civil Service had in 1881, in *The China Review*, Vol. XXI, published such a careful and full list and explanation of the terms used, in the Cantonese dialect, to designate Chinese family relationships that he, von Möllendorff, considered it unnecessary to further deal with a supposed Chinese use of the 'classificatory system of relationships' as accepted and built on by eminent ethnologists.

* P. G. von Möllendorff. *The Family Law of the Chinese*. p. 5.



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That some further explanation of the Chinese designations of the members of a family, with special reference to the 'classificatory system' of Morgan, and the social facts which it has been taken as evidence of, is necessary is shown by the fact that Professor Letourneau in *The Evolution of Marriage*, relying on Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity* as his authority, says :—

"In China the language itself attests the ancient existence of a marriage contracted by a group of brothers having their wives in common, but not marrying their sisters. A Chinaman always calls the sons of his brother his 'sons,' whilst he considers those of his sisters nephews ; but the virtual, or rather fictitious fathers, brothers, and sons are distinguished from the real fathers, brothers and sons by the epithet 'class' added to their appellation."*

A Chinese father does not "always" call the sons of his brothers his 'sons' ; in fact he never does so unless he has adopted one of them as his own son on the death, or failure, of natural male offspring of his own. In that case even, the adopted son is referred to, and refers to himself, by terms which indicate that he is an adopted son ; and further the appropriate terms so used mark the difference between a person adopted from amongst the members of one's own family and an outside person with a different surname from one's own.

In Chinese tables of kindred the character 子 TZU (the tsze of Morgan, and of Starcke) is, as a suffix and in combination with other characters, used to denote a male relative of a certain nearness to the 'Ipse' (己身 CHI SHEN or 本身 PEN-SHEN) of such tables. Thus my brother's son is in such tables of kindred designated by the characters 姪 CHIH alone, or 姪子 CHIH-TZU. My sister's son is in such tables designated by the characters 外甥 WAI-SHENG, or 外甥子 WAI-SHENG-TZU. In the designation of both kinds of nephew, the brother's son and the sister's son, and in that of many other male relatives in Chinese tables of kindred where, in any case, such an indication of sex is necessary for clearness, the character 子 TZU is used as a suffix meaning 'male.'

The same character 子 TZU in the sense of 'the boy' of the family is used by itself alone in some tables of kindred as a short indication of the son of the Ipse of the tables.

It is to be noted that another compound Chinese character having the same sound 'CHIH,' but formed by the character 儿 JEN meaning 'man' (written as 亻 when used, as here, to the left

* Ch. Letourneau. *The Evolution of Marriage*, p. 323-4(4th edit. 1914)



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of another character with which it is combined) and the character 至 CHIH meaning 'reach' is often used in Chinese tables of kindred, instead of 姪, to indicate the child of a brother, an agnatic nephew.

The character 兒 ERH is used in China as a noun of common gender meaning 'child': thus a parent addressing either a son or daughter might say 'WO-TI-ERH 我的兒, my child. This wo-ti, my, is the 'wote' prefixed in Morgan's Table III (Starcke's Table X) to the names of relatives in China as there given.

The same character 兒 ERH is also used in some Chinese tables of kindred instead of, or as an alternative synonym of 子 TZU, in combination with varying other characters as denoting a male as distinguished from a female relative, whose relation in the family to oneself is indicated by the various other characters to which TZU or ERH, is affixed. This ERH is the 'IR' of Morgan's and of Starcke's Tables.

It was a misunderstanding by Morgan of the Chinese use of ERH (IR) which led Starcke to say: "In the closest degree of kinship *ir* and *neu* define the family relationship; *ir-tze* or 'boy child' is a son, and *neu-ir* or 'maiden-child' is a daughter; it is therefore the term for kinship, while tsze and neu only appear to indicate the sex." Starcke himself had not grasped the meaning of ERH, as he continues "Morgan is unable to decide how far the latter words, when the '*ir*' is omitted, still signify 'son' and 'daughter' or if the unexpressed *ir* is to be understood." *

Neither the character TZU nor the character ERH, the use of which by themselves in tables of kindred indicates, as we have seen, the male descendant, 'the boy' of the family, are in some such tables used to indicate one's own son.

Thus Father Pierre Hoang in his great work *Le Mariage Chinois au Point de Vue Légal*, in his Tables of Kindred as stated for reference as to the different degrees of mourning to be worn in China for one's relatives, uses the character 男 NAN to indicate one's own son.

In May's Table of Chinese Relationships, already referred to, the characters for the 'general' term for 'son' are given as 男仔 N'AM TSAI, in Pekingese NAN TZU, the little son. The 'colloquial' term for 'son' is given by May as 仔 TSAI, the little one.

The old form of the character 子 TZU, son, as given in K'ang Hsi's Dictionary compiled by direction of that Emperor is 孳 or 孶, and the original form as 𡥈 or 𡦂.

* Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, p. 201.



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In the *Shuo Wên*, a dictionary of 'radicals' published in 121 A.D. the earliest known form of TZU is given as .

The 'Honan Bones,' a deposit of fragments of animal bones on which were made enquiries by augury, were discovered in 1889 in the province of Honan. Mr. L. C. Hopkins, I.S.O., late of H. M. Consular Service in China, in his essay 'Working the Oracle'* says that all authorities are now agreed that the incisions on these bones were made in Shang dynasty times (1766-1154 B.C.). On the Honan Bones a son is pictured as and . Dr. L. Wieger, S.J., in *Caractères Chinois*, gives  and † as the earliest known forms, being representations of a new-born child in swaddling clothes, and in the second form the child's hair is indicated.

In Chinese Tables of kindred the character  NU woman, female, is used by itself to indicate 'the girl' of the family, one's own daughter. NU is also used in the same way as TZU, male, as a sex indicator, and as its opposite to indicate a female relative of that nearness to oneself indicated by other characters to which it is in certain cases attached as a suffix.

May gives  NU TSAI 'the little girl' as the 'general' term for daughter, and  NU, by itself, as the 'colloquial' term.

An old form of the character  NU is  and K'ang Hsi's Dictionary gives  and .

Wieger gives the pictograph as the earliest form of the character representing the ritual attitude, in ritual of Chinese women, the arms hanging down and crossed over the body. He gives , the form in the *Shuo-wên*, as an early variant.‡

Wieger says the 'Lesser-Seal' character  is a cursive modification of the older pictogram , the right side of the picture having become deformed.

On a search through the plates in Menzie's *Oracle Records from the Waste of Yin* illustrating his collection of 'Oracle Bones' of the time of the Shang dynasty, one finds markings which appear to be rude pictures of kneeling human figures in profile.

On the bone fragment No. 277 is the picture  which may be an example of the oldest form of  NU, as given by Wieger, but with the head indicated.

---

* *New China Review*, Vol. I, p. 249.

† L. Wieger. *Caractères Chinois.* (Translated by L. Davrout, Vol. I, p. 230). ‡ L. Wieger. *op. cit.* (English translation. Vol. I, p. 166).



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On the fragment No. 2341 is the form in which the head is clearly indicated. On fragment No. 765 is the form .

On many other fragments a figure drawn thus is found, of which that on fragment No. 1450 is a good example, which appears to be that of one kneeling with folded arms.

On fragment No. 105, and others, the kneeling figure is an early form of MU, a mother.

In some figures not only the arms but also the hands are indicated, as thus in No. 544.

On Menzie's fragment No. 48 is the pictogram  That on No. 1269 is .

On a fragment shown on the third plate in the Second Volume of Lo Chên Yü's *Yin Hsü Shu Chi*, 'Records of the Tumulus of Yin,' is the figure .

In *The Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* Morgan considered the relation of his 'Malayan' form of the human family to his 'Turanian and Ganowanian' form; and their points of agreement and difference, as there stated, were later discussed by McLennan.*

It was accepted by both writers, though they differed in their explanation, that: "The children of my male cousins, myself a male, are in the 'Turanian' form my nephews and nieces; and the children of my female cousins are my sons and daughters." After a careful analysis of the materials then at his disposal Starcke in *The Primitive Family* says: "These translations"† (those supplied to Morgan of the compound characters used to designate certain relationships) "are only valuable so far as they show that the Chinese possess the third characteristic feature of the Turanian system—that is, that a man's brother's children rank as his own, while his sister's children are nephews and nieces."

The proposition that the Chinese names for kindred do not distinguish between sons and fraternal nephews, or that there is anything in such names, or the manner in which fraternal nephews are called, or addressed, to warrant the statement that such nephews are classed as 'sons' stands first for examination.

In Chinese tables of kindred the son of one's brother, one's agnatic nephew, is indicated by the character 姪 CHIH, or with the sex indicator TZU added 姪子 CHIH TZU to distinguish a fraternal nephew from 姪女 CHIH NU a fraternal niece.

* McLennan. *Studies in Ancient History*, 1876. p. 350 et. seq. p. 398, et seq. † Starcke, *Op. cit.* p. 202.



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K'ang Hsi's Dictionary gives as the meaning of 姪 CHIH the son or daughter of a brother. Giles' Dictionary gives as the meaning "The son or daughter of a brother, a nephew, a niece." 姪 'CHIH' is in fact a noun of common gender, an agnatic nephew or niece.

May gives 姪 CHIH as the 'general' term for a brother's son and 姪子 CHIH TZU (Chat Tsz in Cantonese) as the colloquial term.

May's tables give not only the Chinese 'general,' and the 'colloquial' terms for family relationship, but also the 'polite term' (used when making enquiries of a person), and the 'self-depreciating term' (used when answering enquiries).

In all four classes of terms for brother's sons and daughters, the character 姪 CHIH is the indicating descriptive term.

As we have seen, in May's tables of terms for kindred the 'general' term for one's own son is 男仔 NAM TSAI 'the little boy.' The colloquial term is 仔 TSAI, the little one, the 'polite' terms are phrases such as 令郎 LING LANG 'Your honourable young gentleman,' and the 'self-depreciating' terms for one's own son are such as 小兒 HSIAO ERH, the little boy.

In no name for, or mode of calling, one's own son does the character 姪 CHIH occur and there is no trace of any confusion in nomenclature between one's own child and the children of one's brother.

CHIH 姪 with the addition of other and varying characters indicates, and describes, different classes of those relatives whom the Chinese reckon as nephews and nieces on the father's or mother's side, and whom we call cousins 'once,' 'twice,' or 'three times,' 'removed.' For instance the agnatic grand-nephew of one's father, one's cousin once removed in our reckoning, is indicated in Chinese tables of kindred by the characters 堂姪 T'ANG CHIH; and one's father's agnatic grand-niece by the same characters with the addition of 女 NU, female, as the sex indicator.

The character 堂 T'ANG means a hall, a court, the 'ancestral hall.' It is with this last sense that it is found in combination with varying other characters to indicate relatives of the same surname but not of the same generation. (See Giles' Dictionary under T'ang (No. 10760).

The agnatic great-grand-nephew of one's father is indicated by the characters 堂姪孫 T'ANG-CHIH-SUN. The character 孫 SUN means grandson, and here added to T'ANG-CHIH indicates an agnatic relative of the second generation in direct descent from any agnatic cousin, a grand-nephew belonging to my own ancestral-hall.



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Taking the instance of the agnatic relative furthest removed from oneself to be found usually indicated in the list of one's immediate kindred in China, namely, the sixth agnate in direct descent from one's own great-great grandfather, that relative is indicated by the characters 族 姪 孫 TSU-CHIH-SUN meaning one's 'clan-nephew-grandson.'

The Chinese character for father is 父 FU. The characters for grandfather, one's ancestral-father are 祖 父 TSU-FU: those for great-grandfather are 曾 祖 TSENG-TSU, one's 'past' ancestor; and those for one's great-great-grandfather 高 祖 KAO-TSU, one's 'exalted' ancestor.

Wieger in his *Caractères Chinois* gives ,  as the oldest forms of 父 FU, and says "Fu, Father, "considered as the Chief and Instructor of his family. Composed of  hand, and  a stick."*

The *Shuo Wên* says: 父 Fu, has the meaning of 'ruler' the head of a family who guides (teaches) the entire family in accordance with rules.

In K'ang Hsi's Dictionary the same derivation is given.

In China all relatives of the next younger generation than one's own, counting generally, as a starting point, from one's own agnatic great-grandfather, or the agnatic grandfather of one's own mother, are considered as nephews or grand-nephews of varying degrees of relationship. In the Chinese characters designating such relatives the character 姪 CHIH, nephew, in combination with other characters, appears, with this important exception, that if their relation to myself, the Ipse of the table of kindred, is through their mother having been born a female agnate of mine then the character 甥 SHENG is used, and not 姪 CHIH, as the character indicating 'nephew.'

Thus one's father's brother's daughter's son (in our reckoning a cousin once removed) is in a Chinese table of kindred indicated by the characters 堂 外 甥 T'ANG-WAI-SHENG. These characters thus denote a nephew the son of a female agnate 甥 SHENG, the mother being born a member of one ancestral hall 堂 T'ANG, but married out of it 外 WAI. Thus in the same way one's agnatic great-grandfather's great-grand-daughter's son, being of the same generation as one's own son, and by Chinese reckoning a nephew, is indicated by the characters 再 從 外 甥 TSAI-TSUNG-WAI-SHENG, a still-further removed-'outside' (non-agnatic)-nephew.

*L. Wieger. *Op. cit.* (English translation) Vol. I, p. 117.



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If an Englishman were asked to say what was the relation to himself of a kinsman corresponding to the one just referred to and described as we have seen in Chinese as TSAI-TSUNG-WAI-SHENG 再從外甥, he would in all probability be unable to say. A Scot or an Irishman with their stronger clan feeling, would, after thought, describe him as a 'second cousin once removed.' But even a Highlander, short of a long story, would have no means of distinguishing that second-cousin-once-removed from any other cousin-once-removed, nor by his answer indicate that cousin's sex.

So accurately descriptive is Chinese nomenclature that not only has each kind of 'second-cousin-once-removed' a distinctive designation; but further, if social or legal reasons called for it, the order in age in their own immediate family of such cousins could and would be indicated by the addition of appropriate numerical characters.

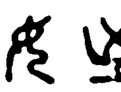
One now comes to the second part of the proposition of Morgan, McLennan, and Starcke, accepted and repeated, as we have seen, by Letourneau, namely, that in China a man's sister's children are 'nephews' and 'nieces,' his brother's children not being so considered.

We have seen that in China a man's brother's children are not designated or described as his own children but as his nephews and nieces 'CHIH' (CHIH TZU), and CHIH NU.

In Chinese the character 姪 CHIH denotes the child of a brother: and the character 甥 SHENG, denotes the child of a sister. CHIH denotes primarily therefore an agnatic nephew or niece. SHENG primarily denotes a cognatic nephew, a nephew of another surname, belonging to a different family and clan.

The fact is that as regards terms for nephews and nieces the Chinese language is more 'descriptive' than the English language with which Morgan, Starcke and other writers on the 'Classificatory system of relationship' contrasted it.

The character 姪 CHIH is a compound of two characters 女 NU woman, and 至 CHIH 'to reach' as the phonetic.

The old form of Chih as given by K'ang Hsi's Dictionary is  pictograms of a woman and of an alighting bird (with the meaning of 'reach').

Mr. Hopkins, a leading authority in such matters, has kindly drawn the writer's attention to the fact that CHIH is pictured on the 'Honan Bones' as ; and also with the sex indicator tzŭ added, as ; the lower pictogram being that for TZU, a male. .



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The character 甥 SHENG, is a compound of two characters 生 SHENG, to bear, and 男 NAN, a male: Nan being itself composed of 田 T'IEN, the pictogram for a field, and 力 LI, physical effort.

K'ang Hsi's Dictionary says:

"姪 CHIH the son or daughter of a brother."

"甥 SHENG, a sister's son."

In some Chinese tables of kindred another Chih, the character for which is 侄 meaning 'obstinate,' is used instead of 姪: K'ang Hsi's Dictionary notes this common misuse of a character having the same sound.

As to 甥 SHENG, K'ang Hsi's Dictionary adds that in ancient times it was also used to designate the husband of a daughter.

Both a sister's son and the husband of one's daughter, though near relations, are outside the agnatic family clan of China as it now exists, and, so far as can be ascertained, existed from the earliest times.

In the SHE KING, The Odes, shêng occurs with the meaning of a sister's child once as indicating such a niece, and once such a nephew.*

The *Erh* the oldest Chinese lexicon, is quoted, though not with concurrence, by the *Shuo Wên* as saying:

"My Aunt's son is a 'Shêng'; my maternal Uncle's son is a 'shêng'; my wife's brother is a 'shêng'; my sister's husband, my brother-in-law, is a 'Shêng.'" †

Shêng is used with the meaning of 'son-in-law' in the works of Mencius, where it is said: "Shun went to Court "and saw the sovereign who lodged him as his son-in-law in "the second palace."

Shun 舜 to whom, as a just man and future ruler, the great Yao 堯 gave his two daughters in marriage, "to try him," is the most famous and discussed son-in-law in Chinese history.

In Chinese tables of kindred one's nephew the son of one's own married sister is indicated by the characters 外 甥 WAI-SHENG or with the addition of 子 TZU, or 兒 ERH as indicating a male; one's niece the daughter of one's sister being indicated by the same character with the addition of the sex indicator NU, female.

In a note to the Table of Consanguinity given in Jamieson's translation of, and notes on, the 'Marriage Laws' of China (*China Review*, Vol. X) that authority says:

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* She King, Legge. *Chinese Classics.* Pt. III. Bk. III. Ode VII, V. 4. Pt. 1, Bk. VIII. Ode 2 XI, V. 2.

† Legge. *Chinese Classics.* 2nd Edit. Vol. II. p. 378.



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"All descendants of sisters 姊 妹" (姊 TZU, TSZ), being one's elder sister and 妹 MEI one's younger sister)" "are characterized as 外 甥" WAI SHENG.

The prefix 外 WAI, outside, external, is here used with the meaning of external to, outside of, one's own agnatic family. As Giles' Dictionary says, 外 WAI is specially applied to relatives through the female branches.

This Wai-Shêng is the 'Wae-sung' of Morgan, and of Starcke. It is interesting to note that although Hart in this matter, as doubtless in others connected with Chinese nomenclature, did his best to explain what the Chinese designations connoted, the learned writers who built on the materials supplied by him insisted on their own point of view. Thus Starcke says :

"Morgan goes on to say that the man calls his sister's son WAE-SUNG, which Hart translates 'as outside nephew.' Wae signifies outside, and Sung, originally signifying 'the daughter's child,' acquires the meaning of 'sister's son' when preceded by Wae. 'Outside child' would, perhaps, be a more correct translation. The sister's daughter is called WAE-SUNG-NEU translated by Hart as daughter of the Wae-sung class. As we have said above, this might be translated as 'outside female child' or niece." *

The 'general' term and also the 'colloquial' term as given by May for a nephew the son of a sister is WAI SHENG, the 'polite' term being 令 甥 LING SHENG, honourable nephew (the son of one's sister), and the 'self-depreciating' term being 舍 甥 SHE-SHENG, my humble nephew (son of my sister).

Hart had rightly informed Morgan that Wae meant 'outside' ; and, as we have seen, the character as used in describing kindred connotes that the relative of whose designation the character 'wae' is part is outside one's own agnatic family. Starcke, however, wrongly insisted that 'Wae' meant 'outside' the generation of the speaker.†

The different characters with the primary connotation of 'external' which are used in the Chinese designations of kindred, and which it may be convenient to here deal with are as follows :

外 WAI, the 'Wae' of Starcke's, and of Morgan's tables, already commented on, and which Giles says is "specially applied to relatives through the female branches"—that is, of one's own agnatic family. ‡

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* Starcke, *The Primitive Family*. p. 202. † Starcke. *The Primitive Family*. p.p. 203-4. ‡ Giles' Dictionary (No. 12.442).



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姨 I (the 'e' of Morgan's, and of Starcke's tables) which as a noun has the primary meaning of a wife's sister, and also of a mother's sister; and which as a prefix in designations of kindred means descended through the mother's sister. The use of 姨 I, as a noun, with the meaning of a mother's sister, or of a wife's sister, and the inferences which may be drawn therefrom, will be referred to later.

Starcke's conclusion was that 'e' 'stranger woman,' used as a 'particle' indicated remote kinship to the 'speaker' of his, and Morgan's Tables.*

表 Piao, the 'peaou' of Morgan's and of Starcke's tables, which has the primary meaning of 'outside' is, Giles says: "a term of relationship applied to all descendants of female relatives on the father's side; and on the mother's side, to all descendants from a mother's brother or her male first cousins of the same surname."†

The character 甥 SHENG being itself, as has been said, a 'descriptive' term for a nephew the son of a married sister, a non-agnatic nephew, it is not surprising to find that the adjective 外 WAI, non-agnatic, is, as May says, sometimes omitted in the phrases denoting such nephews. The son of a sister's son is in tables of kindred indicated by the characters 外甥孫 WAI-SHENG-SUN.

The character 孫 SUN, has the meaning of grandson, an agnatic grandson. An agnatic grand-daughter is indicated by 孫女 SUN-NU. A grandson the son of a daughter is 女孫 NU-SUN.

In describing the son of a sister's son as 外甥孫 WAI-SHENG-SUN the Chinese do not thereby indicate that one's sister's grandson is a grandson of one's own, nor does the phrase connote that he might ever possibly have been one's own grandson. The term does connote that one's sister's grandson belongs to the same generation as one's own grandson, counting down from a common ancestor, in this case one's own father.

Whether a relative, agnatic or non-agnatic, is 'classed' as Morgan would say, as a nephew or grandson, or, as the fact is, described by one of characters forming the phrase denoting his exact position therein as a relative of the same generation as one's own nephews or one's own grandsons (and whose exact relation to oneself is given by the other characters in the compound phrase used to indicate that relative), depends in China on that relative's place in the family, his generation of descent. In stating such descent one's father and one's mother are counted as being of the

*Starcke. *Op. cit.* p.p. 203-6. † Giles' Dictionary (No. 9114.)



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same generation, and so on as regards remoter relatives counting downwards from agnatic ancestors of one's father, or of one's mother.

One's own paternal grandfather and one's own maternal grandfather, for instance, are taken as being of the same generation and so on in, and across, the ascending lines.

If Starcke's deduction from Morgan's Tables of Kindred, and on which he worked, "that the Chinese possess the third "characteristic feature of the Turanian system—that is, that a man's brother's children rank as his own, while his sister's children are nephews and nieces" were correct, which so far we found it is not, then in China a nephew the son of a brother would designate his father's brother in the same manner as his own father; and on the other hand a nephew the son of a sister would designate his mother's brother as an 'Uncle'.*

The Chinese character for father is, as we have seen 父 FU. May gives the 'general' term for father as 父 親 FU-TS'AN, in Pekinese FU-CH'IN, one's dear father. It is interesting to note that one of the 'colloquial' terms for father given by May is 亞巴 A-PA, the same baby sound PA, father, which is found in so many languages.

A Chinese designates his paternal uncle, his father's elder brother as 伯父 PO-FU, and his father's younger brother as 叔父 SHU-FU.

The character 伯 PO, by itself has the primary meaning of a father's elder brother. The character 叔 SHU by itself has the meaning of a father's younger brother.

The 'colloquial' forms of description as given by May are for elder paternal uncle 亞伯 A PO, and for younger paternal uncle 亞叔 A SHU.

The character 父 FU, father, added to the two given descriptive characters for elder and younger paternal uncle respectively indicate the deference due, in China, to a father's brothers, and is not a relic of a communal marriage.

One's mother's brother, one's maternal uncle, is indicated by the character 舅 CHIU. The 'colloquial' term for a mother's brother as given by May is 舅父 CHIU FU. Here as in the case of the FU added to the terms PO and SHU, just dealt with, the term FU, father, is added to the designation of the maternal, as well as to that of the paternal, uncles as an indication of the respect due to one's near relations of the same generation as one's own father.

* Starcke. *The Primitive Family.* p. 202.



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Again, if the deduction of Starcke above referred to were correct, a man in China would designate the sons of his father's brothers as 'brothers,' while calling or designating the children of father's sisters by some term or terms having the distinctive meaning of 'cousins.'

There is no single Chinese character meaning 'cousin.' In China all cousins 'first,' 'second' or 'third,' that is cousins of the same generation as one's self, agnatic or cognatic, are designated by descriptive phrases clearly marking their place in the family as descended from a common ancestor with oneself on the father's or on the mother's side of the family, and as being of the same generation in such descent as one's self.

In all such designations the Chinese characters for elder, or younger brother, and for elder, or younger, sister form part.

The Chinese character denoting an elder brother is 兄 HSIUNG, that denoting a younger brother is 弟 TI. The character denoting an elder sister is 姊 TZU (TSZ), not to be confused with 子 TZU, male (used as we have seen, to indicate one's own son in tables of kindred). The character denoting a younger sister is 妹 MEI.

One's first cousins, the sons of one's father's brother are thus designated as 堂兄 T'ANG-HSIUNG for the elder, and 堂弟 T'ANG-TI for the younger, their sisters being designated as 堂姊 T'ANG-CHIEH for the elder; and 堂妹 T'ANG-MEI for the younger.

This T'ANG we have met before as connoting belonging to one's ancestral hall, agnatic.

One's first-cousins the children of one's father's sister are designated in like manner, but with the character PIAO 表, 'external' as the prefix; thus 表兄 PIAO-HSIUNG and 表弟 PIAO-TI for such male cousins and 表姊 PIAO-TZU and 表妹 PIAO-MEI for such female cousins.

One's first cousins the children of one's mother's sister are designated in like manner but with the character 姨 I, as the distinguishing prefix. Thus 姨兄 I-HSIUNG, and 姨弟 I-TI. for such male cousins and 姨姊 I-TZU and 姨妹 I-MEI, for such female cousins.

This compound character 姨 I, primarily has the meanings of a wife's sister, a mother's sister. A mother's sister, however, in Chinese tables of kindred is designated as 姨媽 I-MA.

In the Chinese language we thus have not one character, or expression for 'nephew' as we have in English, but two characters: One CHIH denoting nephews, and with a sex indicator nieces, of one's own surname, and another SHENG denoting nephews,



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and with a sex indicator nieces, whose surname is different from one's own.

As we have seen, there is not now, nor so far as is ascertainable, has there been in the past any confusion in the Chinese mind between one's own children and those of one's brother ; nor yet between any of these and the children of one's sister.

In China the sons of a brother are for a certain definite and limited purpose ranked with one's own sons, while other nephews, the sons of a sister, are not.

The son of a brother and one's own son are so ranked together in determining what mourning shall be worn for them by certain relatives, and in determining what mourning they should wear for those relatives, if dying before them. This ranking is in relation to their mutual agnatic connection through a common ancestor.

Death and the respect evidenced by wearing mourning being to the Chinese mind the most important facts in life, it is most natural and indeed inevitable that in China one should in life envisage one's relatives not only paternal, but maternal also, as persons for whom such and such mourning will be worn on their death, and classify them accordingly.

The son of a full brother and one's own son are when dead honoured by the same degree and description of mourning being worn for them.

A Chinaman and all his brothers wear, or should wear, the same mourning for all the agnatic grandsons of their father, namely, the Second Degree of Mourning 齊衰 TZU T'SUI, clothes of coarse hempen fabric with hemmed borders worn for one year. The same degree, and kind, of mourning is worn for one year by a man for the following relatives :—

His grandparents ; his paternal uncles, and their wives, his unmarried paternal aunt ; his brothers, his unmarried sisters ; his wife ; sons of wives (or concubines) ; the wife of his first-born son ; his agnatic nephews ; his unmarried agnatic nieces, his grandson ; the first-born son of his first-born son ; and his own daughter.*

The agnatic basis of the Chinese family is evidenced by the fact that a man's unmarried paternal aunts, his unmarried sisters, and his unmarried agnatic nieces, having died while still full members of his own agnatic family, are honoured, as his own son is, as full relatives of the Second Degree, that is, relatives

*Tables of Mourning in *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and as given by Medhurst and Pierre Hoang.



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for whom the Second Degree of Mourning is to be worn for one year.

In view of the importance attached by writers on social origins to the position, privileges, and duties of the mother's brother in some races and the deductions as to primitive marriage customs drawn therefrom,* it is to be noted that in China for the brother of one's own mother the'fourth degree'only of mourning is worn, that for five months, and that the same mourning is worn for a mother's sister.

The question as to whether, or not, in China the son of a brother is classed with one's own son was not first propounded by Morgan or considered by Starcke.

We have seen that the discoverer, and the propounders, of the 'classificatory system of relationships' drew mistaken conclusions, on the incomplete facts before them, as to the meaning and import of the nomenclature of the Chinese branch of their 'Turanian and Ganowanian Family.' It is true, however, that in China as regards the mourning to be worn for them the sons of brothers do rank with one's own sons.

In the Second Book of the *Lî Kî*, the T'AN KUNG, a book concerned with questions as to burial and mourning, it is said :

"The mourning worn for the son of a brother should be the same as for one's own son : the object being to bring him still nearer to one's own self. An elder brother's wife and his younger brother do not wear mourning for each other ; the object being to maintain the distance between them. Slight mourning is worn for an aunt, and an elder or younger sister (when they have been married) ; the reason being that there are those who received them from us, and will render to them the full measure of observance."

In this answer as given we have a philosophic reasoning on ancient facts : a reference to that 'Fraternal Principle' 悌 TI, which was and is only second to the Patriarchal Principle' 孝 HSIAO, as an element of Chinese faith and life. †

That love, duty, mutual respect and forbearance between brothers which together with 'filial piety,' respect towards one's parents and elders, was the foundation on which the joint-family life of the Chinese was based, and without which it could not have existed.

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* *Totemism & Exogamy*. Vol. IV, p. 289. *Folk Lore in The Old Testament*. Vol. II, p. 203.

†See E. H. Parker, *Comparative Chinese Family Life*, p. 2.



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There is also in this text from the *Lî Kî* a reference to the distance to be maintained between the sexes, the observance of which also helped to make the joint family life of all the members of three or more generations living in one dwelling place, and clustered round one principal hearth, decently possible.

A very full exposition of Chinese law and custom as to mourning is given in his 'Annotations aux Tableaux du Deuil d'après les Lois Chinois' by Pierre Hoang in '*Le Mariage Chinois*.'

A most clear statement, and explanation of the 'Degrees of Mourning' is given by Sir Walter (then Mr.) Medhurst in his *Marriage, Affinity and Inheritance in China, quoted* by Legge in the Appendix to Book II of his translation of the *Lî Kî*.*

The 'Four Grades of Relationship are also discussed by von Möllendorff.†

The preliminary chapter of the *Ta C'hing Lu Li*, a revision of the fundamental criminal and civil law and custom of China as re-enacted under the Ch'ing (Ts'ing) Manchu Dynasty, deals with The 'Dress of Mourning.' This chapter is referred to, and extracts given from it, by Sir George Staunton in his translation of the Code published in 1810.‡

This part of the code was, however, dealt with and used by Medhurst, as Legge notes, in the Essay on *Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China*, above referred to.

Death, mourning, and the proper observance of funeral etiquette having in the Chinese mind that importance already referred to, and the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li* not being in the hands of the people, 'the stupid people,' of China, the Degrees of Mourning and the particular relatives for whom they have to be worn are to be found in those books of handy reference which in China correspond to our ready-letter-writers and books on etiquette.

It was from one of these, called *Important Rules for the Officials and People*, that Von Möllendorff, as he says, based his statement of the Four Grades of Relationship and the mourning to be worn for them. The Chinese Code divides the same varying degrees of mourning into five classes, and that is the arrangement followed by Medhurst, and by Pierre Hoang.

Medhurst shortly and clearly shows how in China the classing of relatives is interwoven with the grading of mourning where he says :—

"The Ritual prescribes five different kinds of mourning, called WU FU (五 服), to be worn for all relatives within a de-

* *Sacred Books of The East*. Vol. XXVII, p. 202. † Von Möllendorff. *Op. cit.* p. 6. ‡ Staunton, *La Tsing Leu Li*, p. LXXV, p. 487.



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finite proximity of degree, graduating the character of the habit in proportion to the nearness of kin. These habits are designated by certain names, which by a species of metonymy come to be applied to the relationships themselves and are used somewhat as we apply the terms "1st degree," "2nd degree" and so on; and plans, similar to our genealogical tables, are laid down, showing the specific habit suitable for each kinsman."

We have dealt with the relationship in China of uncles and nephews as evidenced by the way in which men designate the sons of their brothers, and of their sisters, respectively.

If those writers, from Morgan to Letourneau, who claim the Chinese system of nomenclature as a proof of their thesis of past communal marriage were right, then one would expect to find in the Chinese designations of uncles, on the father's and on the mother's side, by nephews some trace of the supposed fact that "A Chinaman always calls the sons of his brother his 'sons' whilst he considers those of his sister as his nephews."*

A father's elder brother is in China designated by the character 伯 PO, a father's younger brother by the character 叔 SHU. The Chinese character meaning a mother's brother is 舅 CHIU.

We thus find in China distinct 'descriptive' designations, one for the elder and one for the younger of one's paternal uncles, and one for maternal uncles. That there should be designations differentiating between elder and younger paternal uncles, to whom special obedience, deference, and courtesy is due, is in keeping with the agnatic basis of the Chinese patriarchal family.

While these three characters PO, SHU, and CHIU have by themselves the several meanings above given, one finds that in Chinese Tables of Kindred the character 父 FU, father, is added to CHIU, the mother's brother, as well as to PO, the father's elder brother, and to SHU a father's younger brother: and in each case as a courtesy title given to near relatives of the same generation as one's father and mother.

The same characters with courtesy sex indicator 母 MU, mother, are used to designate one's aunts-in-law the wives of these same uncles, brothers of one's father, and of one's mother.

There is no indication in the Chinese designations whether 'general', 'colloquial', 'polite', or 'self-depreciating', for uncles of any kind, as given by May, of their having been at any time, however remote, 'group-fathers,' nor of maternal uncles being 'uncles' while paternal uncles were possible 'fathers.'

*Letourneau, *Op. cit.* p. 323.



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Letourneau concludes the passage already quoted from as follows :

" We have previously seen that in China proper, not only the paternal family, but the patriarchate, are rigorously established : that woman is in extreme subjection, and always disinherited ; but certain impediments to marriage can only relate to an ancient family organization which has now disappeared."*

Thus Letourneau, on the authority of Morgan, gave the weight of his authority to the proposition that Chinese nomenclature is proof that the Chinese family is a development of group-marriage.

The Chinese legal and customary Impediments to Marriage, 'Absolute,' 'On Account of Relationship,' 'On Account of Affinity,' and for other special reasons, dealt with in the TA CHING LU LI, have been set out by Von Möllendorff, and discussed and explained by Parker, and by Jamieson.†

As regards the thread-bare heresy as to the mean position of women in China, it would be beyond the scope of this essay to deal at any length with the opposed views of Legge,‡ and of the Marquis D'Hervey-Saint-Denys, as to the position of woman in classical China.

The Ode, *Ts'ae pin,* of the time of King Wan, describing the diligence and reverence of the wife of an officer taking her part in the service of his ancestral temple, says :

" The plants, when closed her toil, she puts
In baskets round and baskets square.
Then home she hies to cook her spoil,
In pans and tripods ready there.
In sacred chamber this she sets,
Where the light falls down through the wall.
'Tis she, our lord's young reverent wife,
Who manages this service all."

In the Ode *Ts'oo Ts'ze,* describing the sacrifice in the Ancestral temple, it is said :

" Before the fires some reverent stand ;
Some take the mighty trays in hand ;
These with the roasted flesh they fill,
Those with the livers broiled. Then still
And reverent, the queen presides,
And every smaller dish provides,
The pious feast to grace."

* Letourneau *Op. cit.* p. 324. † Von Möllendorff, *Op. cit.* p. 12 et seq. Parker, *Op. cit.* p. 11 et seq. Jamieson, *Op. cit.* p. 82 et seq. ‡ Legge, Chinese *Classics.* Vol. IV. Proleg. p. 139.



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In the Ode *Tsae Shoo*, describing a village festival, it is said :

"Hark ! how the merry feast goes round !
The husbands' hearts with love abound ;
Their wives close by their sides are found."

In the Ode *Fung neen*, a song of thanksgiving for a plenteous harvest, it is said :

"From this distilled, shall spirits, strong and sweet,
Our sires and mothers with their fragrance greet,
When to their shrines each season we repair ;
And in all other rites their part shall bear."*

In the *Chiao T'eh Sêng*, the IXth Book of the *Lî Kî*, it is said :

"The bridegroom himself stands by (the carriage of the bride), and hands to her the strap (to assist her in mounting), showing his affection. Having that affection, he seeks to bring her near to him. It was by such reverence and affection for their wives that the ancient kings obtained the kingdom."

And again in the same Book of the *Lî Kî* in describing a ceremonial marriage, it is said :

"The dark coloured cap, and the (preceding) fasting and vigil (with which the bridegroom meets the bride, makes the ceremony like the service of) spiritual beings, and (the meeting of) the bright and developing and receding influences (in nature). The result of it is to give the lord for the altars to the spirits of the land and grain, and the successors of the forefathers of the past ;—is not the utmost reverence appropriate in it ? Husband and wife ate of the same victim,—this declaring that they were of the same rank. Hence while the wife had (herself) no rank, she was held to be of the rank of her husband, and she took her seat according to the position belonging to him."†

Here we have 'confarreatio,' the most solemn form of marriage, and in itself incompatible with female subjection.

In the *Ai Kung Wăn*, the XXIV Book of the *Lî Kî* it is said :

"Confucius . continued, 'Anciently, under the government of the intelligent kings of the three dynasties, it was required of a man to show respect to his wife and son. When the path (of right government) was pursued, the wife was the hostess of the (deceased) parents : could any husband dare not to show her respect ? And the son was the descendant of those parents,—could any father dare not to show him respect ?‡

*She King*. Legge's Metrical Translation 1876. pp. 69, 253, 358, 368.
†*Sacred Books of the East*. Vol. XXVII. pp. 440, 441
‡*Op. cit*. Vol. XXVIII. p. 266.



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The *I-Li*, Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial, in detailing the presents to be taken on a 'Mission' from one Prince to another, says*:

"They receive the presents for the Prince of the State to be visited,—silk, with a round symbol laid on it; and the half jade symbol for presentation to the Princess."

On entering the State to which the Mission was accredited the presents for the Prince were 'displayed,' and "The Mission's presents for the Prince's lady."

On arrival at the capital of the State to be visited the Mission is met, and greeted, by an 'under great-officer' sent by the Prince. "The prince's lady sends an under great-officer to recompense their toil."

Writers on social origins have attached much weight to differences between the manner in which men, and women, husbands and wives, address, or designate, the same relative.

In Chinese nomenclature the key to such differences is to be found in the fact that the family relation of any person in China, male or female, depends as to designation upon their agnatic connection with oneself, tempered as to forms of address in certain near family relationships by over-riding courtesy.

Thus a wife through her close connection with her husband's agnatic family, calls, when addressing them, her husband's nephews, agnatic and cognatic, in the same manner as her husband does. She addresses her husband's agnatic nephew as CHIH-ERH, not WAI-CHIH-ERH.

On the other hand, in view of her agnatic connection with her family of birth, a woman designates her own brother's son as NEI-CHIH.

The character NEI has here the meaning inside the agnatic family as in contra-distinction to 外 WAI, outside, which is used in Chinese nomenclature with the special meaning of outside the agnatic family.

K'ang Hsi's Dictionary, however, says that "a woman calls her own (not her husband's) brothers' sons as CHIH."

May after giving the various Chinese designations for father-in-law, notes "when the husband addresses his father-in-law he uses the same term his wife does, i.e., father" : a matter of courtesy.

The initial error of the writers, whose conclusions Letourneau relied on, and which are shortly summed up by him in the passage quoted from above, was, as we have seen, in taking the

* *I-Li*. Translated by John Steele, LL.D. 1917. pp. 192, 195.



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sex indicators for male and female appended to varying 'descriptive' appellations of kindred as the name of a class,—that of 'sons' and 'daughters.' *

Another error was in taking CHIH, agnatic nephew, to be the only Chinese character meaning 'nephew' ; in thinking that there was only one character for nephew in Chinese, namely Chih ; and not as the fact is two : CHIH the son of a brother, and SHENG the son of a sister. The most serious darkening of counsel in regard to Chinese nomenclature has arisen from want, or rejection, of explanation that, in China, one's relation to anyone connected with oneself depends upon the number of one's own and that relative's generations of descent from a common ancestor, on one's father's or on one's mother's side.

If one refers to the 'Table of Consanguinity' attached to the late Mr. Jamieson's translation of and comments on Chinese Marriage Laws (*The China Review*, Vol. X p. 160), or to the Tables of Mourning in *Le Mariage Chinois*, or to the Table of Immediate Kindred attached to this essay, one sees that relatives of the same generation as one's father, or of one's mother, counting from one's father's great-grandfather in the one case, and from one's mother's grandfather in the other, have the courtesy title of 'father' or 'mother' FU or MU, as the final characters in their descriptive designations with two exceptions,—that of the father's sister, and that of the mother's sister : exceptions which will be dealt with later. Thus, on the father's side, one's father's great-grandfather's elder agnatic grandson being of the same generation descent from one's own great-grandfather, is designated by the characters 族伯父 TSU-PO-FU, which literally translated are 'clan'-elder-brother-father, one's 'clan' elder uncle on the father's side (being of the same generation as one's own father). This relative's wife is designated by the characters 族伯母 TSU-PO-MU.

The younger great-grandson of one's own great-great-grandfather is 族叔父 TSU-SHU-FU ; and his wife 族叔母 TSU-SHU-MU.

Thus in the same way one's own mother's paternal grandfather's grandson, being of the same generation as one's own parents, is designated in Jamieson's Table as 堂舅父 T'ANG-CHIU-FU ; and his wife as 堂舅母 T'ANG-CHIU-MU.

The same relative in Pierre Hoang's Tables is given as 堂母舅 T'ANG-MU-CHIU 'Hall'-maternal-uncle.

The character 舅 CHIU by itself means a maternal uncle.

* Letourneau *Op. cit.* pp. 323–4.



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The combined characters T'ANG-CHIU-FU connote an agnatic first-cousin of one's mother, and, as of her generation, of the same generation as one's uncles. Here as in all Chinese designations of kindred we have not a statement that the relative described is one of a 'class' of relatives in the sense of Morgan, but a 'descriptive' phrase, describing and giving the exact relation of that relative, and none other, to oneself.

The female relatives in China of the same generation as one's own father and mother in whose designations the character for MU, mother, is not an integral part are the sisters of one's father, and those of one's mother. The character 姑 KU, formed by the characters for 'woman' and 'ancient' combined, has the meaning of a paternal aunt, and also that of a husband's sister. The character 姨 I formed by the character 女 NU, 'woman,' and 夷 I, 'barbarian,' has the meaning of a sister of one's wife, and also that of one's mother's sister.

The sisters of one's father are members of his agnatic family by birth, not marriage : and the sisters of one's mother are members of her agnatic family, and connections of one's own, by that fact, and not by marriage.

One wears in Chinese for one's father's sisters dying spinsters the same degree of mourning as one does for one's father's brothers, namely, that for one year : the same aunts if married and then dying are still mourned for but only for nine months. The sisters of one's mother when dead, and whether married or not, are honoured by the fourth degree of mourning, that worn for five months.

The primitive original form of the character 夷 a 'barbarian,' as given in the *Shuo Wên*, in K'ang Hsi's Dictionary, and by Wieger is 𡈼, a pictogram of a man 人 holding a bow 弓.

Hopkins in his Essay 'Chinese and Sumerian' (*Proceedings, Society of Biblical Archaeology* Vols. 26 and 27), after predicating that "speech is a by-product of man's physical evolution. Writing is an achievement of his conscious effort" says : "You cannot, for instance, learn the true or full meaning of a Chinese or Sumerian word by inspecting the construction of the character assigned to it."

This may be so in cases where existing pictograms have been used phonetically to express or indicate a later idea : but it may be said that such ruling, applicable as it may be to the representation of ideas, need not apply to the combined pictograms used in Chinese script to indicate the sister of the woman the father of the family took to wife, and also the sister of the woman I myself when I marry take to wife.



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The age when the human cave-dweller first made pictures is now admitted to have been early in man's social infancy. The age when the race, of which the invading colonists of China, the founders of the Chinese race, were an offshoot, first put together the picture of a 'woman' and that of 'a man holding a bow' (or of 'an arrow' and a 'bow string' as Hopkins in his *Pictographic Reconnaissances* says) to convey the idea of a man's wife's sister may have been ages later: but it cannot, presumably, have been in an age when, if ever, man took a wife or wives from his own hearth. The use of this combination of the pictograms for 'woman' and for 'barbarian' to indicate the sister of a father's wife, and also the sister of one's own wife, must surely have begun in an age when a man took a wife to himself, and took or got that wife from a tribe other than his own.

This primitive 'descriptive' designation of one's maternal aunt, one's mother's sister, and of one's own wife's sister, would appear to be evidence not of communal marriage, but of a patriarchal family practising exogamy as the earliest traceable Chinese social unit. As the 'descriptive' designation of a paternal aunt it connoted, it is submitted, not merely a stranger to the agnatic family, but a stranger also, as the father's wife herself was before marriage, to the tribe.

Giles' Dictionary gives as the meaning of 夷, I, "To squat on the heels. Ordinary. To feel at ease; to be peaceful, pleased, just, level; to kill; to exterminate; to get rid of barbarous tribes, especially those on the East; not originally a term of contempt."*

On descending South-eastward into the valley of the Ho, the Yellow River, the forerunners of the 'Black-haired Race' would, it is to be presumed, most easily take, or find, their exogamous wives from, or among, the less organized native tribes into whose country they were pressing.

In Pierre Hoang's Tables, and in that of Jamieson, a paternal aunt is designated by the character 姑 KU alone.

May gives the 'general' term for a father's elder sister as 姑 媽 KU MA, and that for a father's younger sister as 姑 娘 KU NEUNG and also as 姑 姐 KU TSE (Pekinese KU CHIEH).

The same character KU forms part of the 'colloquial,' 'polite,' and 'self-depreciating' terms for a father's sister. In all the terms for a husband's sister, elder or younger, as given by May, 姑 KU is the principal character.

In Pierre Hoang's Tables a maternal aunt is indicated by the characters 母 姨 MU-I. In Jamieson's Table the mother's sister

*Giles' Dictionary, No. 5397.



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is given as 姨母 I-MU. This use of I-MU for I-MA is referred to in the *Shuo Wen* (published in the second century A.D.) where it is said: "In modern times a mother's sister is called 姨母 I-MU."

May gives the 'general' term for a mother's elder sister as 姨媽 I-MA, and that for a mother's younger sister as 姨娘 I-NEUNG. In the 'colloquial,' 'polite,' and self-depreciating terms for the mother's sister, elder and younger 姨, I, is the principal character.

In the 'Table of Mourning for Outside Relatives' in the Ta Ch'ing Lŭ Li a mother's sisters are described by the phrase 母之姊妹 MU-CHIH-TZU-MEI, a mother's own elder, and younger, sister.

In the same table, in referring to a mother's sister's son, and to the grandson of a mother's sister, 姨 I is the character used for mother's sister.

In all the terms for a wife's sister, elder or younger, given by May 姨 I is the principle component character.

In the Tables of Mourning as given by that popular Chinese book of reference *Important Rules for the Officials and People*, already referred to, the mother's sister is indicated, as she is in Pierre Hoang's Tables, by the characters 母姨 MU-I,—that is to say the 姨 I who is the sister of my mother, my father's 姨 I as distinguished from the 姨 I who is the sister of my wife, my own I 姨. 母 MU is here used not as meaning a 'mother' but 'maternal.' The designations MU-I, or I-MU, as it is often written, have no connection with the group-mothers of a supposed primitive Chinese group-marriage.

The character 媽 MA, in I-MA, is itself a compound of the characters 女 NU, woman, and 馬 MA, horse, and has, as given by Giles, the meanings "A mare, an old woman, a mother."

We have seen that the Chinese have, as many other races have, the baby sound of PA as a name for a father; and they also have 媽媽 MA-MA for mother, and also as a familiar name for a wife.

In the Northern Provinces of China it is not unusual for a husband to call his own wife MA-MA 媽媽.

In *Totemism and Exogamy* Frazer refers to the Indians of North America and the Peruvian natives as races of whom it is reported that they married, or co-habited with, their own mothers.*

Had the fact, as it might have been reported, that in China a man calls his wife 'mother' been known to Morgan and other

*Frazer. *Totemism and Exogamy*. Vol. III. pp. 362-3, 579.



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exponents of the 'classificatory system of relationships,' what deductions might not have been drawn therefrom as to a primitive group-marriage and earlier promiscuity in China. The reason, or rather motive, for a middle-class father in China calling his wife 'mother' is somewhat similar to that actuating the American, or Englishman, of the same class in calling, as his children do, his wife 'Mother,'—namely an affectionate shyness in addressing his wife by her real, or pet, name in the presence of his family,—a phase of 'name avoidance.'

As we have seen all female relatives the wives of male relatives within the recognized degrees of kindred of the same generation as one's father and mother have the character 母 MU, Mother, as the last component character in their designations in Chinese Tables of Kindred. These women become one's near relatives on marriage and being of the same generation as one's mother are entitled to the courtesy designation of 'mother.' One's paternal aunts are members of one's own family by birth and are within the 'degrees of mourning.' One's mother's own sisters are near relatives by affinity, and, if unmarried, to be mourned for; and thus both paternal and maternal aunts have their own distinctive 'descriptive' designations as given above.

To these descriptive designations as given in a table of kindred 母 MU mother is added as a courtesy title when addressing them. Thus 姑 KU the paternal aunt if addressed by one of a younger generation would be called KU-MU 姑母 and, as we have seen, a mother's sister whose ancient description was 姨 I, has for centuries been, and is now, generally spoken of and addressed as I-MU 姨母

In Starcke's Table X (Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity*, Table iii, Nos. 4 and 8) it is said that in Chinese if the "person addressed" is a "Mother's sister" she is addressed as "Wote $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{ta}\\\text{leaon}\end{matrix}\right\}$ Ema = my $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{great}\\\text{little}\end{matrix}\right\}$ mother." 'Wote,' 'my,' is in Morgan's Tables of Chinese relationships prefixed to the designation of each relative there dealt with. Wote Ta Ema may be translated literally as My 'Great' Maternal Aunt; TA 'great' here, however, connoting the elder of several relatives of the same grade and not, as with us, as belonging to an older generation.

May, in a note says: "If there be more than one sister older or younger than the father or mother, the first of the elder ones is designated 大 T'AI and the others, whether older or younger according to their number 2, 3, 4, etc."

May gives 'TAI I MA' as the 'colloquial' term for a mother's elder sister. Morgan's 'Leaon Ema' is apparently 'LING I MA'



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which is given by May as the 'polite' term for the same elder maternal aunt. As we have seen, I-MA as a Chinese term of relationship does not mean mother, great or little, but a maternal aunt.

In China a man can have more fathers than one, and more mothers than one, but they are not group-fathers nor group-mothers.

In the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li* there is a heading 'Table of Mourning for three classes of Fathers and eight classes of Mothers."

In Staunton's Appendix IV a paraphrase of this section of the code is given and he says: "In the original text, there are likewise tables subjoined of consanguinity under various circumstances, and one table in particular, which describes those who are considered by the laws to be step-fathers and step-mothers, in the following manner."

Staunton then gives a short *précis* of these eleven relationship as referred to in the code.

Pierre Hoang's Eighth Table of Mourning annexed to his *Mariage Chinois* is entitled 'Du Deuil imposé pour ceux qui jouissent du Titre de Pére ou de Mére,' and is founded on the same sections of the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and on the revision of the Code made in 1870 in the reign of T'ung Chih.

The three classes of 'Fathers' and eight classes of 'Mothers' may be summarized as follows:

1. 同居繼父 T'UNG CHU CHI FU. A step-father, the second husband of one's mother with whom one has gone to live on her re-marriage.

2. 不同居繼父 PU T'UNG CHU CHI FU. A step-father, the second husband of one's mother with whom one has not gone to live.

3. 從繼母嫁 TS'UNG CHI MU CHIA. A step-father, the husband of one's step-mother whom, after one's own father's death, she re-marries and with whom one also goes to live.

1. 嫡母 TI MU. Principal mother, the 'legal wife' of the father as addressed by the son of a concubine.

2. 繼母 CHI MU. A step-mother who becomes one's father's legal wife by his re-marriage.

3. 養母 YANG MU. Adopting mother. One who adopts a child in infancy and brings him up as her own son.

4. 慈母 TZ'U MU. Kind mother. A father's concubine who after the death of one's own mother, and at the father's direction, brought one up.

5. 嫁母 CHIA MU. Married mother. One's own mother who, after one's father's death, re-marries.



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6. 出母 CH'U MU. Divorced mother. One's mother who has been driven out of one's father's house, that is, divorced.

7. 庶母 SHU MU. Secondary mother. Father's concubine as addressed by sons of legal wife, or sons of other concubines.

8. 乳母 JU MU. Milk mother. A foster mother. The text of *The Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, and Pierre Hoang confine the application of the terms JU MU to a foster-mother who was at the same time a concubine of the father, but it is commonly used to designate any wet-nurse.

There are yet more fathers and mothers to be met with in Chinese nomenclature. The son of a concubine refers to his own mother as 生母 SHENG MU, 'the mother who bore me.'

A son legally adopted by a member of his own family, his paternal uncle for example, refers to his adopted parents as SSU FU, MU 嗣父母; and having been so adopted he refers to his own father and mother as PEN SHENG FU, PEN SHENG MU 本生父, 本生母.*

Morgan's own explanation of the many 'mothers' of his 'Malayan System' as one of his stages of the human family as given in his *System of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, and repeated in his *Ancient Society*,† was that all the sisters of one's mother were one's 'Mothers' because they all were, or might be, the wives of one's father; whose brothers again all were, or might be, the husbands of one's mother, and of all her sisters.

McLennan in his *Primitive Marriage* had criticized this explanation by saying:

"Mr. Morgan says it is because they (the 'Mothers') are the wives of my fathers, and in the absence of a term in the language to denominate their exact relation to me, they must be called either my 'mothers' or nothing, and *e converso* I must be called their 'son.' But this is giving up his case.

"This is an explanation on the ground of poverty of language (of which no proof is adduced—nay more, of which there are facts to disprove), not an explanation from the nature of descents. And, indeed, if a man is called the 'son' of a woman who did not bear him, his being so called clearly defies explanation on the principles of natural descent. The imputed relationship is not, in that case, 'the one actually existing as near as the parentage of individuals could be known'; and accordingly Mr. Morgan's

*Pierre Hoang, *Op. cit* Tab. VIII. †Morgan. *Ancient Society* 1877 p. 409 et seq.



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proposition is not made out."* The proposition as to the 'Malayan System' referred to by McLennan was restated by Morgan in his *Ancient Society* as follows: "It is in part a system of blood relationships and in part of marriage relationships."

Morgan then replies to McLennan as follows:

"On the face of the statement the question involved is not one of parentage, but of marriage relationship. A man calls his mother's sister his mother, and she calls him her son, although she did not bear him. This is the case in the Malayan, Turanian and Ganowánian systems. Whether we have consanguine or punaluan marriages, a man's mother's sister is the wife of his reputed father. She is his step-mother as near as our system furnishes an analogue; and among ourselves a step-mother is called mother, and she calls her step-son son. It defies explanation, it is true, as a blood-relationship, which it does not pretend to be, but as a marriage relationship, which it pretends to be, this is the explanation."†

The Chinese family relationships were, as we have seen, included by Morgan in his 'Turanian' type of the human family. Morgan and McLennan, pioneers in the modern investigation of social phenomena, differed as we see as to the explanation of certain facts which they both assumed to be true.

Morgan himself collected his facts as to the system of relationship of the Iroquois, with whom he lived. As to the family relationship of the 'Turanian,' in which he includes the Chinese, and other races of mankind. Morgan worked upon answers obtained by the Diplomatic and Consular Representatives of the United States in foreign lands to a questionnaire sent to them.

As to the Chinese family, and its nomenclature, the questions put, or the answers given, must have been misunderstood: A man in China does not 'call his mother's sister his mother,' nor does she 'call him her son.'

Morgan in his *Ancient Society* contradicted McLennan's view that the 'Classificatory System of Relationship' was a system of modes of addressing persons, and re-affirms his, Morgan's, view that it was a 'System of consanguinity and affinity.‡

In his *Ancient Society*, Morgan says: "The most primitive system of consanguinity yet discovered is found among the Polynesians, of which the Hawaian will be used as typical. I have called it the Malayan system. Under it all consanguinei, near and remote, fall within some one of the following relation-

*McLennan. *Op. cit.* p. 345–6. †Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 519–20.
‡ Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 521.



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ships, namely, parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, brother and sister. No other blood relationships are recognized." The passage just quoted from ends as follows :

"Of the ancient general prevalence of this system of consanguinity over Asia there can be no doubt, because it is the basis of the Turanian system still prevalent in Asia." "It also underlies the Chinese."*

Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage*, published in 1903, criticized Morgan's hypothesis of promiscuity ; and, after a consideration of the nomenclature in Morgan's Tables, and the terms for relationship relied on by Morgan as inferring promiscuity as a primitive stage of the human family says : "There can be scarcely any doubt that the terms for relationship are, in their origin, terms of address."†

Could it be shown that, at any time, in China a man called, addressed, or described, *simpliciter*, without difference and sans phrase, any woman other his own mother who bore him, as his mother, then such fact would be strong presumptive evidence that such woman, or class of women, might have had marital relations with that man's father, evidence in fact of 'group-marriage' : but we have found no evidence of any such usage in the Chinese nomenclature.

The Chinese names, or rather designations, for kindred are not in fact 'classificatory' in the sense of Morgan's 'Classificatory System' ; they are, as we have seen, each and every of them 'descriptive.'

Although one does not find in the Chinese designations for their kindred in blood, or relations by marriage, any names, or rather characters or phrases, from which a primitive Chinese group-marriage can be inferred, traces of such a stage of family life in China, if it ever did exist, might be found elsewhere in Chinese records, or customs.

The *Chou Li* in stating the duties of the Mei-Chi, Marriage Officers, says :

"In the middle month of Spring, he orders the men and women to assemble. At this season those who unite without observing the six rites of marriage are not hindered, those who without any special excuse have not conformed to the Edicts [as to marriage] are punished by the Marriage Officer. He examines the unmarried men and women and calls them together." ‡

* Morgan. *Op. cit.* pp. 385–6. † Westermarck. *History of Human Marriage.* p. 89. ‡ *Chou Li.* Biot's French Translation. Vol. 1. pp. 307-8.



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Mons. Ed. Biot who translated the *Chou Li* into French draws attention, a in note on the passage just quoted, to a still older Chinese text which refers to marriages in the Spring, namely, the *Hsia-Hsiao-Chêng* (夏小正) the 'Lesser Calendar of the Hsia Dynasty,' part of which was found in the tomb of Confucius, and to which a date of 2,400 to 1,700 B.C. is assigned. Biot translated into French the extant portions of the Calendar, and they are to be found as a Note to his Essay 'Recherches sur la Temperature Ancienne de la Chine' in Volume X of the *Journal Asiatique*.

The succeeding events of the then Chinese year are given shortly under the heading of each month. Biot notes that the First Month of the Year in the times of the Hsia Dynasty was that immediately preceding the Spring Equinox. One of the happenings of the Second Moon is that "many women and young men are made happy. On a lucky 'Ting-hou' day, many people set up house."

In the *Lî Kî* there is a similar calendar,—the Yüeh Ling perhaps derived from the same original as that of Hsia, in which the official, and natural, happenings of each month of the year are directed and noted. Of the second month of Spring it is there said :

> "In this month the swallow makes its appearance. On the day of its arrival, the son of Heaven sacrifices to the first match-maker with a bull, a ram, and a boar. He goes to do so in person, with his queen and help-mates, attended by his nine ladies of honour. Peculiar courtesy is shown to those whom he has (lately) approached. Bow-cases have been brought, and a bow and arrows are given to each before (the altar of) the first match-maker."*

Westermarck in the second chapter of his work *The History of Human Marriage* discusses, it may be said proves, the existence of a human pairing season in primitive times. After giving observed instances of marriages among various savage people being contracted at a certain time of the year, Westermarck says : "It seems, therefore, a reasonable presumption that the increase of the sexual instinct at the end of Spring or in the beginning of summer, is a survival of an ancient pairing season, depending upon the same law that rules in the rest of the animal kingdom."†

When Biot translated the *Chou Li*, a translation published in 1851, after his death, a primitive human mating time depend-

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* *Sacred Books of the East.* (The *Lî-Kî*, Legge). Vol. XXVII. p. 259.

† Westermarck. *Op. cit.* p. 34.



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ing on the periodicity of desire was not a subject of research, and one can understand how the editors of Mons. Biot's translation of the *Chou Li* noted that they thought the passage in the *Chou Li* as to the duties of the Marriage Officer, quoted above, must be corrupt, in that it said that in the middle month of Spring those who were united without observing the 'six rites of marriage' were at that time allowed to do so.*

In view, however, of the researches since made as to a yearly marriage period observed by primitive races, is it not more likely that in the quoted passages from the Lesser Calendar of the Hsia Dynasty, the *Lî Kî*, and the *Chou Li* we have the record of such an annual mating time in China, an unbroken link with a prehuman past? As shortly described in the documents referred to, it is not however 'group-marriage' or the supposed earlier stage of unrestricted promiscuity which we find, but marriage, in a group it is true, of individual husbands and wives.

All writers on the family nomenclature of primitive races, names, and 'name-avoidance' refer to the difficulties experienced in getting answers to direct questions as to such matters, even from those in a position to supply them.

This difficulty was experienced by such a well equipped inquirer as May, and yet what far-reaching and erroneous conclusions have been come to, and to this day repeated by writers not so equipped, as regards the nomenclature of China.†

Sir Henry Maine said that it was difficult to say 'what society of men had not been originally based on the Patriarchal Family'; the expounders of the 'classificatory system of relationships' have felt no such difficulty; but would it not be well that the facts upon which they rely should be re-examined?‡

As regards China, there is nothing in the names for, or the modes of addressing, relatives to show that E-Yin, the Chief Minister of the first four Sovereigns of the Shang Dynasty was mistaken when, in advising King T'ae Keah, in 1539 B.C., he said "The Commencement is in the family and State; the consummation in the Empire."§

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For kindly assistance, criticism and correction thanks are due to my friend Sir James H. Stewart Lockhart, K.C.M.G., and my interpreters K. C. Tsang 張 國 珍 and Wên Kuai-fu 傅 文 魁.—H. P. W.

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* *Chou Li.* Biot's translation. Vol. I, p. 307. † May. *Op. cit.* p. 15. ‡ Maine. *Ancient Law.* p. 132. § Legge. *Ch. Classics.* Vol. II. pt. 1. p. 795.



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# THE 'NATURAL' BASIS OF CONFUCIAN ETHICS

BY

WILLIAM S. A. POTT.

In his essay on Religious Sentiment Matthew Arnold sums up pagan and mediæval Christian feeling in the arresting words, "When we see Pompeii, we can put our finger upon the pagan sentiment in its extreme. And when we read of Monte Alverno and the *stigmata*, when we read of the repulsive, because self-caused, sufferings of St. Francis's life — we can put our finger on the mediaeval Christian sentiment in its extreme." The traveller who visits Taishan, one of the sacred mountains of China, might with propriety consider that here he is viewing, in a sense, an epitome of Chinese civilization. And it is not merely the fact that he is standing upon so-called holy ground that induces this reflection. We mean something more than this. What actually provokes this train of thought is the unenviable lot of those chair-bearers, who, nimble and sure of foot as mountain goats, ascend and descend the sacred mount with their human loads. We are told that we have little idea of the training that these chair-bearers have to undergo, the exacting practice from youth with first inanimate burdens that has to be endured, and the physical punishments that must be suffered for mistakes and failures. Here is this strange juxtaposition then of the inspiring with the demeaning, of what elevates human nature with what degrades it. Is it not a good cross-section of Chinese society and Chinese civilization as a whole? Or if our allusion seem too fanciful, the plain every-day mal-adjustments of Chinese society will do for a point of departure. There is surely nothing new in saying that Confucianism is the cause of much of the present obsolescence, but our wish is to be more specific. Can we then with profit consider the so-called "natural" basis of Confucian ethics, try to see a little more clearly what the expression means, and gain thereby perhaps a better idea of the merits and defects of the Confucian ethical system as a whole?



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The Confucian ethics, with all its apparent artificialities, its meticulous prescriptions, its punctilious regard for forms and ceremonies, this, to us, elaborate and clumsy superstructure is yet reared upon a certain basic view of human nature as somehow good and in some way designed for morality. This proposition is central to the teaching of both Confucius and Mencius, and is stoutly maintained against the ultra-egoism of such philosophers as Yang-tze. The view is at times suffused with a vague metaphysical flavor, as, for example, in the opening sentences of the Doctrine of the Mean. (中 庸) "Being without inclination to either side is called *Chung*; admitting of no change is called *Yung*. By *Chung* is denoted the correct course to be pursued by all under heaven; by *Yung* is denoted the *fixed principle regulating all under heaven*. This work contains the law of the mind, which was handed down from one to another, in the Confucian school, till Tsze-sze, fearing lest in the course of time errors should arise about it, committed it to writing, and delivered it to Mencius. *The book first speaks of one principle; it next spreads this out, and embraces all things; finally it returns and gathers them all up under one principle.* Unroll it, and it fills the universe; roll it up and it retires and lies hid in mysteriousness—"* There is somehow a feeling, quite obscure and adumbrated, to be sure, but amounting nevertheless to the force of a conviction, that the whole universe is in some way pursuing a path that is, in the last analysis, good; and that human nature, as a phase of the cosmic process, has a course fixed *in rerum natura* that must be followed. This is called the way of Heaven. I do not press this latter point. Perhaps it cannot be pressed too far and it is not altogether vital to our present inquiry. It is more common to other thinkers who were more metaphysically minded than Confucius. But the latter's writings contain explicit statements that man is by nature good and that accordingly morality is, as Aristotle said, "the proper business of mankind." The ideal of the superior man is, then, regarded as a natural ideal. And it then follows, not by any process of proof or rational justification, but simply by constant asseveration, that the conduct of the superior man (as interpreted by Confucius and his followers, let us note) is the 'natural' and therefore best life! This is, of course, not logic. It is equivocation. But this is not a wholly unfair characterization of the thought process which serves almost as a matrix in which the maxims of the sage are set. The standards of the Superior Man were actually taken from an earlier and idealized Golden Age,

*Legge's Translation (italics mine).



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so remote that they might well be conceived as grounded in the very nature of things, and then set up again and systematically re-interpreted. Many of the moral conceptions recommend themselves on account of their own inherent excellence, but they do not, except by a confusion of thought, derive their validity or authority from the general view of the natural excellency of human nature. Herein lies the great defect of the Confucian ethics in its practical consequences. If an ethical system, drawn up at a particular time and in a certain society, and subject to the limitations of the period, be regarded as true 'naturally,' *in secula seculorum*, not only in its *general standpoint* but in all its *details*, then it straightway becomes inflexible and incapable of any inner self-modification. We apply the same criticism to our own intuitional ethics. Thus the view of human nature which we began by declaring good is really exploited in the interests of maintaining a moral *status quo*. We would take two passages from the Book of History to illustrate the confusion of thought that Confucius inherited whereby the specific features of the moral life are thought of as having an unquestioned sanction. "The great God has conferred upon (even) the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature *invariably* right;"* "From Heaven are the social relationships with their *several duties* ; we are charged with the enforcement of those five duties, and lo! we have the five courses of honorable conduct. From Heaven are the (social) distinctions with their *several ceremonies*—."†

All chance of change in any direction is now precluded *ab initio*, and a morality that is dynamic and prospective in outlook is forever impossible. Conservatism in the form of a recessional chanting of the past is the only thing left. The practical sequel is . . . well, the toilers of Taishan Mountain. We cannot with real profit make use of our natural principle in this fashion. As well might we declare that because eating is a perfectly natural function therefore particular methods of consuming food are fundamentally and eternally right and proper. All change of is improvement removed,—the improvement not simply of an ethical system, but, what is more important, the progressive improvement of man in society.

Nor can it be said that our western ethical systems have transformed to any appreciable extent our western life. And it must not be thought that we are claiming this superiority for them as against the ineffectiveness of Confucianism for reform.

* Book III. The *Announcement of Thang*. Book II. The *Counsels of Kao-Yao*. † Legge's trans. (Italics mine).



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The ethical progress of the West, as shown in the lives of individuals, and the improved democratic conceptions of society have not been due to the systems of our moral philosophers. They are due to the action of forces by which they themselves were influenced and which, it is to be regretted, they have not sufficiently recognized or sought to direct. This has been the great failure of our western ethical speculation, as the writer sought to show in a previous article in this journal*. Western ethics has been so beguiled by the search for the *summum bonum*, the one highest good of life, so intrigued by what Professor Perry in another connection aptly calls the "speculative dogma" that it has lost touch with the concrete moving forces in society which it is its business to interpret. It has, in short, neglected valuable opportunities to be of use. This is philosophy's standing reproach and the theme upon which Dewey and other contemporary thinkers are so forcefully dwelling. Our social and ethical philosophy need not be so ineffective and 'impractical,' but can and ought to be an active force for betterment. "The social philosopher, dwelling in the region of his concepts," says Dewey, "solves problems by showing the relationship of ideas, instead of helping men to solve problems in the concrete by supplying them with hypotheses to be used and tested in projects of reform. Meanwhile, of course, the concrete troubles and evils remain. They are not magically waived out of existence because in theory society is organic. The region of concrete difficulties, where the assistance of intelligent method . . . is urgently needed, is precisely where intelligence fails to operate. In this region of the specific and concrete, men are thrown back upon the crudest empiricism, upon short-sighted opportunism and the matching of brute forces. In theory, the particulars are all neatly disposed of; they come under their appropriate headings and categories; they are labelled and go into an orderly pigeon-hole in a systematic filing cabinet, labelled political science or sociology. But in empirical fact they remain as perplexing, confused and unorganized as they were before. So they are dealt with not by even an endeavor at scientific method, but by blind rule of thumb, citation of precedents, considerations of immediate advantage, smoothing things over, use of coercive force and the clash of personal ambitions."† Is not this indictment in large measure entirely merited? Somehow the world has gotten along and only the pessimist will deny that it is getting better; but one is reminded of Goethe's remark some-

*An Approach to the Study of Confucian Ethics*, Oct. 1920.

† Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy*, p. 192.



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where about what a terribly long journey humanity had to travel before it became even to a degree kind to the unkind, thoughtful to the thoughtless, just to the unjust. And the Occidental philosophies have not given very much assistance in this slow conquest of evil and stupidity.

And yet, with all its inappositeness, it is possible for western ethics, born as it was of a spirit of free inquiry and aiming always to set forth the conscious grounds of its conclusions, to become, if it would but alter its direction and turn its gaze outward, a more flexible and powerful instrument for progress than it has ever been its fortune to be in the past. The same cannot be said for the Confucian ethic. This has been rivetted for centuries to conceptions that have always been regarded as 'natural', and sanctified by age and therefore still more natural. Meanwhile we witness the phenomenon of the Chinese world slipping out from under to give it the lie. We are not here advocating the abolition of Confucianism *in toto*, but suggesting the need of a more critical and fair scrutiny thereof. Writing of the nature of ethical enquiry in the west during the Middle Ages, Hall has a sentence which we would borrow. "If ethics," says he, "is system clear cut, sharply defined, based upon final divine utterances, the examination and exposition of those utterances is the only method of approach."* The result was what we know as Scholasticism with all its "vermiculate questions." The role of Scholasticism was to systematize and elaborate truths vouchsafed once for all. And in his condemnation of the unreality and triviality of Scholasticism Francis Bacon was, in his quaintly vivid style, most unsparing. We are reminded of a passage from the *Advancement of Learning*: "This kind of dogmatic learning did chiefly reign among the schoolmen, who, having sharp and strong wits, and abundance of leisure, and small variety of reading, but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors, chiefly Aristotle their dictator, as their persons were shut in the cells of monasteries and colleges, and knowing little history, either of nature or time, did out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite agitation of spirit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books. For the wit and mind of man, if it work upon matter, which is the contemplation of the creatures of God, worketh according to the stuff and is limited thereby; but if it work upon itself, as the spider worketh its web, then it is endless, and brings forth indeed cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance and

* Hall, *History of Ethics within Organized Christianity*. p. 334.



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profit." The condition of Chinese ethical thought for the most part has been precisely this. If it has not been based upon final divine utterances, it none the less rests upon foundations equally sempiternal because 'natural' and authenticated by Confucius. The examination and exposition of his views then becomes the the only method of approach.

The Confucian ethic is not the only ethic that has recourse to sanctions in nature. In fact this is a feature common to most systems of morality. In some it is a good deal more explicit than in others, but in all of them the subsequent details are colored by some special conception of what is the 'natural'. Stoicism, for example, might regard its teachings as true, but a life "according to nature" for the Stoic is a very different matter from what it is, let us say, for Thomas Hobbes or for Rousseau or for Tolstoi. The view of humanity as socially inclined and potentially moral, if not actually predisposed to morality, it was the merit of Confucius and Mencius to have pointed out centuries before the view became what it is now, a psychological commonplace. The idea does not originate with them. It is found in the Book of History.* But it is a pregnant principle, and it was no small achievement to have anticipated our present conclusions at such a remote period. But how then was it employed? It was made the guarantor of the existing order and the vindicator of the particular social arrangements that had come down from antiquity. Chinese ethics has thus degenerated into dogmatism, although the dogmatism is of a very high order and expressive of a very lofty ideal of personal character.

It is to be hoped that we have not made too much of a to-do over the 'natural' basis of the Confucian ethics. We have tried to suggest wherein it is natural and wherein it is purely relative and artificial, in the sense, at least, of being human. And then we have attempted to show how the unwarranted insinuation of the 'natural' into the 'artificial' has worked a great deal of unintended mischief, and in the end is bound to spell arrest of development both for the individual and the society which largely creates him. A fresh fluidity of thought, a new mobility of mind free from the benumbing influence of an effete tradition is not to be conjured into being by mere words. It is only to be attained by an awakened curiosity, a surer method, a sounder knowledge and a wider sympathy. Without these may not Confucianism well be a hindrance rather than a help to the amelioration of Chinese society and that democratic *desideratum* of "hope and a renovation without end"?



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# A STUDY OF ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA—1692-1744

BY

HOLLIS W. HERING, M.A.

*(Concluded)*

## The Period of Repression
## 1723-1744

On December 20, 1722, the great K'ang Hsi died, and was succeeded by his fourth son. Yung Chêng was frankly hostile to Westerners, and his accession ushered in our third period, marked by the repression and proscription of the missionaries. During his reign and that of his successor Ch'ien Lung, the China mission was practically destroyed.

### I.

As was to be expected, the first move in this repressive policy came from the mandarins. Yung Chêng's sentiments were fairly well known and hardly was he seated on the throne when there came to him a memorial from the Governor of the province of Fukien.* This memorial protested that the Roman Catholics aimed entirely to Europeanize China, and begged the Emperor to relieve the provinces of them, either accommodating them at court, or banishing them to Macao. The memorial was referred to the Board of Rites, which with great promptitude issued the Edict of January 24, 1724, prohibiting Christianity throughout the Empire, and confiscating the churches. The Peking missionaries, on account of their scientific knowledge, were to remain at court, but all others were banished to Macao † (later changed to Canton). This marked the definite turning-point in the history of the mission, for now Christianity was branded throughout the Empire as a prohibited religion, and all attempts to propagate it made illegal.

Encouraged by the reception of this edict, in 1729 one of the influential palace mandarins memorialized the Emperor to the

* Ljungstedt: 177. † Brucker: 506.



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effect that there were too many Europeans in Peking, a number of whom were useless, occupying themselves with entrapping Chinese into embracing Christianity; that some were in hiding in the provinces; and that many of the churches were not yet converted to public use.* The resulting orders were so secret that the missionaries could not learn them.

But the mandarins in the provinces did not dare go too far, for the Jesuits at Peking were still valuable to the country. Yung Chêng's powerful prime minister (his brother) relied considerably on their counsel, and consulted them, especially Father Parennin, on many state questions. Nevertheless, he could not be induced to revoke the edict exiling the missionaries from the provinces.† Moreover, his distrust of a political animus led him for a long time to refuse Gaubil's application for permission to make certain astronomical observations on the western frontiers of China. In 1730, however, the prime minister died, and the mandarins' hostility reappeared strongly. On August 8, 1732, the Board of Rites issued orders that the missionaries who had been permitted to remain in Cantons hould leave for Macao.‡ As the court still showed favour to the Peking missionaries, some of the mandarins in the provinces were blind to the fact that many exiled missionaries had returned and were at work there secretly. But in the later years of the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, the viceroys of Fukien and of Kiangnan determined to execute the repressive edicts to the letter, and instituted widespread and searching persecutions.§

The growing hostility also of the people at large was shown in the increasing persecutions. In the provinces, the enemies of Christianity, as might be expected, discovered this to be a good time or paying off private scores, or for extorting money.¶ Finding their excesses condoned, they grew bolder, dragging many of the native Christians before the magistrates. These were here tortured, menaced, bastinadoed, in the effort to make them abjure the foreign religion.‖ In 1730 a severe persecution broke out in Fukien, and was only checked by the disastrous earthquakes in Peking which occurred from September 30 to October 5 of that year. The superstitious awe of the Chinese was aroused by the fact that out of 74,000 killed in the city or suburbs only 7 were Christians. •Even the missionaries felt that this was a marvellous escape, especially in the mission compound which was

* Parennin to Du Haldo, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XX, 299, 300. †Brucker: 522. ‡Ibid: 522. §Chavannes de la Giraudière: *Les Chinois pendant une Période de 4458 années*, 165. ¶Williams: II, 304. ‖Chavannes de la Giraudière: 159.



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almost wholly destroyed. It was due, as we are gravely told, to the fact that "tous nos domestiques étaient alors dans des lieux où ils ne devaient pas être." * For a while thereafter the people were quiet, but by 1741 persecution was again raging.†

The fundamental principle of the two emperors of this period (Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung) was to allow no missionaries in the provinces, and was certainly inspired by fear that foreign influence would through them strike at the roots of political control in China.‡ In the Middle Kingdom, there was no difference between spiritual and temporal power, and the Emperors firmly believed that in becoming Christian the Chinese people would actually come under the political authority of the missionaries. These, in turn, were themselves constantly invoking an infallible Western sovereign. § Yung Chêng declared this in so many words, for he exclaimed to the Jesuits :

> " Vous prétendez que votre loi n'est pas une loi fausse. Je le crois. . . Vous voulez que tous les Chinois se fassent chrétiens, votre loi le demande, je le sais bien ; mais dans ce cas-là, que deviendrions-nous ? *les sujets de vos rois*."¶

From this arose the rather anomalous policy of favouring the missionaries at Peking, and proscribing more and more rigorously those in the provinces. Yung Chêng, on his accession, was greatly angered that, in defiance of the Chinese law, many of the missionaries had crept back to the interior without the Imperial license. ‖ It was this which made him approve the action of the Board of Rites in 1724, banishing the provincial missionaries to Canton. It was this which inspired his reply in regard to the memorial of Benedict XIII :

> " I cannot permit the missionaries to live in the provinces. Why does your pope wish them to be in the provinces? If I sent bonzes to Europe, how would you treat them ? As fanatic disturbers of the peace and public mind deserve."#

This political fear was unquestionably the reason for his bitter persecution of the princely converts, the house of Sourmia. These he exiled to Manchuria, degraded, and continually persecuted to the never-ending lament of the missionaries.°

In 1726, Gaubil wrote from Peking :

> " In one word, he (the Emperor) suspects us : a thousand secret enemies speak to him against us. The past

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* Brucker : 523. † Robert to Brisson, in *Lettres Edifiantes* : XXII, 482. ‡ Brucker : 504. § Chavannes de la Giraudière : 154. ¶ Ibid : 155. ‖ Ljungstedt : 177. # Ljungstedt : 196. ° Parennin to Du Halde, in *Lettres Edifiantes* : XX, 107-235.



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disputes, the visitations of the two patriarchs, the generally diffused idea that we are not loyal, and that we have no fixity in our laws—all this renders the missionaries contemptible."* Finally in 1732, as above stated, Yung Chêng ordered all the priests at Canton to be sent to Macao, with positive injunctions to quit the country by the first ship. †

His policy was continued by Ch'ien Lung, for the chief difference in the conduct of these two emperors, who, on the one hand, flattered the missionaries, and on the other signed edict after edict of repression,‡ seemed to be that Ch'ien Lung was the more violent of the two. In 1736 he came to the throne, thoroughly ready to take extreme measures to rid the countrv of the foreigners.§

He issued edicts against even the Peking missionaries, but these were cancelled almost at once, as he was anxious to learn about the great scientific, artistic, and industrial works of Europe. He did, however, institute a rigorous search for the Christian leaders in the provinces, and the inevitable response to this avowed act of hostility on his part was the terrible persecution of Fukien, mentioned above. ¶

## II.

We have shown that both Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung made evident their fear of European control in the provinces. The European powers did not always act as circumspectly as might have been wished under the circumstances, and more than once during this period added fuel to the fire. Parennin had been given the position, to all practical purposes, of court interpreter in the pay of the Emperor. In this capacity, the Court of Moscow had found him so useful that the Czar Peter I and the two succeeding Czarinas regularly sent thanks to him for his services, accompanying these thanks with magnificent praises of his wisdom and his skill in statecraft.‖ This was much, coming from the power which the Chinese feared above all others.

In 1727 the King of Portugal sent an embassy to Yung Chêng which was headed by Metello de Sousa. Sousa's official instructions were to present to the Emperor Portugal's compliments on his coming to the throne, and to ask for a continuance of the good relations between the two countries. At first all went well, for the Emperor was charmed by Sousa's magnificence and pleasing personality. Unfortunately, Sousa did not stop with his

* Steinmetz, *History of the Jesuits*: III, 503. † Ljungstedt: 178. ‡ Chavannes de la Giraudière: 162. § Williams: II, 305. ¶ Ljungstedt: 178. ‖ Chalier to Verchere, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XXII, 394.



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instructions, but made a strong appeal for the missionaries to be allowed the freedom of the provinces. As Sousa was the official representative of Portugal this fanned to flame the smouldering suspicions of Yung Chêng, and on May 28, 1727, the very day of the official reception, he fulminated a repressive edict against the Christians. * He afterwards blamed Parennin very severely for not having warned Sousa against making such a plea since toleration in the provinces was something he would never grant.

But again of the European powers it remained for the papacy to give the mission its hardest blow. In 1725, the Carmelite friars Gotardo de Santa Maria and Ildefonso de Natividade arrived in China with a memorial from Benedict XIII. Although couched in complimentary phrases and suave formulae, this memorial was practically a demand that the missionaries be allowed the freedom of the provinces.† It was in reply to this that Yung Chêng, in some exasperation, likened the missionaries out in the country to "fanatic disturbers of the peace and public mind." ‡ In 1742, however, Benedict XIV gave the mission the *coup de grâce*. It must be remembered that when in 1721, Mezzabarba published his "eight permissions" in connection with the bull *Ex illa die*, some of the Orders cried out in horror. They therefore sent Father Castorani (a Franciscan and bishop of Peking) to Rome to obtain the condemation of these permissions. He had a long fight, but finally, in 1742, obtained from the pope the bull *Ex quo singulare.* § This was a drastic condemnation of Mezzabarba's concessions, and peremptorily ordered unreserved and absolute obedience to the decision of the Pope in regard to the Chinese Rites. There was no loop-hole of escape ; no further appeal was allowed. The Bull was published in China in 1744. We cannot do better, perhaps, than to recall the summing up made by Steinmetz of the conditions faced by the missionaries in their attempt to apply the Pope's decree :

> "Everything tended to aggravate the proscription. The Chinese constantly dreaded the innovations that might be introduced by the men who came with a 'national sanction' to promote the commercial views of Louis XIV ; the horrible reverses of the Church of Japan, connected with similar practices . . . the extirpation of the "Christian" religion in Tonquin ; the interminable differences of the Christians among themselves ; in fine, the striking fact, that the Dutch, Swedish, Danish and English traders at Macao differed in religion with the Chinese Christians at Macao, though taught

* Brucker : 509. † Ljungstedt : 196. ‡ *Ubi supra.* § Ljungstedt: 176.



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by Europeans—all these facts were ever present to the minds of the jealous, and shrewd, and reflecting Chinese, when Benedict XIV fulminated the last bull against the Chinese rites. . . . "*

## III.

During this period the missionaries in Peking were, as a rule, safe. In the capital there were three churches and twenty-two Jesuits, ten who were French, the others Portuguese, Italians and Germans, and of these twenty-two seven were in the direct service of the Emperor.† For a while these missionaries could practice their religion openly, ‡ and at times the emperors even treated them with marked favour.§ They used every opportunity that they could seize or make to plead for Christianity and its extension in the provinces, with the natural result that more than once they endangered their own position. When in 1732 the missionaries in Canton were ordered to leave for Macao the Peking Jesuits used every scrap of influence they had to have the edict mitigated. But the only visible result of these efforts was the thorough angering of Yung Chêng so that in 1733 he threatened to expel even those in the court. ¶

This taught them a little caution, apparently, for in 1734, when a case in regard to hidden missionaries was sent to the Imperial Criminal Tribunal for the Emperor's ratification of the death-sentence, the Jesuits resorted to intermediaries. By the help of the latter they found that the scribes of the Tribunal had drawn up a minute putting the mission in the utmost danger, a minute of which Parennin himself declares that "les trois Presidens n'auroient pas même balancé à la signer de peur de paroître favoriser les Européens, dans une affaire positivement contraire aux volontés et aux ordres de l'Empereur."‖ Among other things, this minute strongly recommended a strict search for hidden missionaries in all the provinces, which would alone have spelled ruin as it would have given the Emperor a chance of carrying out the threat he had recently made against them. By means of diplomatically presenting to the scribes a considerable sum of money (one-third of two hundred pounds) the minute was changed and the crisis passed for the time being.

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* Steinmotz: III, 505. † Attiret to D'Assaut, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XXII, 524. ‡ Ibid: 521. § Parennin to Du Halde, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XX, 236. ¶ Brucker: 528. ‖ Parennin to Du Halde, in *Lettres Edifiantes*: XX, 287.



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In this same year, during the persecution in Paoting-fu, Parennin wrote of those in Peking :

"Depuis le mois de mars nous avons été longtemps sans oser guères sortir de la maison, que pour aller au palais, et aux autres endroits où le service de l'Empereur demandoit notre présence. Lorsqu'il falloit administrer les sacremens aux moribonds, nous autres Européens, nous n'allions que dans les lieux où il n'y avoit point à craindre que nous fussions surpris." *

The French Jesuits, during this period, were far from cutting themselves off from their home land. Father Jacques, writing from Peking, November 1, 1727, to Souciet in France, says :

"Il faut que nous soyons liés avec Mrs. de l'Académie, et que ces Mrs. soient content de nous. Telle est l'intention du Roy, notre illustre fondateur : telles sont les intentions des supérieurs de la Compagnie qui ont souvent envoyé en Chine leurs ordres sur celà. Tels sont nos véritables intérêts." †

Considering the political fears of Yung Chêng, however, perhaps the most incomprehensible act on the part of the Peking Jesuits was in regard to the treaty of 1726. This was a commercial treaty drawn up with Russia, and Brucker proudly calls our attention to the fact that the missionaries "n'oublièrent pas les intérêts de la France ; le P. Parênnin envoya au P. De Linières, confesseur de Louis XV, pour être communiqués aux ministres du roi, une copie de ce traité, accompagnée d'amples éclaircissements." ‡

By the Edict of 1724, all missionaries were banished from the provinces, under penalty of death, unless provided with the Imperial Patent. On their part, however, the missionaries felt that they had been commissioned by the Pope to go throughout China, and the Pope's personal representative had forbidden their subscribing to this patent. That the Pope was to them a far higher authority than the Emperor they promptly made evident. Out of the thirty exiles who were at Canton, sixteen disappeared, leaving behind the strong presumption that they had returned to their congregations. It was in the exasperation following this knowledge that the Emperor issued the edict of 1732, banishing the remaining priests to Macao.§ Difficulties did not discourage them, however, for Father Attiret could write later :

"Plusieurs des Missionnaires chassés sont rentrés secrètement dans les provinces ; de nouveaux venus les ont suivis

* Ibid : 294. † *Revue de l'Extrême-Orient* : III, 222. ‡ Brucker : 507. § Ljungstedt: 178.



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> en assez grand nombre. Ils s'y tiennent tous cachés le mieux qu'ils peuvent . . . prenant des mesures pour n'être pas découverts, et ne faisant guère leurs fonctions que la nuit." *

In 1732, Gaubil reported that the missionaries, hidden in the provinces, were for the moment not disturbed. But, he adds, "nous sommes dans des alarmes continuelles, et, à la premiére accusation, nous risquon d'être tous chassés."† And about the same time he speaks of the Spanish Dominicans hidden in the province of Fukien as suffering greatly. ‡

While thus they faithfully tried to carry on their work, the results even before 1742 were far from encouraging. Again quoting from Gaubil, we find that

> "Les lettrés et gens en place qui voudraient se faire chrétiens, nous quittent dès lors que, selon les ordres du Souverain-Pontife, nous leurs publions les décrets, même avec les permissions que laissa M. le patriarch Mezzabarba :§

When the bull *Ex quo singulare* was published in China, their position became absolutely untenable. As, by their disagreement among themselves, they had originally raised the Rites dispute and referred it to the Pope, they had now no alternative but to accept his decision. Not so the Chinese. Realizing that the Court and the educated classes were becoming more and more opposed to the missionaries, while the missionaries were setting themselves ever more uncompromisingly against ancient Chinese customs, the people at large turned against the priests. We have already mentioned the persecution in Fukien. By 1747 this had extended over all the provinces of the Empire, all foreign priests found anywhere were sent away, while Bishop Sanz and five Dominicans were killed. ¶ From that time work in the China mission was practically at a stand still until towards the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was resumed.

Thus, in this period, the Chinese edicts against the missionaries were inspired by fear of political interference on the part of the powers sending out the missionaries. This fear the latter strengthened by their close relations with foreign courts, by their disregard of the laws of China, and by their persistently placing, for themselves and their converts, the authority of a Westerner above that of the Emperor.

## CONCLUSION.

One great hindrance in presenting Christianity to non-Christian peoples has always been the lack of harmony among the

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* *Lettres Edifiantes* : XXII, 521. † Brucker : 506. ‡ Ibid : 512.
§ Ibid : 501. ¶ Williams : II, 305.



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missionaries themselves. In modern times, this has been evident in the denominational differences; in the time which we have been reviewing it was evident in the disputes of the different Orders. The Jesuits, who were the first on the field, were all high-class, learned men, and made their progress by appealing to the Chinese reverence for education. They emphasized tract distribution, and, believing that where the mandarins and the literati led, the Chinese people would follow, they continually endeavoured to conciliate and learn from these two classes. Their policy was so successful that by 1692 practically all China lay open to the teaching of Christianity. On the other hand, the other Orders, arriving later on the field, made their approach direct to the common people, receiving from these the interpretation of Chinese beliefs. Feeling that the Jesuits were departing from their apostolic mission, and were allowing a criminal invasion of worldliness and heathen customs into the Catholic faith, they took the only course open to them, as they believed, and appealed to the Supreme Head of the Church. Apparently the Jesuits alone realized whither this would tend. The others either did not or could not perceive until too late that by appealing to the authority of an outside power (one, moreover, too far away to have an intelligent grasp of the situation) they were wounding the great pride of the Chinese and arousing a fear of Western political interference. The controversy which followed certainly reflected no credit on anyone concerned, and, in the eyes of the watchful Chinese, rendered Christianity contemptible. Even so, the mission might have held its position had not the foreign powers and the missionaries in China had too obvious a relationship. Here the Jesuits, by their very attainments, proved to be their own source of danger. Their great scientific researches, the results of which they sent back to their home-lands, and their linguistic attainments, of such value to foreign powers, helped to make the Chinese suspicious of their motives in coming to the Middle Kingdom.

Considered as a whole, therefore, the history of the Roman Catholic mission in China during the years 1692 to 1744 points a moral worth noting. For, by disputes among themselves, by appeals to the Pope, by the political help they gave to foreign courts, the missionaries awakened the caution of K'ang Hsi. By their tactless insistence on placing the authority of a Western power above that of the Emperor, and by their endeavours to make this idea prevail among their converts, they brought on themselves the full displeasure of the Emperors Yung Chêng and Ch'ien Lung. Therefore, we may reasonably say that *the decline of the mission from* 1692 *to* 1744 *was due to a lack of harmony among the*



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*missionaries and to a lack of tact towards the Chinese which inspired in the latter a constant fear of political interference on the part of the European powers sending out the missionaries.*

## Appendix I.

### EDICT OF TOLERATION, 1692.

"Moi, votre sujet Coupoutai, premier président de la cour souveraine des rites, et chef de plusieurs autres tribuneaux, je présente avec respect cette déclaration à votre Majesté, pour obéir à ses ordres en toute soumission. Nous avons délibéré, moi et mes assesseurs, sur l'affaire qu'elle nous a communiquée, et nous avons trouvé que ces Européens ont traversé de vastes mers, et sont venus des extrémités de la terre, attirés par votre haute sagesse, et par cette incomparable vertu qui charme tous les peuples, et qui les retient dans le devoir. Ils ont présentement l'intendance de l'astronomie et du tribunal des mathématiques. Ils se sont appliqués avec beaucoup de soin à faire des machines de guerre et à fondre des canons, dont on s'est servi dans les derniers troubles civils. Quand on les a envoyés à Nipchou, avec nos ambassadeurs, pour y traiter de la paix avec les Moscovites, ils ont trouvé moyen de faire réussir cette négociation : enfin ils ont rendu de grands services à l'empire. On n'a jamais accusé les Européens qui sont dans les provinces d'avoir fait aucun mal, ni d'avoir commis aucun désordre. La doctrine qu'ils enseignent n'est point mauvaise ni capable de séduire le peuple et de causer des troubles. On permet à tout le monde d'aller dans les temples des Lamas, des Ho-chang, des Tao-sse, et l'on défend d'aller dans les églises des Européens, qui ne font rien de contraire aux lois ; cela ne paraît pas raisonnable. Il faut donc laisser toutes les églises de l'empire dans l'état où elles étaient auparavant, et permettre à tout le monde d'y aller adorer Dieu, sans inquieter dorénavant personne pour cela. Nous attendons l'ordre de votre Majesté pour faire exécuter cet arrêt dans toute l'étendue de l'empire.

"Fait par les officiers en corps, le troisième jour de la deuxième lune de la trente et unième année du regne de Kang-hi (le 22 mars, 1692)."

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, XX, 1848, 402.



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## Appendix II.

### CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL DATES.

1552 Death of St. Francis Xavier, near Macao.
1585 Gregory XIII, on January 25, gives the missionary care of China to the Jesuits, and confirms the "Jus Patronatus" to Portugal.
1692 On March 22, K'ang Hsi issues his Edict of Toleration.
1696 Pope divides China into fourteen Apostolic Vicariates.
1701 Clement XI appoints Charles Maillard de Tournon his legate, *a latere*.
1703 Church in the palace grounds is formally opened.
1705 K'ang Hsi grants an interview to de Tournon on Dec. 31.
1706 On August 2, K'ang Hsi condemns the attitude of Maigrot, Bishop of Conon; and on December 30 issues the edict requiring the Imperial Patent from all missionaries in China.
1707 De Tournon forbids the missionaries to subscribe to the Imperial Patent. He is imprisoned at Macao.
1710 Death of de Tournon.
1711 Memorial attacking Christianity is presented to K'ang Hsi by Fan Chao-tso.
1715 Clement XI issues the bull *Ex illa die.*
1716 Ching Mow, military mandarin of Canton, presents a memorial against Westerners to the Military Board.
1720 Patriarch Mezzabarba arrives in China.
1721 Mezzabarba grants his "eight permissions."
1722 K'ang Hsi dies on Dec. 20. He is succeeded by Yung Chêng.
1724 Yung Chêng issues an edict prohibiting Christianity throughout the Empire. All missionaries in the provinces are banished to Canton.
1727 Arrival of the Portuguese embassy headed by Metello de Sousa.
1730 Persecution breaks out in Fukien.
1732 Board of Rites orders all missionaries in Canton to quit the country by the first ship available.
1734 Persecution rages in Paoting-fu.
1736 Ch'ien Lung becomes emperor.
1742 Benedict XIV issues the bull *Ex quo singulare*, published in China in 1744.



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## APPENDIX III.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY.

### REFERENCE WORKS.

The Catholic Encyclopaedia, edited by C. G. Heberman and others. 15 vols. New York, 1907-1912. (Articles on China, Ricci, Schall, Society of Jesus, Verbiest).

The standard encyclopædia for all things relating to the Roman Catholic Church. It contains good bibliographies.

Cordier, Henri. Bibliotheca Sinica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des Ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire chinois. Ed. 2. 4 vols. Paris, 1904-1908.

The great bibliographical work on China, by one who has devoted his life to the study of that country.

De Backer, Augustin. Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus; ou, Notices bibliographiques. 3 vols. Liège, 1869-1876.

An authoritative bibliography on the life and writings of Jesuits by one of the Order. It is arranged alphabetically by name of the man treated.

Migne, L'Abbé. Dictionnaire des missions Catholiques. 2 vols. Paris, 1863-1864. (Vol. I, Biographical; Vol. II, Historical).

One of Migne's great compilations. Authoritative as far as it goes, but incomplete.

### ORIGINAL SOURCES.

Documents inédits pour servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de l'Extrême-Orient; compiled by Henri Cordier. In La Revue de l'Extrême Orient, III. Paris, 1887.

A series of original letters from Jesuits in China, to which Cordier was given access.

Gonzales de S. Pierre, François (Religieux de l'Ordre de S. Dominique, & Missionnaire Apostolique à la Chine). Relation de la Nouvelle Persecution de la Chine, jusqu'à la Mort du Cardinal de Tournon. n.p. 1714.

A bitter attack on the Jesuits, written in the heat of controversy by an ardent supporter of de Tournon.

Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, écrites des Missions Etrangères. Nouvelle édition. 26 vols. Paris (chez J. G. Merigot le jeune), 1703-1788. Mémoires de la Chine are found in volumes 16 to 22.



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An invaluable collection of letters written by Jesuits, and pertaining to their work on the mission field. Of prime significance to anyone studying this great Society.

Ripa. Memoirs of Father Ripa, during thirteen years' residence at the Court of Pekin in the service of the Emperor of China: selected and translated from the Italian by Fortunato Prandi. London, 1844.

A very readable account by a missionary of the Propaganda of his life and work in China.

### General Works.

Baddeley, J. F. Father Matteo Ricci's Chinese World-maps, 1584-1608. (The Geographical Journal, October, 1917).

An analysis of Ricci's map, the publishing of which was of great use to the mission in China.

Brucker, Joseph. La Mission de Chine de 1722 à 1735. (Revue des Questions Historiques, Paris, XXIX, 1881).

A critical study, based on unpublished documents, from which quotations are freely made. The author is a Jesuit, and prejudiced in favour of his Society.

Chavannes de la Giraudière, H. de. Les Chinois pendant une Période de 4458 Années. Tours, 1845.

Short, but contains an excellent summary of Roman Catholic missions in China.

Cordier, Henri. L'Arrivée des Portugais en Chine. Leide, 1911.

A brief monograph, taking up the early trade relations between China and the West.

Crétineau-Joly, Jacques. Histoire religieuse, politique et littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus, composée sur les documents inédits et authentiques. 6 vols. Paris, 1845.

A compendious and impartial history. The last two volumes take up this period.

Henrion, Matthieu R. A. Histoire générale des missions catholiques depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours. 2 vols. Paris, 1847.

An excellent general history. It is not detailed, and is somewhat out of proportion, but gives a good survey of the field.

Jenkins, Robert C. The Jesuits in China and the Legation of Cardinal de Tournon. An examination of conflicting evidence and an attempt at an impartial judgment. London, 1894.

An exceedingly valuable and scholarly investigation from primary sources of this great Legation.



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Launay, Adrien. Nos missionnaires, précédés d'une Etude historique sur la Société des Missions Etrangères. Paris, 1886.

The introduction only relates to this period. This book should only be used in case his larger history is not available.

Ljungstedt, Sir Andrew. An historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China; and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China. Boston, 1836.

An early study by a man hostile to missionary work.

McCabe, J. A candid History of the Jesuits. New York, 1913.

A book written by a former Jesuit to prove the dangerous character of the Society.

Moidrey, Joseph de. La Hiérarchie Catholique en Chine, en Corée et au Japon. (1307-1914) Zi-ka-wei, près Chang-Hai, 1914.

A chronological outline, with brief notes, written by a Jesuit missionary now in China.

Perez, Lorenzo. Origen de las Misiones Franciscanas en la Provincia de Kwang-Tung (China). Madrid, 1918. (Extracto del Archivo Ibero. Americano Numeros 20-23.

An excellent recent study, with original documents quoted at length.

Rohrbacher, René François. Histoire universelle de l'Eglise Catholique. 29 vols. Paris, 1857-61.

An important and full, although rather early, history.

Steinmetz, Andrew. History of the Jesuits from the Foundation of their Society to its Suppression by Pope Clement XIV, their Missions throughout the World, their educational System and Literature, with their Revival and present State. 3 vols. London, 1848.

A standard work on the Jesuits. While not giving them unqualified approval, it treats them sympathetically.

Walshe, W. Gilbert. Christianity in China under the Ming and early Manchu Emperors. (The Church Missionary Review, September, 1908).

An excellent brief study, by a Protestant missionary.

Williams, Samuel Wells. The Middle Kingdom. A survey of the Geography, Government, Literature, Social Life, Arts and History of the Chinese Empire and its Inhabitants. Rev. ed. 2. vols. New York, 1895-1901.

A standard Protestant account of the Chinese Empire.



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## Periodicals.

Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. Lyons, 1825
Chinese Recorder. Foochow, 1869-72. Shanghai, 1874-1920.
Chinese Repository. Canton, 1833-1851.
Church Missionary Intelligencer. London, 1876-1906; continued to date as Church Missionary Review.

The following books were not available for this study, but should also be consulted:—

Andre-Marie: Missions Dominicaines dans l'Extrême-Orient. 2 vols. Paris, 1865.
Bernardin de Rouen, Victor: Histoire universelle des Missions Franciscaines. 2 vols. Paris, 1898.
Casartelli: Catholic Missions. London, 1891.
Huc: Le Christianisme en Chine, en Tartarie, et au Thibet.
Launay: Histoire de la Société des Missions Etrangères. Paris, 1896.
Mosheim: Authentik Memoirs of the Christian Church in China. London, 1750.
Roy: Histoire abrégée des Missions Catholiques depuis le XVe Siècle jusqu'à nos Jours. Tours, 1855.

The writer of this useful study was too far away to be communicated with or the following notes might, perhaps, have been embodied in the paper.

To speak of Papal infallibility in connexion with the Rites controversy is not really correct; none of the documents published in that connexion were definitions *ex cathedrâ*, such as alone, according to the Vatican Council, would have the privilege of infallibility. But, of course, the decisions were none the less obligatory.

As to commercial dealings, it must be noted that trading is expressly forbidden to Members of the Society, both by their rules and by the Canon law; anyone proved guilty of the offence would be dismissed from the Order. The author was probably not able to refer to the polemic between certain Jansenist pamphleteers and P. de Goville, Procureur of the Missions in Canton (*Réponse à la lettre de Père de Goville*, etc., Paris, 1736), in which by the testimony of Naval Officers and Merchants of the Compagnie des Indes he proved the accusations of trading were false.

As to the charge of disobedience to the pontifical decisions, Brucker in the *Dict. de Théologie Catholique* (s.v. Cérémonies Chinoises) proves that though the Jesuits fought tooth and nail to the last minute for a cause which they knew was already lost at Rome, they conformed fully to the decisions of Clement XI and Benedict XIV as soon as those decisions came into force.

To the valuable bibliography should be added the new edition of P. de Backer by PP. Sommervogel and Bliard; Cordier's *Histoire Générale de la Chine*; the numerous articles in the *T'oung Pao*—especially on the Jesuits in Peking,—by Pelliot and Cordier; and the very important Article by P. Brucker mentioned above. [Editor *N. C. Review.*]



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# SILKIES

BY

A. C. MOULE.

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These curious fowls which are found in China and Japan, and, according to a scientific dictionary quoted by Cordier, all over Asia, have provided one of the stock difficulties in Marco Polo, who says (Vol. II, p. 226) "You must know that they have a kind of fowls which have no feathers, but hair only, like a cat's fur. They are black all over; they lay eggs just like our fowls, and are very good to eat." Odoric on the other hand says (Cordier's edition, p. 265) "The fowls there are as white as snow, and have no feathers like our fowls but wool like sheep."

Everyone who has seen them in China knows that they are in fact white and not black. I do not think that any commentator on Marco Polo or Odoric has given an explanation of Marco Polo's statement; but in his *Ser Marco Polo*, 1920, pp. 98, 99, Cordier quotes a letter from Mr. G. U. Yule in the *Athenaeum* of May 29th, 1915, in which he points out that silkies have black bones and, he says, dark flesh. And he asks whether it is possible that his uncle ought to have translated "black all *through*." The original French printed in *Recueil de Voyages* I. p. 177, is *et sunt toute noire*, and the Latin in the same volume, p. 432, *et sunt nigrae*, and Ramusio (Vol. II, fol. 48F) *sopra la pelle ui sono peli negri*.

The following notes form a small contribution to the subject.

1. My brother, the Rev. H. W. Moule, who has bred silkies at Hangchow, writes on February 5th, 1921:—"In my part of China 烏骨雞 [*Wu ku chi*, '*Black bone fowls*'] used to be silkies. They were white, but with a minimum of crossing would turn jet black, and that without losing their black bones, fifth toe or silky feathers. I used sometimes to think that the white feathers were no original part of the show and had probably been obtained with diffi-



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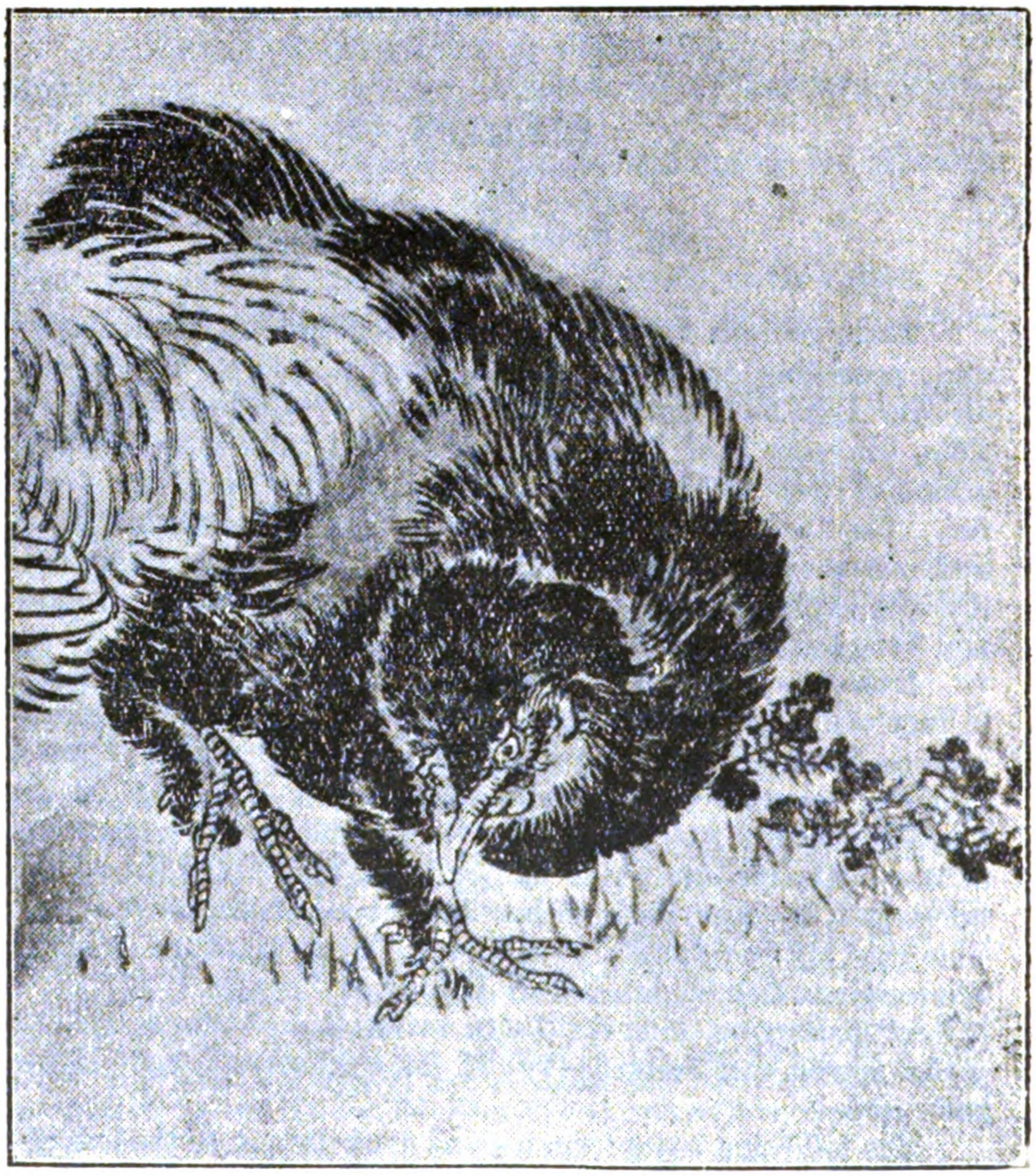
culty; for, though it took a lot more pains than I ever tried to get them to lose the black bones or extra toe, they would lose all trace of ever having been white feathered in no time."

2. The common native name is as my brother has said, *Wu ku chi* '*Black bone fowls*.' Giles gives also 絲毛雞 *ssū mao chi* '*Silk hair fowls*', and 烏雞 *Wu chi*, 'Black fowls. 'The



interest of this last name in the present connexion is obvious. 烏雞 *Wu chi* appears, in the native books of reference which I have been able to consult, as 'a black hen' (with emphasis on the colour rather than the breed) as distinguished from 黃雞 *Huang chi*, 'a yellow, or brown, hen,' and, secondly, as good medicine. Anyone acquainted with the methods of Chinese doctors would



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guess that a fowl with a feature so strange as black bones would be sure to make better medicine than one with ordinary bones; and the guess is to some extent confirmed by the *T'z$^{u}$ yüan* (the only native dictionary in which I can find the term 烏骨雞) which speaks not of the silky feathers but of the medicinal value of the 'black bone fowl'—[烏骨雞] 雞之皮俱黑者謂以入藥稱補益品.

If we compare with this the entry in the supplement to the *P'ei wên yün fu*: 烏雞 [烏雞主補中], it will seem to be the fact that the Chinese have called their white-feathered silkies 'black fowls.'

3. In a book of pictures of birds (梅嶺百鳥畫譜 *Mei-ling po niao hua p'u*, Tokyo, 1882) there is a view of 'Black bone fowls' (half of which is here reproduced) showing the cock "as white as snow" and the hen "black all over."

Of these notes, the third will show that, quite apart from the efforts of my brother and modern fanciers, black silkies are known in the far East; and in conjunction with my brother's experience may suggest the possibility that Marco Polo had his attention specially drawn to silkies by a man who had produced a black breed, and failed to notice or remember that they were usually white. And the second will suggest that perhaps the traveller had never noticed the birds at all, and, describing them from hearsay, was very pardonably misled by the native name and thought that they were black.



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# CATHAY AND THE WAY THITHER

## Some Notes on "Letters and Reports of Missionary Friars."

By A. C. Moule.

As is well known, *Cathay and the Way Thither* by the late Col. Sir Henry Yule was published by the Hakluyt Society in two volumes, 1866, and has held its place as a book of the first importance for the study of mediaeval geography and travel. A new edition by M. Henri Cordier has lately appeared in four volumes, and in this the Letters and Reports of Missionary Friars form the first part of Volume III, 1914. It is proposed here to give some notes on the sources, text, and contents of the Letters. Of these there are seven, namely, 1, 2, 3, by John of Monte Corvino; 4, by Andrew of Perugia; 5, 6, by Jordan of Séverac; 7, by Pascal of Victoria. Yule's plan was to give good English versions of these with all necessary explanations, and in the new edition his work has been reprinted with some additions which include fragments of the Latin originals. And excepting the third letter of John and the first of Jordan, he translated all these letters from the second edition of Luke Wadding's *Annales Minorum* Vols. VI and VII. Wadding in his turn copied the letters from ancient MS. Chronicles, and these are more accessible now than they were in 1866.

The principal manuscripts which concern us here are (1) *Liber ystoriarum sancte ecclesie*, etc., c. 1336, at Assisi (No. 341), called here *As.*, containing letters 4 (fol. 136) and 5 (fol. 134) and a letter from Bartholomew which is translated below; (2) *Incipit liber de etatibus*, c. 1337, at Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS. Latin 5006), called *P.*, containing letters 1, 2 (fol. 170-172), 4 (fol. 186), 5 (fol. 182), and Bartholomew; (3) *Incipiunt cronice fratris Joannis de Capistrano*, at Rome (Bibl. Chigi, I. VII. 262), called *C.* containing letters 1, 2 (fol. 98, 99), 4 (fol. 103), and a letter from Peregrine (fol. 102, 103) which was translated in this *Review* for December, 1920. *C.* is said to be a forgery, though I see no reason to identify it with the *Cronica de originibus urbium* which Wadding and Leo Allacci ascribed to the sixteenth-century forger Ceccarelli. In any case it is of interest and of some value. (4) *Incipiunt cronice generalium ministrorum*, etc., late 14th century, at Assisi



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(No. 329), called *A.*, containing part of 5 (fol. 186), 6 (fol. 186, 7), and 7 (fol. 160, 1). Of this *Chronicle of the 24 General Ministers of the Franciscan Order* there are several MSS., of which *A.* seems to be the best. (5) British Museum, Nero A. 9. a little book of various contents written at different times, called *L.*, containing in an early 14th century hand 5 (fol. 99), and Bartholomew (fol. 99, 100), and other interesting matter about the missions in Asia. Of these *As.*, *P.*, *A.*, and *L.* are anonymous, though *As.* and *P.* are ascribed to Eleemosina of Assisi by J. Golubovich, to whose *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa*, 1906-1919, I am very greatly and gratefully indebted, and *A.* is supposed by some older authorities to be by Arnold of Serranno, Minister of the Province of Aquitaine. The part of *L.* which concerns us was apparently compiled by a Dominican. *C.* is at any rate not the work of John of Capistrano.

Besides these we shall also refer to the short, independent, and interesting account of the Martyrs of Thana which is found in two very similar forms in two Chronicles by Paulinus of Venice which are preserved at Paris in the Latin MSS. 4939 (14th century) and 4940 (15th century), as well as at Rome and elsewhere. Muratori printed a large part of one of these Chronicles from the Vatican MS. 1960 in 1741, and from this (at second hand) Yule translated the story of the Martyrs in the introduction to Jordan's *Mirabilia*, 1863.

It was assumed by Sbaralea, F. Ehrle, and others that Wadding copied at second hand from *P.*, which was in some library at Rome until 1693; and it will be at least nearly correct to say that he copied letters 1, 2, and 4 from *P.*, and 6 and 7 from *A.* Quétif and Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* Vol. I., p. 549, from which Yule translated 5, copied the Latin text not quite exactly from *P.* The sources of six of the seven letters have thus been briefly but sufficiently described. Of 3, the third letter from John, which differs from the rest in source, language and subject, nothing will be said just now.

For the text of letters 1, 2, and 4, it must be enough to refer to articles in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of July, 1914 and January, 1921. In 1914 will be found the complete text of these three letters carefully copied from *P.*, with the text (not copied from a MS.) of the summary of John's letters from the Chronicle of John of Winterthur (cf. also 1921, p. 114), and translated with short notes; and in 1921 the same three letters copied from *C.*, with the variations in the text of Andrew which are found in *As.* (p. 115), and the letter of Peregrine from *C.* Golubovich is perhaps right in thinking that *P.* is derived from *As.*,



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and for the letters which it contains *As.* may be regarded as our earliest authority, but for letters 1 and 2 there can be no doubt that *P.* is the best text known. In *J.R.A.S.*, January 1921 it is remarked that while the places in which *P.* differs from *C.* are about three times as many as those in which *P.* differs from Wadding, yet *C.* has hardly ever changed the sense of *P.* to any serious degree, though Wadding has done so frequently. *C.* on the other hand has omitted considerable portions of *P.* which Wadding has retained. The substitution of the text of *P.* or *As.* for Wadding's will require the following changes in Yule's versions :—*Cathay*, III., p. 45 for "these two years past" —"these eleven years past" ; p. 46 for "a great spy"—"a spy and magician" ; for "without any associate"—"without confession" ; for "bought one hundred and fifty boys"—"bought forty boys" ; p. 47 for "Greek and Latin after our manner"—"Latin and our rite" ; for "royal robes"—"sacred robes" ; p. 48, for "land of the Goths"—"land of Cothay (Toctai)" ; p. 50 for "by writing, reading and preaching"—"I understand, and read and preach" ; p. 52 . "of blessed brotherly love"—"of love" ; for "Kathan"—"Cot.. ay (Toctai)" and so on p. 53 ; p. 57 for "part of another letter"—"part of the same letter" ; p. 71 for "1308"—"1318" ; p. 72 omit note 2, the reading of all three MSS. being ioculatoribus ; p. 73 for "1322"—"1323" ; for "three weeks"—"three months" and omit note 2 ; for "twenty-two friars"—"twenty friars" ; p. 74 for "and as far . . . age"—"and, as far as length of life allows, strong and active with none of the accidents or appropriate defects of old age, except white hair" ; omit "many of" before "the baptized" ; p. 75 for "most cruelly fatal"—"very hot." Of the footnotes the following will also need to be left out or changed :—p. 47, 2 for "Probably at Tathung"—"At Tung-shêng" ; p. 48, 2 omit the part about the Goths ; p. 52, 2, omit ; p. 57, 1 (and p. 6)—It is not necessary to suppose that even Wadding thought these final paragraphs belonged to a separate letter. What seems to be certain is that the end of the original letter was not seen by the writers of any of our three authorities, *P.*, *C.*, or Wadding. Each of them gives the substance of it in indirect speech introduced by a different phrase, and one is tempted to guess that Thomas of Tolentino, who carried the letter and had no doubt read it many times, had lost the last sheet and reported it from memory. The passage ends (not exactly as Yule gives it) significantly : "The letter itself was dated, he said, etc." ; nor is it in *P.* or *C.* "separated from what goes before." Two other additions of *As.* deserve notice : p. 71 for " . . . On"—"And below, passing over many words, follows :



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For on"; p. 72 for "scarcely believe . . . "—"scarcely believe; so, coming back to my subject, I turn my style and pen to the things which concern myself"; p. 72, 3 *P.* actually has Cayton.

We now come to the two letters of Jordan of Séverac, a man who seems to have had a special attraction for Yule who translated his *Mirabilia descripta* for the Hakluyt Society in 1863, and added these two letters to *Cathay* in 1866. Yule says that he took the first letter from *Scriptores Ord. Praed.* I. p. 549, 550; though as a fact he translated the part which is common to the two letters from Wadding; and he relied, I think, chiefly on Quétif for his chronological and some other notes. The first letter is found in *As.* fol. 134 v° and in *P.* fol. 182, preceded in each case by a letter from Bartholomew, Custos of Tabriz, which has not, I think been translated into English before. Both letters are also found, in the reverse order and with greater variations in the text, in *L.* fol. 99, 100. Bartholomew's letter is as follows:

"To the Father reverend in Christ Brother Solomon, Vicar of the Minister General of the Order of Brothers Minor in the regions of the East, brother Bartholomew Custos of Tabriz [commends] himself with devout submission.

"You know that we have certain news from India about our Brothers, to wit Brother Thomas and his comrades Brother James and Brother Peter and Brother Demetrius, a copy of which we send you by the bearer of this narrative which we had by word of mouth from the man who went with the aforesaid Brothers. And thus we write to you in order. When the aforesaid man had left Ormuz, that is the first port of India, with the aforesaid Brothers, the man himself stayed in a certain island to forward some business. But our Brothers above-mentioned went to a city which is called Thána, which city this man reached on the eighth day from their suffering, namely on the Lord's Supper (16 April) in the year of the Lord 1321. The aforesaid Brothers' reason for this journey was that, not finding a ship at Ormuz in which they might go to Kulam, they were obliged to go there. [i.e., to Thána.] The aforesaid man indeed who went there after their suffering and investigated everything carefully and found out the truth told us the story of the suffering like this. When our aforesaid four Brothers were staying hidden in the house of a certain Christian for fear of the Saracens, it happened that a quarrel arose between the aforesaid Christian and his companion; and she resenting the beating he inflicted went to the Qádí (that is, the Bishop of the Saracens of the aforesaid city) and complained bitterly about her husband. And when the Qádí asked whether



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she could prove what she was saying, the woman answered that in her house she had four Franks who could bear witness about everything which she said, and the Qádí instantly sent for them. Brother Peter of Siena had then gone elsewhere. The Qádí began to question the other three Brothers and to ask many things about our faith, and they answered very well to all. And the Qádí seeing that he could gain no advantage here, began to lead them on to answer him about his own faith, and specially whether Mahomet was a prophet of God. And they replied that by no means was he a prophet of God. And he falling into a great rage began to insist and, brandishing as it were a naked sword over their heads, to threaten and compel them most forcibly to confess that Mahomet was God's messenger. And when they altogether refused, nay asserted the opposite about him, he had a great fire prepared in the maydán (that is, the public square) of the city, and Brother James of Padua thrown in first. And because of the size of the flames he was not seen except when the wind blew the flames down. But his voice was heard, that he continually called the blessed Virgin Mary to his help. And he stood in the flames until the fire was totally consumed; and when the fire was burnt up and extinguished Brother James came out unhurt so that neither a hair of his head nor a thread of his coat was burnt. But the malicious Qádí himself attributed this to the virtue of the wool of the coat and not to the goodness of God, asserting that the coat was made of wool from the land of Abraham, and thus the fire could not burn up him or it. And so he had the Brother completely stripped, and his head and body and the logs drenched with oil and butter, and an immense fire lighted three times as large as before, and him thrown in naked like that. And he as before stayed unhurt until the fire was burnt out, the two Brothers his companions looking on and praying. When indeed the Qádí and the Malik (i.e., the ruler) of the city saw this, they said, Truly these Brothers are wonderful, and are the truthful friends of God. And so they sent them away from the city, and ordered them to go out of the province. And when they had left, the Qádí, fearing that if the Brothers lived they would pervert all his people, sent after them four armed men, who fell first upon Brother James and tried to persuade him to deny the faith of Christ and found him most firm in the faith of Christ, till one of them brandishing a sword above his neck and cutting off his head made him a martyr of Christ and sent him over to the reward of those above. When Brother Thomas of Tolentino saw this he knelt down and began to pray, and one of those armed men took him by the beard and cut his throat with a sword, and so he



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flew with the prize of martyrdom to the heavens to Christ. And Brother Demetrius, who had lately been converted to the faith of Christ, they struck in the chest with a sword and added him to the holy martyrs.

"Meanwhile however the Qádí was reminded of Brother Peter of Siena, and sending for him he ordered him to be tortured unceasingly for two days, and on the third day to be hung up by the throat in a tree; and when he remained alive in the tree through one day he ordered him to be taken down and so had him killed with a sword, and so he was united with the holy martyrs, the comrade Brothers, in crown and merit.

"On the night, in truth, after the suffering of the three former Brothers there were so many great lightnings and thunders and floods of rain and horrible tempests in the country as never the like were heard or seen. The ship too which had brought [them] instantly sank, a thing the like of which was otherwise never heard of in that sea, namely, in the harbour where the aforesaid ship then was. The Na'ib (that is, the representative of the governor and Malik of the city) falling from a horse, and the horse on top of him, was suffocated and went down to hell. The infidels indeed, seeing these things, said We have seen such things that we do not know what we ought to do. And in fact certain Saracens who had come near Sultania, and had witnessed such great miracles, published abroad this martyrdom of the brothers and the miracles. You will know too that after the body of Brother James had already lain exposed for eight days it was found as fresh and undecayed and sweet as if he had been martyred the same hour.

"Now when the Vicar of the Brothers Preachers, Brother Nicholas of Rome, saw the letter of his Brother bearing witness, he set off at once and hastened towards India.

"Farewell in the Lord, etc. Dated at Tabriz on the day after the Ascension of the Lord."

Then follows the first letter of Jordan* very much as Yule

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* Diagorgan is, as Yule says, taken from Wadding in preference to Tongano of *As.* and *P.*; "Thomas the Holy" is from Wadding, now supported by *L.*; "Nevertheless . . . India" is again from Wadding, the text in *As.* and *P.* being seriously corrupt. The best text is that of *L.* which may be translated "In India, where after the suffering of the blessed comrades . . . I was allowed for my sins to live. May the Lord none the less, who arranges all things as He wills, be blessed in everything! And likewise after the happy martyrdom, which was accomplished at Thána a city of India on the fifth day before the Palm Branches, I baptized ninety persons in a certain country which is called Bharuch, ten days' journey from the same place." This version requires the substitution of permissus (with *As.*, *P.*, *A.*) for percussus (*L.*) and nihilominus for set non mihi (*L.*, *As.*), where *P.* reads et quando, and *A.* set nichilominus. Yule's "difficult kind" should be "useful kind."



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translated it. It seems to me clear that we have in Bartholomew's letter the first report of the martyrdom of the four Brothers to be sent from Tabriz to the Vicar of the East who lived, as Golubovich thinks, at Constantinople, and in Jordan's letter the "transcript," which Bartholomew says he encloses, of the first "certain news" which reached Tabriz from India. The writer of *As.* may have had a copy of Bartholomew's letter and its enclosure before him, whereas the writer of *A.*, as we shall see, only knew these two letters through the further medium of the report of the Vicar of the East. The long delay of six months before Jordan wrote his report is no doubt strange, but it may simply be due to his having waited for the return of the young Genoese merchant, who carried his letter, to Tabriz ; and then he writes in such a hurry that he really says nothing about the martyrdom, but leaves it all for the bearer to tell. The date of Bartholomew's letter is confidently given as 29 May, 1321, but if, as I feel sure, it enclosed a copy of Jordan's letter of 12 October, 1321, the earliest possible date is 14 May (the morrow after the Ascension), 1322. That Jordan's letter which immediately follows Bartholomew's in *As.* and *P.* is the enclosed transcript of the certain news would be the natural inference of anyone reading the two letters by themselves. And it is strongly confirmed by the other MSS. which contain Jordan's letter. Thus *L.* says that the Dominican Vicar hastened to India when he saw, not "the letter of his Brother," but "this letter of Brother Jordan's" ; and *A.* quotes the Vicar of the East as writing of the Genoese companion of the martyrs that "he returned at length to Tabriz with special letters from Brother Jordan . . . And the tenor of the letter which he brought to the said Brothers on behalf of Brother Jordan is word for word like this" : and then gives the first part of Jordan's letter as in the other MSS. On the other hand a short and possibly independent story of the martyrdom is found in two Chronicles by Paulinus of Venice. One of these begins vaguely "About this time," but the other puts the story under the year MCCCXIX. It is quite easy to say with Golubovich that XIX is a mistake for XXI ; but as a fact it is intentional and is followed in both Chronicles by events of 1320 so that it really proves too much. Another fact which seems to make the date 1321 improbable is that James of Camerino whom *A.* quotes as Custos of Tabriz was at Avignon on 24 September, 1321. Marinus Sanuto tells us that he presented his *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis* to the Pope "in the year of the Lord 1321 on the 24 day of September . . . and on the same day he [the Pope] sent for the following Brothers, namely . . . Jacobus de Cammerino of the Order of Minors, who wears a beard, who



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had come to the court on behalf of the Brothers from Persia; . . . and Paulinus of Venice, his Penitentiary, . . . likewise of the Order of Minors." (*Gesta Dei*, ed. Bongars, vol. 2, 1611, pp. 1, 2.) James of Camerino seems to have returned to Persia in 1322 and either in that year or in 1323 to have succeeded Bartholomew as Custos of Tabriz. A letter at Cambridge (U. L. C. MSS. Ii, 3, 7) dated at Caffa, 1323, speaks of "brother B. Custos of Tabriz" as then in Europe. The point is that James reaching Tabriz not *before* 1322, Jordan in January, 1323/4 and the Vicar of the East at some similar date all thought it worth while to go into some detail about the martyrdom, as they would hardly have done if the detailed stories of Bartholomew and (as Golubovich thinks) Jordan had left Tabriz on 29 May, 1321, and were already known in Europe. On the other hand *L.*, which as we have just seen states that Jordan's letter of October 1321 (which cannot easily have reached Tabriz before 1322) sent the Dominican Vicar off to India, also inserts the date A.D. 1321 into its version of Bartholomew's letter, thus: "a copy of which we send you by the bearer of this A.D. 1321." A very little thought will show that this cannot be the date at which the copy of Jordan's letter was sent off, and it is probably the date of the martyrdom or the date of Jordan's letter. The London MS. (*L.*) has not been adequately described by Golubovich, and I cannot do much better after a very hurried examination. It is a little book, very clearly written; but the margins have been horribly cut. Thus the passage that concerns us (on fol. 98v°) begins "[ . . . ] i predicatoris de martirio quatuor fratrum minorum apud ciuitatem tana" and the name of the Dominican author is lost. After a brief introduction we have (1) Jordan's letter of October, 1321, followed by the note on the Dominican Vicar, (2) Bartholomew's letter, without the address or the writer's name, (3) a list of mission stations in Asia, (4) a list of Franciscan martyrs in Asia, (5) a list of the sons of Tartar chiefs who had been converted. Golubovich regarded these all as separate extracts made by the Franciscan author of the book, and it may be so; but it seemed to me more as if they were parts of one long letter by the nameless Dominican.

If Jordan wrote briefly to Tabriz, he wrote at some time voluminously to Sultania, and this brings us to consider the source of his second letter, which Yule translated from Wadding. We have become inevitably involved in the story of the martyrs at Thâna. Besides Bartholomew's short account and the yet shorter independent account in the Chronicle of Paulinus of Venice, there is a much longer one in Odoric (*Cathay* II. pp. 117-132; Cordier, *Odoric*, pp. 69-85), of which *P.* (fol. 184, 185) gives an interesting



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summary. Cordier (l.c.) quotes at secondhand a letter from Francis of Pisa of which I do not know the source. It adds some new details to Odoric, which are however found in Wadding. Wadding indeed gives (III. pp. 250, sq.) a summary of some story which is not Odoric's, and of which Yule took no notice at all except to extract from it his second letter of Jordan. Wadding gives his authorities as "Fr. Jordanus, et Franciscus Pisanus, Fr. Petrus de Turre Vicarius Aquilonis, Fr. Jacobus de Camerino Custos Taurisij, Fr. Bartholomaus Accola Taurisij in Epistola ad Fratrem Salonem, Fr. Hugolinus de Soldania, B. Odoricus in chronicis (i. e., *P.*)," but he does not say (except in the case of this letter of Jordan) who is responsible for each section of the story, nor does he really quote Odoric from *P.*

There can be no doubt now that his authority was the *Chronica Generalium* which was published from the Assisi MS. (*A.*) in *Analecta Franciscana* vol. III, 1897. On fol. 142v° (*An. Franc.* III, p. 474) the author says that he has written a detailed account of the martyrdom of which he now gives a summary. But the detailed account is fortunately preserved in an appendix (*A.* fol. 181v°-188r°; *An. Franc.* III, pp. 597-613) and is considerably longer than Odoric and contains several new details. The author, probably French, does not seem to have known the Italian chronicles *As.* or *P.*, but he had access to one or more long letters of Jordan, and two-fifths of his story consist of extracts from "Brother Jordan the Preacher." Among these extracts is, as we have seen above, Jordan's first letter, not separately but contained in a letter from the Vicar of the East, and ending not at "all our books" but at "sufficiently perplexed" (satis ardua, etc.). Then follow a few more lines of the Vicar, and then, with two separate headings, the second letter of Jordan as translated by Yule, with one curious change of order. We must suppose that Wadding, finding the first of these the only extract with an address, and the second the only one with a date, put the two together to form one letter. Yule saw at once that the two parts did not belong to each other, but he could not guess the explanation which now, with *A.* before us, seems so obvious. It seems at least possible that this "second letter" which ends the extracts from Jordan in *A.* is actually the end of a very long letter from which all the other extracts, except the "first letter," are taken. In any case a good deal more of Jordan's writing than Yule knew of is now available for any future edition of his works. And yet the matter is not perfectly clear, as this final extract from Jordan is followed by a tantalizing extract "from a letter of the Custos of Tabriz sent to the Vicar in the East" :— "You will know that the letter explaining the passion



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of our brothers who were martyred in India, which the brothers sent us [? you] from Tabriz, was not written by the hand of Brother Jordan of the Order of Preachers but, as Brother Hugolin from Sultania wrote to the brothers at Tabriz, was written and put together by the hands of Brother Francis of Pisa of the Order of Brothers Preachers from many letters which he had from Brother Jordan of the same Order." It is hard to see why this should have been inserted at all unless it refers to the foregoing extracts from Jordan, which yet have all the appearance of having been taken direct from an original letter or letters. Yule's version of the second letter is often rather a paraphrase than a translation, but he never misses the sense. On p. 79, "One day they are well disposed; another day quite the reverse, because of those who mislead them," should be "For one says 'He is good', but another 'No, but evil and a misleader of the people.' " and on p. 80, "Pray for the pilgrim of Christ, all of you, that the Indian converts, black as they are, may be made white in soul before the good Jesus, through his pitiful grace," is more exactly "Do you all pray for the pilgrim of Christ, and that the black Indian converts may be able through you to be made white in soul and piously to stand before the good Jesus." The most serious discrepancy between the text of *A*. and Yule, is the placing of the whole passage "But I must say a word . . . pilgrim in your prayers" *after* the date. This draws attention to the fact that there is a double farewell, and suggests that we may be dealing with the ends of two separate letters.

We have perhaps gone into too great detail about this martyrdom which is not the chief subject of the chapter with which we are dealing, but the story does tell us a little about the way to China which was the goal of the four Brothers and where their bones now rest. They travelled probably from Tabriz to Dihkhargan (Diagorgan) and Marágha, and thence to Ormuz. From Ormuz they sailed to Sohár (or ? Sur) (Suir), Diu (Dyo), an island on the coast of Kathiáwár, and Thâna N.E. of Bombay, hoping to proceed to Kulam or Quilon (Colum, Columbis, Colubim, or Columbum) and China. Jordan was going to Bharuch or Broach (Parocço) and had reached Supára (Supera), on the mainland N. of Bombay, when he heard of the murder of his companions, and he wrote in October from Gogha (Coga) in Kathiáwár.

The letters contain a few words of Arabic, namely Melic, Melichus, or Melich; *Malik*, a king or governor, explained as *rector* or *potestas*; Cadi, or Cadimus; *Qádí*, an ecclesiastical judge, explained as *episcopus*, some adding that he acted as judge; Maydan, Maydanum, or Madianum; *Maydán*, an open space,



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or public square, explained as *platea ;* and Nayb or Naib ; *Ná'ib*, a deputy, explained as *miles*. The last appears in Bartholomew's letter about 300 years before the earliest instance quoted from a European writer in the O.E.D. or Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*. Pascal's letter adds Mesquita (*Masjíd*) and Alcorano (*alquran*) which need no comment, and Talisimanus which is dealt with below ; and Jordan (in *A*.) gives a fragment of the Moslem formula as *Allah ylal*.

There is some uncertainty about small points of chronology but it seems to be quite certain that the death of three of the Brothers was on Thursday, 9 April, followed by that of Peter on Saturday, 11 April, 1321.

The seventh letter, from Pascal of Victoria, takes us to a different date and scene. Yule, as we have said, translates it from Wadding who no doubt copied it from the *Chronicle of the twenty-four Generals*. In *A*. it occupies fol. 160v°—161r° (*An. Franc.* III, pp. 532-535), and calls for few remarks. On Yule's p. 82, n. 2, Jorjaniah : one MS. reads *Gurgantum* (*An. Fr.* p. 532) ; p.83, "I then received" is *et habui*, "And I had" ; "where three years before" *ubi ante per annum*, "where one year before" ; p. 84, n. 2, two MSS. actually read *Bacuk* (*An. Fr.* p. 533) ; p. 85 "called Zinguo," *Ziquo natione* "a Ziquo (?) by race" ; p. 86, *Talisimani* suggests 達矢蠻 *Ta-shih-man* which is a common term for Moslem priests in the *Yüan shih* (e.g., c. 33, fol. 3v° ; A.D. 1329) and is explained by commentators as equivalent to *danishmend*, as if it presented no great difficulty ; p. 88, after "all the way to Armalec" add "for a journey of five months."

Finally we come back to the third letter of John of Monte Corvino (*Cathay* III. pp. 5, 6, 58-70). This forms the sixth and last portion of a MS. in the Laurentian Library at Florence, which is (or was) numbered LXXIV, and is thus described : "Manuscript on paper, large 8vo, 15th century, very badly written. It consists of 186 written leaves." (*Catalogus Cod. Ital. Bibl. Medic. Laurentianae*, V. 1778, col. 302). The letter occupies leaves 182-186 or, in the modern numbering, 187-191. The writing may be very bad, but it is perfectly preserved and almost always easy to read. The text was printed by Kunstmann in 1855 (*Cathay* III. p. 5., *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 585), and Yule also had a copy made direct from the MS.* Where the two differ Kunstmann is generally right. He has introduced modern punctuation and spelling and has made a few mistakes. The first

*It has also been printed more recently by M. de Civezza, *Storia delle Miss. francesc.* VI, pp. 309-314, and by Golubovich, *Biblioteca, etc.*, I., 1906, pp. 306-309. The latter retains the archaic spelling with a number of small inaccuracies.



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initial has never been filled in, but *A.* is no doubt right. Kunstmann reads *Allo*, Yule *A vo'* ; the letter is certainly like U, but may be meant for LL. P. 60, n. 1 read *elonghumento* ; n. 4. *lichonoui, sotane* ; p. 63, n. 2, read *ranchori* ; p. 64, n. 1 read *pedagi molti vi si paghano* ; p. 65, n. 1 read *daisse . . . maabar chontra a tramontana. ccc. migliaia intra levante e grecho de menabar a giugimencote.* Yule says (p. 6) that the letter looks like a translation, and it is, as he points out, quoted by a contemporary in Latin. His English version calls for little comment. On p. 59 we should read "written from Upper India" ; p. 60, a confusion of the figures for the lengths of the day and night is perhaps more probable then a confusion in John's mind ; p. 62 "thorny tree, all red as it were" may perhaps be "all thorny like a bramble," but I am not sure ; "carried forth of" is not in the Italian ; p. 63. Kunstmann's punctuation seems preferable : — "They have no fasts, feasts or any days to observe, nor week nor month in the year. They marry only once, and if the husband dies, the wife is not married again." On p. 65 Yule avowedly takes liberties with the text. The points of the compass in the original are "SE. and E.," "N.," "E. and NE.," "NE. and N." On p. 66, line 8, "October" should be "July," and on p. 67 "This letter was written in Mabar a city of the province of Sitia in Upper India on the 20th day of December in the year of the Lord 1210." The date in the MS. at Florence is not "obscure," but absolutely plain . . . MCCX. John tells us that he left Tabriz in 1291. Thence to Bombay was reckoned a three months journey, and he may not have reached Mailapur till late in 1291. There he tells us that he stayed thirteen months, so that Yule's conjecture that MCCXCII was the real date of this letter is very probably correct, and 1293 is not impossible. The voyage to China was made in the south-west monsoon, the ships reaching Kuang-chou or Ch'üan-chou "after the summer solstice" (*Chau Ju-kua* p. 23), and as John does not seem to have reached Khanbalig before March, 1294 it is possible that he was still in India in December, 1293. Yule draws attention to the fact that John and Marco Polo may have met in Mabar. Pietro d'Abano mentions the traveller and the missionary, quoting this very letter, in the space of half a page. About the south pole-star "I was told by Marco of Venice, the greatest traveller over the earth and the most careful investigator of all who have ever been known, that he saw the said star under the antarctic pole ; and it has a great tail of which he painted the shape like this. He said too that he saw the antarctic pole at the apparent elevation above the earth of the length of a long military lance, and the arctic pole hidden. Th nce too, he related, are exported our camphor,



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lign aloes, and brazils. He declared that the heat there was intense and the houses few. He saw these things in an island which he reached by sea. He says too that there are men there, and immense rams with coarse hard wool like our hogs' bristles; and that there is no approach to these places except by sea. . . about these inhabitants of these climes Brother John the Cordelier has written a letter quite lately *from Mohabar in India, on the shores where the body of Thomas the Apostle lies, saying that in India it is always summer and* [*yet*] *not too hot, because there are generally winds which temper the heat. There is no winter there because the sun as it were always passes directly over the heads of the inhabitants, declining very little to the south and north; so that on the* 23 *day of August I saw with my own eyes and proved that the sunlight was falling so direct over the heads of the inhabitants that it was making no shadow opposite at all; and the same happens about the end of March.* So then according to this it seems that the parallel circle in which the zenith of their heads is marked passes through the seventh or eighth degree of Virgo; for that was the position of the sun on that date, the 23 day of August; and through the 22nd or 33rd degree of Aries, and thus they seem to be removed from the zero of the Equator by the space of only 8 degrees and about 4 minutes of latitude. *He declares too that the star called Tramontana* (North) *is so low there as to be almost invisible, so that he thinks that from some high place the other Tramontana towards the south might be seen.* Nevertheless this does not really exist . . . *He says also that he saw constellations revolving round the region of the other Tramontana, but it he did not see. And he says this was perhaps due to the many mists which rise in that country.*" *Conciliator*, Venice, 1504, fol. 97, 98. The sentences in italics are taken straight from the extant letter, except that the latter has the "24 day of August."

This paper, long, dull, and intricate as I fear it is, may possibly be of some little service as a commentary on and, in small points, a correction of a most interesting chapter in Yule's great book. All the texts required for the revision and expansion of the chapter, when a third edition of Cathay is needed, are now easily available in printed form, chiefly through the energy of the Franciscans themselves. It would be difficult, I suppose, to name a document relevant to our subject which has escaped the notice of Golubovich. My own debt to him is very great, and while his transcripts of MSS. (often due to others) are unfortunately inaccurate, his references, wherever I have tested them, are invariably and perfectly correct. Fathers E. Tannitto and M. Bihl have also given me valuable help.



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# T'ANG CHI-YAO COINS

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

The loss by T'ang Chi-yao some months ago of the Tuchünship of Yünnan province, will be looked upon by numismatists of Chinese minted coins with feelings of regret and disappointment, for to him is due the credit of having placed in actual circulation, for the first time in history, minted gold coins of China. Silver too, as well as copper coins with his effigy on them made their appearance, and went so considerably into circulation, that at the present time the T'ang Chi-yao fifty-cent silver piece is not only in very common use in Yünnan province, but is more valued, acceptable and oftener met with in Ssŭch'uan province than the local fifty-cent pieces made by the Chengtu and Chungking mints.

The first coin issued by the Yünnanfu mint under the orders of T'ang Chi-yao, was a fifty-cent silver piece which bore his effigy, as indeed all the coins did that made their appearance during his régime. This piece is a bust portrait of him in right profile with military uniform; above, 軍務院撫軍長唐 T'ang, Governor General (of the) Military government; the rest of the field is bare. On the obverse we find the military and national flags crossed and tied with a bow of tasselled cord within a beaded circle, a five-point star between the flag poles; between the inner and outer circles, above, 擁護共和紀念 -- Commemorating the defence of the Republic; below, 庫平三錢六分 — 3 mace and 6 candareen Kuping; a small five-point star at each side separating the two legends. Size: 33.25 mm; weight: 13.480 grammes; milled edged. It is the coin shown in Type I. This coin was not at all long in circulation, and probably because of the unflattering aspect of His Excellency's physiognomy, its circulation was quickly stopped and a coin of the same denomination more fitted to awaken esteem was struck. The obverse remained essentially of the same design and legends,



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but a fresh die was made. The reverse, however, was altered into a somewhat full face surrounded by a beaded ring; above, the same legend 軍務院撫軍長唐; below, two allegorical emblems of what may be interpreted as an apology for ears of rice or barley. Type II represents the coin. Size: 33.25 mm.; weight: 13.391 grammes average; milled edges. Very large numbers of this coin were minted at different periods, and its popularity has enabled it to penetrate the entire province of Yünnan and Ssŭch'uan as well. A correspondent at Chungking and a recent visitor to Shanghai from Chengtu have both assured me that in Ssŭch'uan province hardly any other fifty-cent pieces are nowdays seen besides this coin. This large quantity minted was not achieved at one time; the production was gradual, but continuous, and for these reasons a large number of minor varieties are found. Doubtless, several dies were made, not to speak of re-touched dies. I have seen twenty different types; some dissimilarities are more glaring than others, such as the star at the right shoulder and the outer-line of the epaulets on the same shoulder. This line may be found to end either on the third dot of the inner circle from the shoulder, or between the second and third dot, as well as on the second dot itself; the star may be found in the middle of this outer-line, or at the end of it, or over the middle of it, etc. As to the position of that star, it may appear with one point directed vertically, now the left or now the right point at a higher angle than its counterpart; in fact this slantiness is most erratic. The straws of the oats or barley also reveal several altered positions. Further observation of the obverse discloses the fact that the principal characteristics of Type I were retained for the first die; subsequently, either new dies were made, or the original one re-touched, and if so, more than once. This is evident at the centre of the military flag, where the lattice-work ground surrounded by the nine incused spots, which heretofore remained plain, now reveal a distinct ring in relief; this ring is not always in a uniform position, being sometimes high up, then again lower down. Nor do the strokes of the character 錢 (mace) show uniformity.

In copper, the gallant General, probably of more conscientious turn of mind, did not emulate the rapacity of the Ssŭch'uan governors of the early years of the Republic. The only copper piece is one of fifty cash token value, in the same dimensions as the "100 CASH" brass piece of the second year of the Republic issued by Ssŭch'uan province, if not thicker. Size: 39 mm.; weight: 25.573 grammes average; edges plain; it is shown in Type III. Whilst the bust portrait remains the same, the legend



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above is altered into 紀念銅幣 — Commemorative copper coin ; and the design below consists of two stems of chrysanthemum on the obverse the legend below reads : 制當錢五十文— Equivalent to fifty legal cash ; and the one above is altered to 雲南省造 — Minted in Yünnan province ; this gives the coin a more moral stamp of real currency. Eighteen varieties of dies and re-touches have been placed before me.

In gold there are two denominations, $5. and $10. Their greater majesty and symbol of power, if they do not give the opportunity of a more detailed allusion, at least command in us respect. There are two distinct reverse dies of the five-dollar piece, with sub-varieties to each, and only one obverse die. Reverse of die number one (see Type IV), shows the face of T'ang Chi-yao rather plainly, the eyeballs are medium, eyelids and eyebrows distinctly outlined, the nose is in prominent relief and the cut under the nose is long and fairly incused ; the subvarieties — probably re-touches —, have the star over the right shoulder in several slightly turned positions. Thus we find the points of the star directed in various positions, such as ★ and ✦, and also higher over the outer-line of the right epaulet, as well as exactly in the middle of it, or nearer to the dots near the edge. Seven different positions of the star are known. The second die (see Type V), does not show any eyebrows nor the eyelid over the right eye, the nose is more flattened and the cut under the nose shorter and more deeply incused ; the sub-varieties have likewise the altered position of the star over the right shoulder. All reverses bear the characters 軍務院撫軍長唐 — T'ang, Governor General (of the) Military government, on a bare field. In the obverse, we find the usual two Chinese republican flags with the star between the flag-poles which in turn are tied together by a tasselled cord, all within a beaded circle composed of 82 dots ; the figure 2 has, however, been added in the present instance, underneath the two tassels ; the legend above is : 擁護共和紀念金幣 — Gold coin commemorating the defence of the Republic; and the one below 當銀幣伍元 — Equivalent to five silver dollars ; a six-point star appears between the two legends. Size : 18.75 mm. ; weight 4.516 grammes average ; milled edges, the coins are in red gold.

In the $10 pieces there are two distinct dies for the obverse. The first one as in Type VI, does not bear any figure 1 underneath the cord tassels, and the inner circle consists of 99 dots, whereas the second one has the figure 1 in like position to the figure 2 in the $5, and the circle is composed of 103 dots. The legends are identical and in the same position as in the $5 pieces,



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save for the legend below in the obverse where the character 伍 — five — is substituted by 拾 — ten. Each obverse has three sub-varieties of reverse in the position of the star over the right shoulder, thus making six collectable varieties. Coins with the first obverse are of yellow gold, and those with the second one, of red gold. Size : 23.75 mm. ; average weight, 8.510 grammes ; edges milled. The average weights have been ascertained by actually weighing ten pieces of each denomination.

It will be observed that T'ang Chi-yao caused only five distinct coins to be struck ; there is no evidence that any other coins are attributable to him. A rumour that a $20 gold piece exists has somehow gained currency, but I have received categorical contradiction of this from Yünnanfu as well as from Mengtze.



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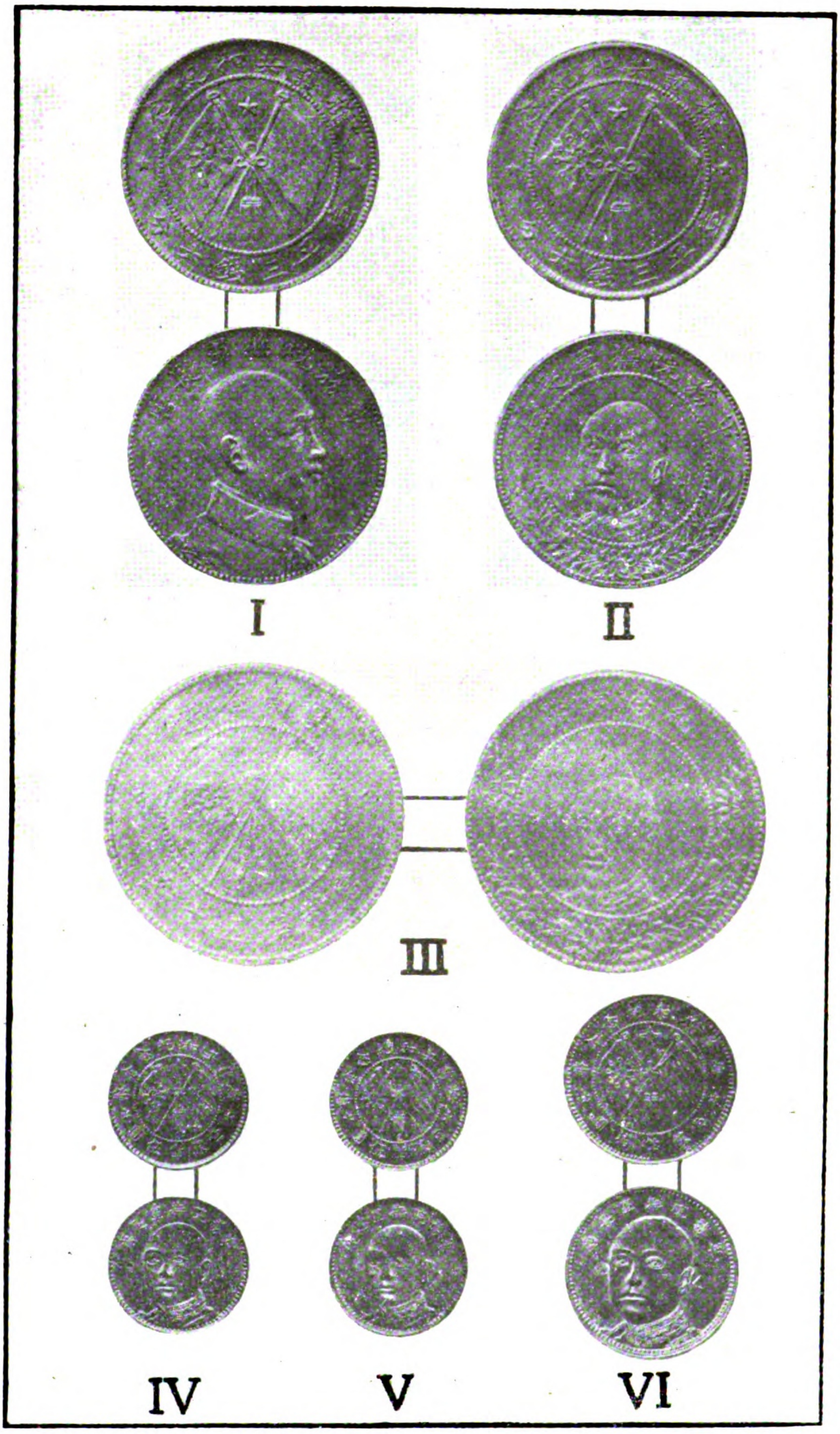

I

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V

VI

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# NOTES AND QUERIES

The Editor has not been able so far to provide his readers with much on Art or Archæology, though he has the promise of some such papers. In the present number he is glad to introduce a new subject and a new writer. Numismatics in China is a study of great and increasing interest. Exploration of the proper sites would no doubt bring to light great quantities of the most ancient coinage. But the recent issues also are now collected by many; and we have had a volume on modern copper coins of China by Sir James H. Stewart Lockhart and a paper on Republican issues by Dr. Giuseppe Ros. Mr. A. M. Tracey Woodward, a Fellow of both the Numismatic and the Philatelic Societies of London, is not only a successful collector but also a keen student of the subject — qualifications which do not always go together. We think we can promise our readers that the article he contributes to this number will be the first of a series of useful papers.

---

## Notes by L. C. Arlington.

(The Numbers refer to Prof. Giles's English-Chinese Dictionary, unless the *Biographical Dictionary* is named).

With reference to 鹿鳴宴 No. 13,125, "Banquets given to graduates," the most ancient and correct term is 鹿鳴歌 derived from the story of one 何武 of the Han Dynasty who upon becoming *Hsiao Lien* (or graduate of the second degree), invited a number of young men to sing songs of praise in his honour; hence 鹿鳴歌 is a metaphorical expression for a *chü jên* degree: and 韓昌黎 of the T'ang Dynasty in a letter to his friend 楊少尹 congratulating him when taking his *chü jên* degree wrote the following lines: 楊君始冠舉於鄉, 歌鹿鳴而來.



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No. 13,125 瓊林宴, according to the 唐摭言 was originally called 櫻桃宴 "cherry banquet."

Although the examinations were held in the 3rd moon, the results were not published until the 4th moon—the period in which cherries ripen—hence, the term "cherry banquet" since the festivities took place during the 4th moon.

* * *

Under No. 9318 萍水相逢 "a chance meeting of friends," etc., is, according to the original version, not exactly correct. The original phrase, which is taken from the 古文 is, 萍水相逢盡是他鄉之客. The phrase 萍水 taken from the above has, therefore, no connexion with "close friendship."

* * *

No. 7638 鏝 is not sufficiently treated. When read *man*$^{2}$ it means "a trowel," but when read in the 去 shêng, the "reverse of a coin." No. 7628 墁 is also read *man*$^{2}$ and used with No. 7621 墀.

* * *

No. 8907 烹 (or 享) 小鮮 was used by Lao Tzŭ in a figurative sense signifying "easy to be used or directed to a purpose," *vide* the following from the 宋史: 呂蒙正告眞宗曰老子稱治大國若烹小鮮今上封事者太多陛下宜靜以鎮之

* * *

No. 3735 撫軍 was originally the colloquial designation of the 太子 or heir-apparent; how the term came to be used as the epistolary address of a governor is unknown; but the constant changes in official titles is difficult to keep track of. The following is from the 左傳: 狐突諫晉獻公曰太子處則監國, 出則撫軍.

* * *

Dr. Giles does not give 封 a place in the body of his dictionary, although he has it indexed under 寸 where he says it is read *Shu*. It is read *Chu* as well as *Shu*, and is identical in meaning with 侸 No. 10,088 "To stand erect." It is also used with 澍 No. 2612, and with 樹. Lexicographers are not always consistent. Giles omits 封 and gives 侸, whereas, the *T'zŭ Yüan* gives 封. but omits 侸.

* * *

No., 7501 隴 has in some respects the same meaning as 阪 No. 3421 (which latter character also means a marsh). In fact. *lung* is defined as: 天水大阪也.



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No. 11,899 (櫝) "a shed to contain a coffin." The correct meaning is "a shed for storing fuel" (積竹板也叢木). It also means a "hearse," and a handle for a lance or halberd.

* * *

No. 9786 蛇, is also read ch'ih [2] the name of a place—another name for 曲蛇 mentioned in the Ch'un Ch'iu. Also written 虵 and 蝮.

* * *

Dr. Giles appears to have made a mistake in giving the rhyme 業 for Nos. 4388 and 4390. 洽 is the correct rhyme. 脇 and 愜 are interchanged. No. 4388 has also the R. 豔.

* * *

There is no authority for 宮樹 No. 6580 being "a name for Peking." It simply means the trees in the palace grounds, as can be seen from the following: 宮樹隱朧送夕陽. It would be ridiculous to say that Peking obscured the setting sun.

* * *

No. 8089 牡 is also the "male" of plants, flowers, etc. And No. 9274 牝 is the "female" plant. E.g. No. 10,751 棠 is the male, and 杜 No. 12,043 is the female Pear-tree. *Vide* Chinese botanical works.

* * *

No. 6288 括 is used with No. 6291 筈 "The nock of an arrow," and with No. 6297 髻 "to bind up the hair in mourning."

* * *

No. 1687 洊 is used with No. 1680 薦, and read *ch'ien* [4] "repeat" from 饑饉薦臻 last line; hence, 洊 *ch'ien* [4] (aspirate). See No. 1761, *id.* 荐.

* * *

According to the 顏師古注 during the Han dynasty, 玉堂 was the dwelling place of the Emperor's favourite attendants: 玉堂嬖幸之舍; 金馬 should not therefore, when referring to the Han Lin Yüan, be separated from 玉堂. The *Ch'éng Yü K'ao* gives the correct version: 金馬玉堂謂翰林之豐價.

* * *

Although Giles rightly distinguishes 享 No. 4286 from 享 No. 3906, and the latter character from 烹 No. 8907, he does not tell us that in most ancient books 享 and 享 are interchanged, and that 享 was originally read *hsiang* and used for 饗 No. 4264. Neither does he tell us that 享 is the old form of 烹. In the



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1st edition of his Dict. he gives the Shih Ching sentence 或烹或享 (*p'êng*), but omits it in the 2nd edition. The change from 享 to 烹 was made by Yang Hsiu-chih (B.D. No. 2176) who, in order to avoid confusion between 享 and 享 added the fire symbol to 享 thus changing the sound to *p'êng* (烹).

* * *

There should be a distinction made between 型 No. 4620; 範 No. 3429, and 模 No. 8066. The first means to cast or mould in plaster; the second to cast in metal, and the third to cast or mould in wood.

* * *

No. 4730 盱, also has the meaning of 大 "great," "important," "very," etc., hence is also used for 訏 No. 4732, in the classical phrase 恂訏且樂 "let us both enjoy the scene" *Cf.* Shih Ching 溱洧 *V.* 前漢地理志.

* * *

Giles gives 冥海 "the deep sea "under No. 7951, but omits the full or essential phrase 九溟墨海 "to praise a man for his erudition."

* * *

No. 3402 (汎), 3423 (泛), and 汜 No. 3425 are all interchanged. Hence, 汜 means to "sprinkle" and is used in the same sense as 泛洒 "to sprinkle abundantly." To each of the above characters add the rhyme 陷. I can find no authority for 洽.

* * *

No. 1053 契 is also used with 挈 No. 1561. The rhyme 物 for No. 1053 appears to be a mistake, and is not given in the *P'ei wên yün fu*, nor in the *Wu fang yün yin*.

* * *

No. 10658 郯 it should be noted is the 東海縣 so frequently mentioned in Chinese history, the rulers of which were the descendants of the legendary Emperor 少昊 in 2598 B.C. It was a district during the Han dynasty. Therefore, it is a very ancient place. According to the 集韻, 郯 is interchanged with 談 as a surname.



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# RECENT LITERATURE

*The Arabian Prophet; A Life of Mahomet from Chinese and Arabic Sources.* A Chinese Moslem Work by Liu Chai-lien, translated by Isaac Mason. (Shanghai, 1921. $2.50).

There are two classes of readers who might be expected to note this book with some interest; students of Mohammedanism in China—missionaries especially, and those in Western lands who study Islam and know no Chinese.

The former class—a small one we fear, will probably prefer to read the original work, an easy task surely in these days of Language Schools and Chinese without Tears. It would seem a lazy and discreditable thing for them to depend on a translation of such a simple work.

The latter class, conversant perhaps with Arabic, and at any-rate having within reach the enormous amount of writing in various tongues on Mahomet and his teaching can only regard Chinese Mohammedanism as a mere by-path of study, contributing nothing new to the subject, though somewhat varying as a species.

It is a question therefore whether Mr. Mason has used his time to the best profit in translating the whole, or nearly the whole of the work. A selection of passages where Chinese moral sentiments made falsification necessary—as for example in the matter of the Prophet's marriages,—would have had its value.

For of course the original work, with the exception of such necessary and interesting alterations, is only a translation of western books and there is nothing in it that is at the same time new and true. Any one who wishes to read an authentic biography of the Prophet will hardly choose the English translation of an uncritical Chinese translation of Arabic originals. Besides which the numerous stories with which the book is stuffed are absurd without being comical. They are much like the unmeaning and



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undignified stories in the apocryphal Lives of Jesus. Thus, from Mahomet's body there emanated a light, so that if he arose in the darkness of the night he shed daylight around and the people used him to find things lost in the dark. Where he passed there was fragrance for some days. A strip of white cloud always floated over his head, so he could easily be found when missing; and so on. A little of this kind of thing goes a long way. We prefer the *Arabian Nights*.

But though we thus suggest that selections would have been sufficient we give the translator all credit for the conscientious way in which he has done his work; and his three appendices are of value, especially the last, "Chinese Mohammedanism." If the book increases the very slight interest which missionaries have so far taken in Islamism it will have been worth all the labour that Mr. Mason has put into it.

The translator does not seem to be acquainted with Vissière's *Etudes Sino-Mohamétanes*; that work mentions that both Vasiliev in 1867 and the Archimandrite Palladius in 1878 have written (in Russian) about the book.

There are some very good pictures; the engraving of the Black Stone in the Kaaba is interesting, and we think most readers will be surprised to learn that the stone is only about seven inches in diameter.

---

*A Manual of Chinese Metaphor*, Being a Selection of Typical Chinese Metaphors, with Explanatory Notes and Indices. By C. A. S. Williams, of the Inspectorate-General of Customs, and the Customs College, Peking. Published by the Statistical Department of the Inspectorate-General.

Of the making of helps for beginners and primary students in the Chinese language there is no end; yet the needs of the advanced student are no less urgent, while the inducements to advanced study in the way of guides and helps are few enough, for it seems to be thought in many quarters that only those who are fitted to make their own helps will pursue advanced work. From this it comes that many who pass the primary requirements of language schools and language committees never get so far as to read Chinese newspapers or any of the excellent magazines which are now being produced in Chinese. Those written in the Plain Speech style may be read a little, but even those are full of phrases that mean nothing to the beginner, and he is apt to give it up soon. For that reason we have cause to be grateful that Mr. Williams has been able to prepare, and the Statistical Department



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of the Customs to publish, a work of the sort which lies before us. The remark in the preface that "metaphorical Chinese . . . is certainly the backbone of the language" is quite justified; how often has the ambitious student been floored by an allusion which his teacher has smiled over and explained loquaciously. The teacher has been and still is indispensable, but many a time have we wished that he would explain only what we wish to know without adding a fund of information that we do not need or already possess. In Mr. Williams' book we find deliverance, for the explanations give enough and not too much. It is not only a useful reference book, but it makes good reading for the student who is tired of conning 學而時習之. Its helpfulness is all the greater because many of the newspapers after toying for a time with the Plain Style, to see how well it would please their readers, are now reverting sharply to a style that is perhaps even higher than before, especially in their leading articles.

It was impossible to put everything into the book, but it is probable that little of real importance is omitted, and the alternate pages are left blank so that other metaphors may be added as the reader desires, under their appropriate headings. There is an excellent system of cross-references and indices, so that the memory of a single important character or of its English equivalent in a metaphor will suffice for finding the whole phrase. There is, however, no Chinese index by radicals, but only by Roman phonetics, which is something of a hardship to those who have not learned the proud language of the North. That leads the present reviewer to make another remark. In testing the book with a number of metaphors (most of them proverbs as well), the only ones found missing are well known in Ningpo where Mr. Williams was stationed for a number of years, and they are also (as we are assured by a speaker of Mandarin) a part of the Chinese common stock. Practically all of these are bookish in origin; we suggest that there was room for the inclusion of a few of those more commonly used within the bounds of the Wu dialects (even though less used else where), making the work more useful and more representative of the whole of China. Professor Giles seems to have owed little to his residence in Ningpo as such; is it presumptuous to wish that the rich local life of the southern ports should be more studied by the Peking trained man when assigned to one of them for duty? Mr. Williams has put us so deeply in his debt, that it seems ungracious to say so; his book should certainly be widely used, and it would be by no means surprising if the next generation of students were to regard it as indispensable.



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*The Trade and Administration of China.* By Hosea Ballou Morse, LL.D. Third revised edition. (Kelly & Walsh, 1921. $10.00).

In publishing a new edition it is usual to state in a prefatory note the extent to which the earlier one has been revised, etc., Dr. Morse leaves us to find out for ourselves. We have only been able to compare this third edition with the first, and we find the alterations fewer than we had expected. The work is so valuable and well known that there is no need perhaps for us to do more than enumerate the additions.

Most of the book remains exactly as before, with the exception of a few additional figures in the chapters on Revenue and Expenditure, the Provinces, the Treaty Ports and Foreign Trade. But strange to say these figures are far from bringing the work up to date. In most cases the figures for the two years 1911 and 1918 are all we have more than we had before, or, for the National Budget 1911 and 1916. A strange instance is in the population of Shanghai, which is given for 1910 and no later. There could have been no difficulty in giving the 1915 census; and as the Preface is dated April, 1920 it would, we think, have needed but little delay and the use of the telegraph to include the figures for that year also. But for the population of the French Concession nothing more recent than the 1905 census is given! and it is the same with Canton and Tientsin. For Hongkong we get the population for 1906, but that of Macao is only given for 1899. Other such instances might be mentioned. Shipping is only given so far as 1911. The Foreign Debt of China is given in an Appendix, but only as it stood in 1911; and the Railways in another Appendix as they were in 1915.

Now for Dr. Morse, a former Commissioner of Customs and Secretary in the Statistical Department, and also the best known of writers on such matters it must surely not have been difficult to get later figures than those given in most of the instances we have cited; and it almost looks as though the author had not revised his work *con amore*, but unwillingly because urged thereto by his publishers.

In the chapter on Currency, so full and clear, we regret that the enormous issues of copper cent pieces in recent times is not discussed, and the attempted circulation—or at least the minting — of various gold coins is not even mentioned.

It is difficult to assert that any trivial point is wrong in an author so well-informed; but is it quite correct to say (p. 258) that Anhui was formerly a part of Kiangsu? We had always thought the two were created at the same time by the division



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of the old Kiangnan province. Thus neither of the present Provinces formed part of the other.

Still the work remains invaluable to all who seek information on the Trade and Administration of China, and the author's accuracy and clearness in this as in his other works are known to all. There are one or two additional chapters and a postscript or two bringing other chapters at any rate more nearly up to date, and all who have found the second edition useful must now discard it and get the third.

---

*Notes on the Nestorian Monument at Sianfu.* By Lionel Giles, M.A., D.LITT. (Reprint from Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. I.).

Unfortunately only the concluding portion of these Notes has reached us. With all the preceding translations of the famous inscription before him, by Diaz, Wylie, Legge, Havret, Moule and Saeki, Dr. Giles has made these critical notes embodying the latest—not the last—result of his own and other students' researches, correcting errors, making suggestions and in more than one place giving a more satisfactory rendering of difficult passages in this famous inscription. The substitution of 玉帳 for 王帳 is a brilliant example of critical power.

To the general reader Dr. Giles' concluding remarks will be of extreme interest; and we quote them here because many of our readers will not see them in the *Bulletin*, and yet they deserve to be widely read.

"I must now bid farewell to the Inscription of Sianfu. It leaves me full of admiration for the learning and scholarship of the author, who with marvellous skill fitted together this elegant mosaic of allusions and quotations from the whole range of Chinese literature, but on the other hand with a very low opinion of Nestorian Christianity. Surprise has often been expressed that a great religion, introduced into China under such favourable auspices, should have wilted away and died out so completely. But after reading this account, written by one of its own adherents, with its cowardly suppression or glossing over of vital facts, its fulsome adulation of the T'ang emperors, its spiteful references to the rival systems of Buddhism and Taoism, while borrowing from them at every turn, its self-praise which is no recommendation, we wonder that it survived so long. It was not thus that the Apostles won their way to victory in the Roman Empire. One is obliged to own that the emasculated Christianity of the Nestorians was not a real religion, but a sham. The Chinese people weighed it in the balance and found it wanting."



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# THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

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# NOTES ON ANCIENT CHINESE DOCUMENTS, DISCOVERED ALONG THE HAN FRONTIER WALL IN THE DESERT OF TUN-HUANG

BY

SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.,

INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.

In my *Ruins of Desert Cathay* * I had given a general account of the discoveries made by me in 1907 along the long-forgotten westernmost portion of that ancient frontier wall, a true *Limes*, which the great Han Emperor Wu-ti had constructed towards the end of the second century B.C. in order to guard his newly opened line for China's commercial and political expansion towards Central Asia. Subsequently in *Serindia*, the detailed Report on my second Central-Asian expedition (1906-8)†, which has now been completed in print at the Oxford University Press

* See *Ruins of Desert Cathay, Personal Narrative of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* (two vols., 8vo, Macmillan & Co., London, 1912), i. pp. 540 sqq ; ii. 39-158.

† *Serindia, Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China, carried out and described under the orders of H.M. Indian Government by Sir Aurel Stein.* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1921, royal quarto, Vols. I-III: Text, Vol. IV ; 175 Plates, Vol. V : 95 Maps from original surveys).

For the explorations effected along the Tun-huang *Limes*, see *Serindia* (vol. ii), p. 566-730.



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and will be published early in 1921, I have had occasion fully to describe the explorations, extending over two months and a half, which enabled me to trace the line of the ancient wall for a total length of over 140 miles and to search the ruins of its watch-towers and stations, including the famous 'Jade Gate.'

Having remained undisturbed by the hand of man in the solitude of the gravel desert, they yielded a rich harvest of early Chinese and other records, mainly on wood, along with many interesting relics of the life led along this most desolate of borders during the century immediately preceding and following the time of Christ.

The unsurpassed learning and critical acumen of my lamented great collaborator, M. Édouard Chavannes, had since 1913 rendered the mass of Chinese documents recovered here accessible to research also by non-sinologue students like myself.* It thus became possible for me to discuss in Chapter XX of *Serindia* the general organization of the *Limes* in the light of the historical and archæological information furnished by them, and to bring into correct focus the significance of the antiquarian facts revealed by actual exploration of its remains.

In the extracts from section vi of that chapter, communicated here with the kind permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, no attempt can be made to set forth the manifold points of historical and archæological interest presented by the hundreds of official or quasi-official communications and records, all on wood, which were discovered at the ruined stations of the *Limes* and chiefly among their refuse-heaps. For those points, reference to the masterly summary furnished by the Introduction of M. Chavannes' work must suffice here.† But in the interest of those students in the Far East to whom the volumes of *Serindia* may remain difficult of access it has appeared useful to reproduce here the essential facts concerning the records of a personal and literary character to be found among those relics of Han times and in particular to indicate what light those relics as a whole throw upon the technicalities of the ancient stationery of China as used before the invention of paper by Ts'ai Lun in A.D. 105.‡

* See Chavannes, *Les documents chinois découverts par Aurel Stein* (Oxford University Press, 1913), pp. 1-154, Plates I-XX.

† See Chavannes, *Les documents chinois*, pp. vii. sqq.

‡ For the information previously available from Chinese textual sources about the use of bamboo or wood as writing material, cf. M. Chavannes' *Les livres chinois avant l'invention du papier*, *Journal Asiatique*, janvier-février, 1905 (reprint), pp. 13-47.



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As regards the 'stationery' aspect of the office records which form the vast majority of the documents recovered, such as administrative orders, reports, account statements, etc., my remarks may be brief; for in their material and shape they agree very closely with the Chinese records on wood first brought to light by me in the course of my excavations of 1901 at the Niya Site, an ancient settlement of the Tarim Basin abandoned to the desert sands in the 3rd century A.D.* As the specimens reproduced in *Ancient Khotan*, the detailed report on my first Central-Asian expedition,† in M. Chavannes' *Documents chinois*, Planches II-XX, and also in *Desert Cathay* show, these office records present themselves mostly as narrow slips of wood, from nine inches to nine and a half in length (roughly corresponding to the Chinese foot of the Han period) and from a quarter to a half of an inch in width. They may be inscribed on both sides, but ordinarily show only a single column of *tzŭ* 字 on either.

That bamboo 'slips' are relatively rare is a fact easily accounted for by the great distance separating that westernmost border of China Proper from the bamboo-growing regions of the Empire. In most of the slips the wood used is that of the cultivated poplar (*Populus alba*), as common now in the oases of northwestern Kan-su as it is in those of Chinese Turkestan, or else that of the wild poplar (the Turkestan *toghrak*) or the tamarisk. The latter two are still plentiful in the narrow belts of vegetation fringing the marshy depressions along which great portions of the *Limes* in the desert north and west of Tun-huang were constructed. But there are to be found also slips made of the wood of some conifer. This wood, probably brought from the forests of the Central Nan-shan, is found frequently in narrow tablets bearing more than one vertical line of characters on either or both faces. Otherwise these tablets conform in length and also in character of contents to the usual 'slips' described above.

I may add here in passing that owing to the traditional tenacity of Chinese convention the 'slip' form of the ancient wooden stationery used during the centuries preceding the invention of paper appears to be reflected in the arrangement of the pink coloured letter paper which ordinarily served for private correspondence in the pre-revolution China of our own times and widely continues in use still. The height of the vertical ruled lines on it and the distance between them cor-

* See Stein, *Ancient Khotan* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907), i. pp. 342 sq., 539 sq.

† See *Ancient Khotan*, ii. Plates CXII, CXIV.



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respond exactly to the average length and width of those ancient slips, each being meant to hold a single column of *tzŭ*.

Wooden slips of greater length up to 14 inches, form the stationery used for the numerous portions of calendars which turned up among the 'waste papers' (to use an anachronism) thrown on the refuse heaps of the ancient *Limes* stations. Such calendars were obviously needed in order to enable the clerical establishments to date reports, etc., correctly, to make out accounts, and so on. Usually these portions of calendars show in order the cyclic designations, arranged according to the sixty-years cycle, which a particular day bears in the successive twelve months of the year. This system has enabled M. Chavannes to fix in many cases the exact year intended, and in this way to restore complete calendars with absolute precision for the years 63, 59, 39 B.C. and A.D. 94, 153.* The result of his painstaking calculations affords valuable help for the verification of the tables prepared by Chinese chronologists. In this connexion it is of some interest to observe that an otherwise exactly-dated document, No. 255, of May 10th, 68 B.C., bears an erroneous *nien-hao*. The year is shown as the sixth of the *Pên-shih* 本始 period, which in reality had been replaced in 69 B.C. by the *Ti-chieh* 地節 period. This inaccuracy clearly points, as M. Chavannes observes, to the fact that the communications between the capital and the extreme western border were interrupted at the time.†

By the side of the official communications and records, private letters figure in considerable numbers among the written remains from the *Limes*.‡ Most of them are too short or fragmentary to yield information bearing on the life of the border or to be otherwise of antiquarian interest. But special mention is due to two letters on silk, one long and well-preserved, T.XIII. i. 003 (*Documents*, Plate XX),§ which were found sewn up into a small bag for holding some medicine or condiment—luckily with the written surface turned inside. They were both addressed by an officer of superior rank stationed at Ch'êng-lo

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* Cf. Chavannes' *Documents*, pp. xvii, 14.

† Cf. *Documents*, p. 61. For similar cases of dates given in elapsed *nien-haos*, see *Ancient Khotan*, i., p. 275, note. M. Chavannes' remarks, *ibid.*, pp. 533, sqq., make it quite certain that the erroneous *nien-haos* named in the Dandan-oilik documents of A.D. 781-7 were due to the isolation of Eastern Turkestan from the Empire through the Tibetan occupation of westernmost Kan-su in A.D. 781.

‡ See *Documents*, Nos. 151-4, 174, 178, 180, 243, 254, 344-6, 348, 349, 398, 398a, 419, 468, 489, 501-2, 573, 607, 629, 706-7 (the last two on paper).

§ See *Documents*, Nos. 398, 398a.



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on the northern border of Shan-hsi to another exile on the Tun-huang *Limes*, the long one being intended to serve as a letter of recommendation for a colleague transferred to a post on the latter. Amidst much polite verbiage it also expresses the writer's disappointment at not having, after five years' service 'on the northern frontier, in a miserable country,' attained the desired charge of a command, for which he appears to have repeatedly petitioned the Emperor. In two other letters also we find the writers lamenting the hardship of the guard service on the frontier and the inclement season of spring.* The latter complaint bears a local touch which I can fully appreciate after my two spring campaigns of 1908 and 1914 on the desert border ; it shows that the amenities of its climate were two thousand years ago much the same as now.

Of interest for the study of the ancient stationery is the small silk envelope, *Documents*, No. 503, T.xv.a.ii. 4 (Plate XIV), used for a private letter, as its address shows. Its inside width is 65 mm. This would conveniently admit of the insertion of a letter on silk, such as *Documents*, No. 398 (Plate XX), which is 58 mm. wide, after folding. As the refuse-heap where the envelope was found contained documents with dates ranging from A.D. 15 to 56, it appears to me very probable that the envelope, too, belongs approximately to the first half of the first century A.D., and thus to the period preceding the invention of paper.

We may now cast a glance at the fragments of literature, as M. Chavannes' analysis has revealed them, among the written relics of the *Limes*. Considering the conditions of the life led by those who guarded the line of small posts flung out into the desert, we cannot feel surprised at the scantiness of the traces which have survived of their intellectual occupations. For all that concerns the philological interest of these literary relics reference to M. Chavannes' full explanations will suffice here.† Of particular value among them are the relatively numerous fragments of a famous lexicographical text, the *Chi chiu chang* 急就章, which was composed in 48-33 B.C. and played an important part in the primary education of China during the Later Han period.‡

* See *Documents*, Nos. 344, 345.

† Cf. *Documents*, pp. viii, xvi sq., pp. 1 sqq on Nos. 1-8.

‡ Cf. Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 1-3. It is from *Chi chiu chang* that the script, commonly known in China as *chang ts'ao* 章草 and illustrated by most of the *Limes* documents, took its name ; see Chavannes, *Documents*, p. viii.



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These fragments, as M. Chavannes duly emphasizes, are the oldest known manuscripts which exist of a Chinese book, and it is fortunate that we have among them one containing the first paragraph of the work complete. The long prismatic tablet which bears this portion of the text on its three faces, *Doc.* No. 1 (Plate 1), also has a special antiquarian interest as being a perfectly preserved specimen of a type of wooden stationery which is referred to in early Chinese texts and apparently was favoured for literary use.*

The popularity which *Chi chiu chang* soon acquired in the elementary teaching of Chinese writing sufficiently explains its rapid spread to the extreme north-west end of the border; for, among several ruined watchposts, fragments of it were found at T. VI. c (*Doc.* No. 4), a post early abandoned. In these, as in some other fragments which are of the usual slip form, the text appears to have been copied out as a writing exercise.† The importance which the Chinese have at all times attached to good handwriting is well known, and so also the necessity of constant practice which the very system of Chinese writing implies. This fact fully accounts not merely for the presence of these 'copy slips' from the *Chi chiu chang*, but for the abundant finds made also of other writing exercises.‡ Nothing could illustrate better the trouble which some of the men stationed at the outlying posts must have taken to 'improve their education,' or at least their handwriting, than the big packets of 'shavings' inscribed in this fashion which came to light on clearing the refuse-heaps of T. VI.b, a sectional head-quarters of the westernmost *Limes*

Apart from three more slips containing fragments of other vocabularies as yet unidentified,§ the literary remains among the finds on the *Limes* are merely a few extracts from treatises on divination¶ and astrology,‖ and a fragment, *Doc.* No.

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* See *Documents*, pp. ix, 6 sq., note 1. M. Chavannes' note explains the term *ku* 觚, which occurs at the beginning of the first paragraph of the text and specially designates this type of tablet. We have fragments of prismatic triangular tablets in *Documents*, No. 2, T. xx. ii. 2 (Pl. II), also containing a portion of a text from *Chi chiu chang*, and in *Documents*, No. 451, T.xv a. iii. 31 (Pl. XII), which contains a brief congratulatory message.

† Cf. M. Chavannes' notes on *Documents*, Nos. 4, 6, 7.

‡ See, e.g., *Documents*, Nos. 251, 372, 422-3, 540, 632, 641, 643-4.

§ See *Documents*, Nos. 397, 603 (?), 701.

¶ Cf. *Documents*, Nos. 59, 448, 638, with M. Chavannes' remarks, p. xvi.

‖ See *Documents*, No. 182, where the notch proves the slip to have formed part of a book.



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425, containing a passage from a treatise on military affairs, composed in 229 B.C.¶ That the solace of literature was not altogether absent from this desolate border-line may, perhaps, be concluded also from the fact that a fragmentary slip, *Doc.* No. 622, T. XXVIII. 10, quotes the title of the 'Biographies of Eminent Women,' *Lieh nü chuan*, a book composed in 32-7 B.C.* There is a brief extract, too, from a medical treatise, together with a few fragments of a probably similar nature.† Finally, we may mention here the curious multiplication table, *Doc.* No. 702, T. XXVI, though it does not come, of course, under the category of books.

It is in this connexion with books that one more point of antiquarian interest concerning the ancient stationery of bamboo or wood may here find convenient notice. I have had numerous occasions in *Serindia* to discuss various striking illustrations and additions which our knowledge of that early Chinese stationery, as first based on the evidence of my finds of 1901 at the Niya Site, has received from the documents yielded by the ruins of the Tun-hung *Limes* and, to a smaller extent, of the Lou-lan station.‡

The presence among the finds on the *Limes* of remains of books and writings which from a quasi-technical point of view, i.e., from that of the book-binder, to use a modern expression, may claim the same character, now enables us to clear up the question, previously very obscure, how proper cohesion and sequence could be assured for the numerous slips or tablets over which texts of any size written on bamboo or wood must necessarily have extended. M. Chavannes, who in a masterly discussion, had previously reviewed the information that can be gathered from Chinese textual sources about the ancient writing-materials used before the invention of paper,§ did not fail to observe when

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¶ I owe this last reference to M. Chavannes, who was kind enough on Oct. 3, 1917, the day of our last meeting, verbally to indicate the identification made by Mr. Wang Kuo-wei in his *Liu sha to chien*, reproducing a portion of the documents first published by M. Chavannes. The treatise was apparently known as *Li-mo* 力墨.

* See *Documents*, pp. xvii, 137. Two records of A.D. 75, *Documents*, Nos. 613, 614, prove that the watch-tower T. XXVIII was occupied towards the end of the first century A.D.

† See *Document*, No. 395, a complete slip, with the fragments Nos. 396, 397.

‡ Cf. *Serindia*, pp. 382, 659, on the use of seal sockets and string grooves on wooden 'envelopes,' as provided for many of the Kharoshthi documents of the Niya Site; p. 382, on sealed lids closing small boxes intended to hold communications extending over several 'slips'; p. 597, on the standard size of slips.

§ Cf. above, p. 244 note.‡



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handling my new finds, that a number among the narrow tablets or 'slips' bore one or more notches on one of the edges. As the position of these was uniform on those 'slips' which manifestly belonged to one series, M. Chavannes rightly concluded that the notches were intended to serve the purpose of uniting such slips into one group.* But he added: 'Nous ne comprenons pas bien encore comment on assurait l'ordre de succession de ces fiches ; il n'y a aucune numérotation pouvant tenir lieu de pagination, et on ne comprend pas comment il était possible de rétablir l'ordre lorsque quelque cause accidentelle l'avait bouleversé.'

The question thus raised is a very pertinent one, and makes it desirable to examine the materials available for its eventual solution. They are briefly the following: In the set of slips, *Doc.* Nos. 9-24, belonging to a calendar of A.D. 63, we find the left edge of each provided with three notches, disposed as Plate I shows, at exactly uniform distances. Another set of slips, *Doc.* Nos. 25-35 (Plate II), forming part of the calendar for 59 B.C., shows two notches, also uniformly placed, but on the right edge of each slip. A third method of arrangement is found in the set of narrow bamboo slips, Nos. 524-34,† making up a medical notebook: here we find two notches on the right, one above, one below, and a third always placed on the left in the middle. Among single slips provided with notches only one, *Doc.* No. 182, needs special mention here, as its text supports the conclusion suggested by the single notch on the right, that it belonged to a book.‡ It is worthy of particular note that none of these slips bear writing on the reverse except those of the calendar of 59 B.C., where we find a system of consecutive numbering by means of cyclic characters.

Attention is claimed by the fact that no text is to be found on the reverse of any of the notched slips belonging to sets.¶ It appeared *à priori* all the more significant in view of the inconvenience which the bulk and weight of books written on slips of bamboo or wood must in any case have caused. It necessarily raised a presumption that the fastening, for which the notches

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* Cf. *Documents*, p. viii.

† See *Documents*, Pl. XIV for specimens.

‡ There are besides: Nos. 264, 306, both fragments of calendar slips, displaying one notch on the right in the existing top-portion ; No. 478, containing only a signature, with one notch on the top to the right. Nos. 519, 610, with three notches and one respectively on the right, remain undeciphered and hence must be left aside for the present.

¶ The same fact is clearly established by the evidence of Chinese literary records ; cf. Chavannes, *Les livres chinois*, *J. Asiat.*, janvier-février 1905 (reprint), pp. 35 sqq.



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were undoubtedly intended, must have been arranged in a way which brought the blank reverses of consecutive slips back to back and thus made it inconvenient to use the reverse surfaces for inscribing or reading any portions of the text. This conjectured arrangement recalled to my mind that of numerous Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts brought back from the walled up chapel of the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas' of Tun-huang, which are long sheets of paper consisting of several joined pieces and folded up into narrow pages somewhat after the fashion of a concertina. In these manuscripts, too, the reverse surface of the paper is always left uninscribed, just as we find it regularly in Chinese printed books, in which as a matter of fact, we merely have an adaptation to block-printing of the 'concertina' method just alluded to.

At this point I appealed to the often-proved technical ingenuity of my artist friend and assistant Mr. Fred. H. Andrews, Principal of the Technical Institute, Srinagar, Kashmir, and the following note and diagrams from his hand furnish what seems to me a very likely solution of the puzzle.

> "Each 'slip,' i.e., small lath of wood (belonging to a series which contained one text or connected record), being a folio, it is clear that some means of binding must have been employed to maintain the folios in correct collation. The small notches observed on the edges of the 'slips,' and the fact that these exactly range when a number of 'slips' are collated, indicate that the connecting binding must have been of the nature of a string, an inference strengthened by the references in Chinese texts to silk or leather cords uniting the fascicles of wooden or bamboo slips mentioned by Prof. Chavannes. (cf. Chavannes, *Les livres chinois*, *Journal Asiat.*, janvier-février, 1905, pp. 43 sqq.)
>
> "Experimenting with a fine raw silk thread, I found that a satisfactory result could be attained by the following method (see illustration). The cord is doubled end to end, the first 'slip' (folio one) is placed in the bend, and an ordinary knot tied with the two ends, care being taken that the encircling cord falls in the notch near one end of the lath, the purpose of which is to prevent the cord slipping. Folio two is then laid with its notch close to the knot, one end of the cord being below the lath and the other on top. The two ends are then half twisted round each other reversing the position of the cords, the upper becoming the lower and the lower the upper. Folio three is next placed between the cords with its notch against the half-twist, and the cords are again half



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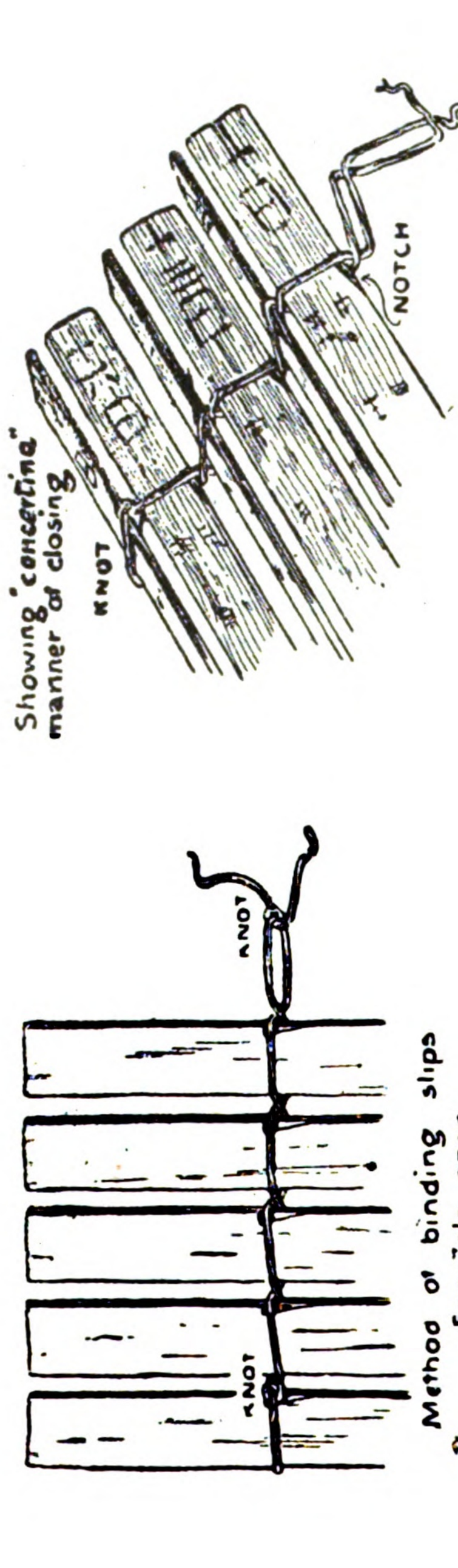




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twisted to secure it in position. The process is continued until the last page, after which a knot is tied, and the excess length of the two ends is left free to be used as a means of tying the complete record or chapter together, when it has been closed in concertina fashion. The same procedure is followed with the opposite end. The whole process is practically that followed by basket-makers and Indian 'chick' makers, sometimes described as 'wrap twining' or 'pairing,' and will be perhaps more clearly understood from the accompanying sketch.

"The reason for tying the first knot is to prevent the cord travelling with frequent opening and closing of the book, a tendency which it had, as experiment proved.

"When closed, the fascicle could be conveniently slipped into a rectangular case for protection. For lids of such cases, with string grooves and seal cavity, see *Ancient Khotan*, Pl. CXIV (N. xv, 345), and *Documents*, Pl. XXIII, L.A. vi. ii. 0200 (No. 751)."

*Habent sua fata libelli.* It seems strange that we should have to look among the relics from lonely desert posts of the border-line pushed out far toward the barbarian West for evidence to clear up details, even if they are only technical, concerning the books in which that glory of Chinese civilization, its ancient literature, found its earliest written record.



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# BIBLIOGRAPHICAL TERMS.

A. C. Moule.

The following very incomplete list of the words and terms used of books, noted during the process of cataloguing a small collection of Chinese books, may tempt others to complete and, if necessary, to correct it. The list is incomplete within its own limits, and those limits exclude all the words for papers, margins, covers, labels, seals, sewing or stabbing, tools, woods, printing houses and their furniture, library furniture like cupboards, shelves, boxes, etc., etc., and all the modern jargon which may have grown up from the use of Western methods and machines. Examples of the terms are quoted from catalogues and other books. Some kind help and correction has been given by Professors H. A. Giles and Paul Pelliot.

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| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 稿　本 | Kao pên, Author's MS. draft. | 巾箱說一卷稿本 |
| 原稿本 | Yüan kao pên, Author's first draft. | 芸莊雜錄備遺原稿本 |
| 寫　本 | Hsieh pên, A Manuscript. | 易說存悔二卷舊寫本 |
| 鈔(抄)本 | Ch'ao pên, A MS., or MS. copy. | 依宋鈔本: 鈔永樂大典本 |
| 5. 摹　本 | Mo pên, A traced copy. | 重續千字文影摹本 |
| 影　本 | Ying pên, A traced copy. | 影宋本 |
| 影寫 (or 鈔) 本 | Ying hsieh (ch'ao) pên, A traced copy. | 影寫元刋本: 影鈔明刋本 |



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手鈔本 Shou ch'ao pên, An autograph copy. 嚴九能手鈔宋本

手稿本 Shou kao pên, An autograph draft. 玉琴齋詞四册手稿本

手寫稿本 Shou hsieh kao pên, An autograph draft. 玉几山房聽雨錄手寫稿本

手書 Shou shu, An autograph, or MS. 似省前生覓手書

手帖 Shou t'ieh, ditto 次袁豪齋手帖云

精鈔(or 寫)本 Ching ch'ao (hsieh) pên, A fine, or careful, MS. copy. 易譜義精鈔本: 詞源二卷精寫本

鈔配本 Ch'ao p'ei pên, A book with missing parts supplied in MS. 學易記明鈔配本

校本 Chiao pên, An edition with revised text. 易緯稽覽圖鈔校本

印本 Yin pèn, A printed book. 以印本經書: 明活字印本

刻本 K'ê pên, ditto 相臺岳氏刻本

板本 Pan pên, ditto 高麗上言願賜板本九經書

刊本 K'an pên, ditto 明刊本

翻印 Fan yin, To reprint. 翻印必究

翻刻 Fan k'ê, ditto 徐氏繙刻宋本: 日本翻刻影宋台州本

翻雕 Fan tiao, ditto 從宋小箱本翻雕者

翻版 Fan pan, A reprint. 書之板片曰板如原板翻板

翻本 Fan pên, ditto 明翻大德本

翻刊本 Fan k'an pên, ditto 聿味經堂翻刊本

翻刻本 Fan k'ê pên, ditto

摹刊本 Mo k'an pên, ditto (line for line). 同治九年謹摹刊

覆本 Fu pên, ditto 明嘉靖覆宋本

摹刊 Mo k'an, To print by subscription. 日比丘靜菴摹刊

單本 Tan pên, A separate edition. 盧校三單本

單行 Tan hsing, To be published separately. 今多詩集單行

活字版 Huo tzŭ pan, Movable type. 活字版之名不雅

聚珍版 Chü chên pan, ditto 御製題武英殿聚珍版十韻

活字本 Huo tzŭ pên, A book printed from movable type. 道光甲辰活字版本: 二皇甫集明活字本

聚珍本 Chü chên pên, ditto 老子道德經聚珍本

黑口本 Hei k'ou pên, A book with part of the margin black. 元刊黑口本. 上下有細黑口

麻沙本 Ma sha pên, A book printed at Ma-sha, so A badly printed book. 翻宋麻沙本

殘本 Ts'an pên, An imperfect book. 舊鈔殘本



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刋修本 K'an hsiu pên, A book with missing part supplied in print. 明萬曆刋修本

40. 墨　本 Mo pên, A book printed in black ink. 成都局刻墨本

朱墨本 Chu mo pên, ditto in red and black. 朱墨本左傳: 明朱墨印本

三色本 San sê pên, ditto in three colours. 三色評本義山詩注

五色本 Wu sê pên, ditto in colours. 五色評本杜詩

官　本 Kuan pên, A government edition. 左傳讀本貴陽官本

45. 官刋本 Kuan k'an pên, ditto (printed). 明嘉靖官刋本

官　版 Kuan pan, ditto 其官版刋刻及云云

監　本 Chien pên, A book printed at the 國子監 kuo tzŭ chien. 監本易經

殿本(or 版)Tien pên (pan), A Palace edition. 左傳讀本殿本

內府刋本 Nei fu k'an pên, A book printed in the Palace.. 明內府刋本

50. 大字本 Ta tzŭ pên, A large-print book. 明經廠大字本

小字本 Hsiao tzŭ pên, A small-print book. 元刋小字本

細字本 Hsi tzŭ pên, ditto 明刻細字本

巾箱本 Chin hsiang pên, A pocket edition. 嘉靖贛州刻巾箱本

袖珍本 Ch'ou chên pên, A sleeve edition. 古香齋袖珍五經四書

55. 初　印 Ch'u yin, First or early impression. 雍正九年刋初印

十行本 Shih hang pên, A book with ten columns to the page. 宋刋十行本

通行本 T'ung hsing pên, An ordinary edition, 福建通志通行本

坊　本 Fang pên, ditto 坊本多譌

校定本 Chiao ting pên, A corrected text.

60. 校　勘 Chiao k'an, To correct the text. (校勘記 Chiao k'an chi (*apparatus criticus*). 校勘之學家

正　文 Chêng wên, The correct text. 四書正文

原　本 Yüan pên, An original edition. 春秋大事表原刻本

道藏本 Tao tsang pên, A book in the Taoist Canon. 意林校道藏本

釋藏本 Shih tsang pên, A book in the Buddhist Canon. 宏明集明鈔釋藏本

65. 精　本 Ching pên, An accurate edition. 未見精本者舉通行本: 成都書院本不精

善　本 Shan pên, A good edition. 多傳本者舉善本: 書以何本爲善



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讀　本 Tu pên, A well got up edition. *See* 44, 48
刊　K'an, To cut, or engrave. 成書未刊者
刻 (字) K'ê (tzŭ), ditto 勘刻書說：付刻字貲
70. 鐫　Chien, ditto 光緒甲午夏鐫
梓　Tzŭ, ditto 重校梓凡二十餘版
雕　Tiao, ditto 其書似未經付雕：江蘇書局開雕
重刊 (刻, etc.) Ch'ung k'an (k'ê, etc.), to re-cut, etc. (*i.e.*, to issue a new edition). 夏氏重刊宋本. *See* 70
新刊(刻,etc.) Hsin k'an (k'ê, etc.) ditto 濟南新刻本
75. 初(再,三)版 Ch'u (tsai, san) pan, First (2nd, 3rd) edition. 增訂再版
石　印 Shih yin, To lithograph. 光緒丙申中夏石印
版 (板) Pan, An engraved block. 板存 。。: *See* 70
。。藏版 Ts'ang pan, Blocks kept at —— 本衙藏版
。。藏本 (or 書) Ts'ang pên (Shu), A book kept at —— 內府藏本：天一閣藏書
80. 藏書志 Ts'ang shu chih, A catalogue. 菁本書室藏書志
書　目 Shu mu, ditto 三家各有書目
藏書家 Ts'ang shu chia, A book collector. 稱藏書家曰云云
書　室 Shu shih, A Library, or Book shop. *See* 79; 106
石　室 Shih shih, ditto 敦煌石室遺書
85. 書　坊 Shu fang, ditto, or Book shop. :橘園亭書房
(官)書局 (Kuan) shu chü, A government publishing house. *See* 40, 64, 71
經　房 Ching fang, A Buddhist (or Taoist) book shop. 昭慶大字經房
夾　板 Chia pan, Book boards, loose wooden covers for one or more volumes.
套　T'ao, 1. A case or cover of cardboard and cloth for one or more volumes.
2. A case (or pair of boards) with the volumes in it; A set of volumes. *See* 91
90　卷 Chüan, A roll; hence, A chapter. Catalogues specify the number of chapters in a book and rarely mention the volumes. *See* 1, 3
本 Pên, A book; an edition; a volume. *See* above *passim*: *See* 91
部 Pu, A book; a work. 聖諭像解一部計十本兩套
冊 Ts'ê, A fascicule. 律書第一冊：每部二冊
編 Pien, A part. (內編 Nei pien, Part I, 外編 Wai pien, Part II)



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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 95. | 篇 | P'ien, A section; a pamphlet, or tract. | 道德經上篇: 感應篇 |
| | 頁 (葉) | Yeh, A leaf (葉前 Yeh ch'ien, *recto*; 葉後 Yeh hou, *verso*). | |
| | 半 頁 | Pan yeh, A page (上 or 下 Shang or Hsia pan yeh, *recto* or *verso*). | |
| | 宋 本 | Sung pên, A book transcribed or printed (not composed) in the Sung dynasty. | |
| | 。。(刋) 本。。 | (K'an) pên, A book printed at—— | 日本刋本: 杭州本: 藏本 |
| 100. | 印 | Yin, To print. | 初印佩文韻府 |
| | 印 刷 | Yin shua, ditto | 最通行者爲木版印刷 |
| | 刷 印 | Shua yin, ditto | |
| | 印 造 | Yin tsao, ditto | 大字經房慧空印造流通 |
| | 印 送 | Yin sung, To print and distribute. | 付印送法華經 三千弐百文: 刋刻印送此經 |
| 105. | 流 通 | Liu t'ung, To disseminate. *See* 102 | |
| | 刋 行 | K'an hsing, To print and publish. | 刋行一二種者 |
| | 印 行 | Yin hsing, To print and publish. | 彪蒙書室印行 |
| | 發 行 | Fa hsing, To publish. | 彪蒙書室總發行 |
| | 施 行 | Shih hsing, ditto | |
| | etc. | etc. | etc. |



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# CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED).

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Since (about the beginning of the nineteenth century) the folk-lore and folk-songs of various lands have been seriously investigated, and folk-lore has become a science, a vast field of information has been disclosed, the full meaning of which is only now beginning to be generally appreciated. Thinkers now see, what the earlier collectors perceived dimly if at all, that these tales and songs possess a very great value for the elucidation of the social history of mankind. They furnish pictures of the past not otherwise to be seen. They help to keep alive customs and beliefs which would otherwise have died out and so failed to record their testimony in the sociologist's note-book. They prove the substantial uniformity of the working of the human mind under the same physical conditions all over the earth. The fundamental bases of popular thoughts and beliefs are everywhere the same. The particular development is the work of each particular race.

The particular branch of folk-lore found in China has been partially investigated by some able scholars, but the field is so vast as to be practically inexhaustible. Any small contribution to this gigantic work is therefore heartily to be welcomed. Recently, the excellent idea occurred to the editor of the official gazette of the Government University at Peking to ask the scholars to send to him the popular ditties current in their respective provinces or districts. Since these scholars hail from all parts of China a large and valuable collection was thus obtained. In the belief that they may be instructing and interesting to readers of the *New China Review* I propose to translate a portion of them, giving the Chinese text, and some notes where elucidation seems necessary. As a recreation from more laborious work it is pleasant to dip into the lighter kinds of Chinese literature, and if knowledge is to be gained at the same time the pleasure is doubly enhanced.



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The view of the man in the street that these tales and songs of the people are meaningless and useless is superficial. He himself will hum a song as he walks along or read a legend or fairy-tale when he goes home, and, though he does not stop to inquire into causes, he does not do these things because they give him pain. But the very fact that he sings the song or reads the tale because it gives him pleasure and not pain shows that it serves some positive purpose in his life. It may be doubted, for instance, if the singing of psalms and hymns and spiritual songs would have had the vogue it has did they give pleasure to those only in whose praise they were sung and not to the singers themselves, either directly or indirectly. Now if a certain quantity of positive pleasure is derived by the Chinese rustic from the lilting of his ditty, of whatever kind it may be, we have but to multiply that quantity by many millions up to four hundred to see that the total sum of pleasure derivable by the Chinese nation from these little songs is by no means a negligible quantity. We may rightly conclude that, taken as a whole, the nation would be a duller nation without them. Should it be replied that pleasure is not, or at least should not be, the sole object of existence, then I would say that, though that is true, I am at one with those philosophers who hold that pleasure is a legitimate object of pursuit, in and for itself. It may be the sad truth that humanity, in its present phase and mood, prefers amusement to instruction, but that does not detract from the value of amusement itself as a factor in human progress. The function of amusement, like that of music, is to stimulate. It is to the mind what alcohol is to the body, and should supplant it in the vital economy. We have only to consider the physical effect of a good joke ("laugh and grow fat") or the difference between the spring in the step of a regiment headed by a band playing an inspiring tune and the comparative dullness of the musicless march to see that these aesthetic products play a very important part in human existence. As one of the Chinese ditties here translated says, "To sing a song cheers the heart." No one will deny that "Tipperary" and "Gilbert the filbert, the colonel of the knut", and little Renée Myers' dance and song "O won't you come with me, boys, to Berlin on the Spree" killed many a German and many a Turk. Anyone who has not tried the effect of perusing his book of favourite passages in prose and verse on those days when drenching rain drowns all hope of outdoor sport, is lacking in one of the links between pleasure and pleasure which he would do well to forge with as little delay as possible. Dancing, music, poetry, literature, painting, etc.—all the aesthetic products—are not merely so many words, sym-



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bols, or actions, but are instruments for the exaltation of life. As stated above, the sum total of the stimulating pleasure added to the Chinese nation by their ditties alone may be a million-fold greater than is usually supposed. The translator therefore renders a larger service than that of merely changing folk-lore and folk-songs from one language into another. He enables those who could not speak to people of other nationalities in their own language or read their books to participate in the exaltation of life which this lore and these songs help to promote.

Naturally, coming from different districts and different types of Chinese people, the ditties here set forth in English dress are themselves of various kinds. Some are instructive, some both instructive and amusing, some merely amusing, some merely interesting. Most are at least as interesting as the "weather rhymes" of Western countries. The right to a hearing of those which are instructive only, or those which are both instructive and amusing, not being questioned, needs no defence. The right to a hearing of those which are only amusing has, I submit, been logically established in the above remarks. Finally, should there be any of my little folk-songs which can rightly be described as neither instructive, nor amusing, nor even interesting, I would still hold a brief for them on the ground that their often subtle phraseology may at least serve to give the student of Chinese excellent practice in translating them into his own language. If a poet, he might also exercise his gift by trying his hand at putting his translation into graceful verse, without damaging the meaning and spirit of the original Chinese text.

---

喝　破　眼　一
上　砂　淚　出
四　鑵　不　南
川　吆　乾　津
　　吆　買　關
　　喝　個　雨

Whenever one goes through Nan-ching Pass tears fill the eyes. Buy a broken gravel-pot, and *hung-hung ho-ho* away to Ssŭch'uan !

[This is one of the songs of the boat crews on the Ssŭch'uan rivers, which are notoriously difficult to navigate. A sigh is to be understood after "eyes." "Broken gravel-pot" refers to their poor food, prepared in a cheap crock. "*Hung-hung ho-ho*" is the yodel sung by the men as they haul up the sail.]



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只　怕　奸　奸
怕　你　又　黃
我　奸　狡　陂
沔　不　是　狡
古　怕　漢　孝
老　你　川　感
狡　不　又

Huang-p'o is treacherous, and Hsiao-kan is cunning; but Han-ch'uan is both treacherous and cunning. I fear not your treachery, I fear not your cunning; I fear only my Mien *ku-lao*.

[The old farmers of Hupei say that this song first came into existence after the time of Hung and Yang, of T'aip'ing rebellion fame. Huang-p'o, Hsiao-kan, Han-ch'uan, and Mien [-yang] are names of districts in that province. *Ku-lao*, "ancient-olds," or grey-beards, is a nickname given to themselves by the natives of that district. 陂 is here read *p'o*. Huang-p'o is the native place of the late President Li Yüan-hung.]

---

還　娘　討　麻
是　娘　了　雀
老　是　老　子
婆　路　婆　尾
好　邊　不　巴
　　草　要　長

The sparrow's tail is long. When he is married he forgets his mother. The mother is the grass by the road-side. The wife is best after all.

[This song is current in Nan-ch'ang, capital of Kiangsi.]

---

你　娘　着　不　畑　姑　起　養　窗　黑
說　跑　一　怪　袋　娘　來　活　糊　龍
可　了　雙　兩　這　吊　十　個　紙　江
怪　娘　鞋　口　些　着　七　孩　糊　眞
可　不　大　子　怪　個　八　兒　在　是
怪　愛　姑　穿　還　大　的　吊　外　怪

Hei-lung Chiang is indeed peculiar. There the window paper is pasted outside the windows; when rearing a child



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they hang him up ; and a girl of 17 or 18 smokes a large tobacco-pipe. These customs may not be very strange ; but husband and wife wearing one pair of shoes, and when a daughter runs away the mother does not love her [enough to get her back !] How say you, is not that strange ?

[Hei-lung Chiang is in the cold-winter zone. Owing to the great quantity of snow and rain most of the windows have the paper pasted on the outside and covered with oil. The women all have unbound feet, so there is no difference in the men's and women's shoes. Children, when one month old, are hung up in an oblong bamboo cradle attached by a long cord at each end to the ceiling of the house. Whenever the child cries the mother rocks the cradle with her hand. The common saying is, "The work of swinging the cradle is never forgotten, even until death." The second 吊 should be 咬 to hold in the mouth. The last 大, here, "generally," "always."]

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### 黑龍江有三寶人參貂皮靰鞡草

In the province of Hei-lung Chiang there are three precious things, namely, ginseng, sables, and *Chi-la* grass.

[*Chi-la* grass is a special product of Hei-lung Chiang. It grows in damp places, and is as soft as silk. As the climate is cold and the roads both stony and muddy, travelling is difficult, and cloth shoes cannot be used, so the inhabitants make their shoes of skin or hide and give them the name of *wu-la* 烏拉, i.e., *chi-la*, the local pronunciation of *wu-la*, ula grass. The "*Wu-la*" alone being too hard for the feet, they pound a thick lining of grass inside the shoe, so that even when walking in frost or snow the feet are not cold. The grass itself having no name it takes the name of the shoe.]

---

寧坐三年監不
管臭臟子共一
天事受三年八
罹子不交一具
臟子

It is better to be in prison for three years than to associate for one day with a frowsy Chi-tzŭ ; it is better to suffer three years' *pa-lo-tzŭ* than to be friends with [even] a decent Chi-tzŭ.



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[*Pa-lo-tzŭ* is the place of confinement for criminals. Chu Chi-tzŭ (臭 here read *chu*) and Chên Chi-tzŭ are nicknames of the natives of Hei-lung Chiang. The food of the people consists mostly of millet, called by them *chi-tzŭ*, and the name of the food is given to the people. Pa-lo-tzŭ closely resembles the Russian *politsija*, so the word may have been borrowed from the Russian language.]

---

二十七　莫焦急
二十八　我設法
二十九　有有有
除夕一宵不見面
初一元旦拱拱手

On the 27th, "Don't be anxious." On the 28th, "I am making an arrangement," On the 29th, "I have, I have, I have." On the 30th, "We do not see each other the whole night." On the 1st day of the New Year, "We salute each other!"

[This is the *patois* of the Chiang-pei rustics. It refers to the distressed state of debtors towards the end of the year, when, *more sinico*, all accounts must be settled. The speaker is the debtor. "Money" is to be understood at the end of the third line.]

---

做天難做四月天
要温和麥要拿
種小菜的哥哥要
落雨採桑娘子要
晴乾

The weather in the fourth month is very severe. The silkworms must be kept warm and the wheat cold. The man who plants small vegetables wishes for rain. The woman who picks mulberry leaves wants fair, dry weather!

[This is current in Chi-hsi, Anhui. *Cf.* the respective mental attitudes of the corn and turnip growers in the West.]



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月明起起做賊
像米聾的聽見
堕的叫起瞧的
趕着瞎的認米
亮月白庭堂賊
來偷家堂聾聾
聽見瞎子看見
說瘸脚追上去
曲手一把拖住

The brilliant moon has risen ; The thief comes to steal some rice. The deaf hear ; The dumb cry out ; The lame pursue ; The blind man identifies the stolen rice !

[This is current in Chi-hsi, Anhui. It might be entitled "The Absolutely Impossible." In Chiang-yin, Kiangsu, it is varied slightly as follows : The moon is very bright. The thief enters the shrine [house] to steal. The deaf hear; The blind see ; The lame run ; The man with the broken arm catches the thief ! *Cf.* "a rope of lamp-grass and a rod of chaff." Lamp-grass is used in medicine.]

---

來 來 到 到 到 上 上 來 來 的 叫 整 娶 廣 跟 三 井
也 吞 樹 花 墳 整 千 想 淚 我 孟 婆 了 怕 着 歲 裡
嘗 一 梢 鞋 顎 柱 張 親 汪 喝 良 活 個 爹 爹 二 開
嘗 嘴 上 上 上 香 紙 娘 汪 湯 孟 了 後 爹 爹 歲 花
野 老 鼻 淚 一 右 左 拿 端 良 個 娘 娶 還 沒 嘗
鵲 烏 子 點 走 手 手 起 起 吃 小 三 後 好 了 蓉
過 過 掙 滿 走 拿 拿 箸 碗 稠 小 年 娘 過 娘 長

The stalks of the flowers in the well are long. When a boy is only two or three years old and his mother dies, he can live very comfortably with his father. His only fear is that his father will provide him with a step-mother, and three years after the marriage she will give birth to a son whose name will be Mêng Liang. Mêng Liang will eat the solid part of the macaroni, and I shall have only the remaining gravy. When the bowl is in my hand my tears flow. When I take up the chop-sticks I think of my mother. Then in my left hand I take a thousand pieces of mock money, and in my right a bundle of incense sticks, and go to the tomb. The tears from my eyes drop on to my embroidered shoes, and those from my nose on to the branches of the trees....

[This is current in Kao-i, Chihli. Mêng Liang is apparently so christened merely for the sake of the rhyme. The last two lines are best left untranslated.]



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山西雀山西飛
沒娘的孩子吃
的虧白天裡不
得好飯吃黑夜
裡不得熟炕睡
枕什仩枕棒錘
蓋什仩蓋簸箕
厂乂力乂厂乂
力乂打鼾睡

The Shansi sparrow flies to Shansi. The loss suffered by the orphan is that in the daytime he cannot get good food to eat and in the night has no warm *k'ang* to sleep on. What is his pillow? It is a wooden hammer. What is his coverlet? It is a winnowing-fan. (Sounds of snoring.)

[This is also current in Kao-i. The wooden hammer is used for pounding cloth.]

---

拍大胖唱山西人
人都歡我無老
婆心幾仩肝拿
起有娶個女娃
娶個錢娶個婆
豆皮娶個錢

Strike the belly! Sing the mountain song! Everyone despises me because I have no wife. Because, on this account, my anger is aroused, I marry many; when I have money I marry a beautiful girl; when I have none I marry an ugly one!

[大脾 *sc.* 肚皮. 拿 *sc.* 惱. This is current in Kuangchou (Canton), Kuangtung.]

---

墻頭上一株草
風吹兩邊倒今
日有客來舍子
好鯽魚好鯉魚
肚裡緊愀愀爲
舍子不殺牛牛
說道耕田犁地
都是我爲舍子
不殺馬馬說道
接官送官都是
我爲舍子不殺
羊羊說道角兒
彎彎朝北斗爲
舍子不殺狗狗
說道看家守舍
都是我爲舍子
不殺豬豬說道
沒得說一把尖
刀戳出血

The tuft of grass on the wall is swaying in the wind. To-day a guest arrives. What is there ready to eat? There is the carp; but the carp makes a sound of disapproval with its stomach. Why not kill the ox? The ox says: "I am needed for ploughing and harrowing the fields." Why not kill the horse? The horse says: "I go out to receive the officials and see them off." Why not kill the sheep? The sheep says: "My horns curve gracefully towards the North Star." Why not kill the dog? The dog says: "I watch and protect the house."



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Why not kill the pig? The pig says: "I have nothing to say;" so a sharp knife lets out his life-blood.

[This is current in Anhui and Hupei. The sheep evidently defends himself on the ground of being ornamental if not useful.]

---

磕睡虫磕睡虫
磕睡來了不由
人惟願婆婆早
早死讓小媳婦
一覺睡到大天
明狗窜那裡講
磕睡虫磕睡虫
磕睡來了不由
人惟願婆婆百
百歲管得小媳
婦自成人鍋頭
碗上冷粥帶去
吃了粥每冷氷
氷菜每二三根
筷每水伶仃狗
窜那裡講粥每
熱溫溫菜每油
呑呑箸每眞乾
淨

"Sleep bug! sleep bug! When the sleep bug comes one has no longer control of one's self. I only hope that my mother-in-law will die soon, so that the small wife [I] may sleep all through the night till dawn. (Bother it! what am I saying?) Sleep bug! sleep bug! When the sleep bug comes one has no longer control of one's self. I only hope my mother-in-law will live to be a hundred years old, to see that I grow up properly." (The porridge in the bowl on the hearth is cold. She takes it and eats it). "The porridge is cold as ice; the vegetables are only a few snips; the chopsticks are dirty. (Bother it! what am I saying?) The porridge is hot; the vegetables luscious; and the chopsticks beautifully clean!"

[磕 睡 虫 an insect that causes drowsiness. 磕 properly 瞌]

---

子 吹 塘 過 水 汪 汪 照 堂 月
香 遶 風 菱 滿 洋 洋 見 堂 亮

How brilliantly the moon shines, reflecting itself in the broad lake! The water from the broad lake overflows into the caltrop pond. The perfume of the lotus-blossoms is wafted by the wind.

[Current in Anhui and Hupei.]

---

將身打馬過田莊
見一公公在路旁
請問公公多少歲
家居何縣幷何方
可有兒郎可有女
可有家當並田莊
老漢今年九十九
老妻一百差一雙
等到皇上開令榜
明年樹個百歲坊
五個孩兒不學
(此句疑有奪字)
都在朝中伴君王
大孩兒當朝爲宰
相二孩兒禮部在
中堂三孩兒雲南
爲總督吏部天官
第四郎要算五郎
年紀小新科獨占
狀元郎還有一個
小女十八歲朝中
選去做娘娘



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A general, when riding across a farm, saw an old man standing by the roadside. He said to him: "May I ask your age, Sir, your native place, how many sons and daughters you have, and the value of your real and personal property?" "I am ninety-nine this year," he answered; "my wife is a hundred less a couple of years. When the emperor next issues the 'golden list' I will have a *p'ai-lou* erected to me in honour of my having completed the century. I have five uncultured sons. They are all serving the emperor in the court. The eldest holds the position of Prime Minister; the second is President of the Board of Rites; the third has been appointed Viceroy of Yünnan; the fourth is President of the Board of Justice; and the fifth, still a junior, has recently passed first at the Palace Examination. Besides these I have a daughter, eighteen years of age, who has been selected to be the emperor's wife."

[There is some inconsistency as regards the first and fourth sons, since these two posts were one and the same in ancient times. 金榜 is perhaps better than 今榜. This and the following seven ditties are current in Anhui and Hupeh.]

---

唱支曲解心寬　To sing a song cheers the heart.
挑担綾羅上高　Carrying my load of silks I
山高山頂石臺　climb up the high mountain.
石樓石闌干繞　On the summit are stone terraces,
竹開花賽牡丹　stone benches, stone balustrades.
爺做狀元兒做　The violet bamboo blossoms
官　are as beautiful as the peonies.

To sing a song cheers the heart. Carrying my load of silks I climb up the high mountain. On the summit are stone terraces, stone benches, stone balustrades. The violet bamboo blossoms are as beautiful as the peonies. One's father becomes a *chuang yüan*, one's son an official.

唱支曲解心寬　To sing a song cheers the heart.
挑担綾羅上高　Carrying my load of silks
山山頂廟門開　I climb up the high mountain.
三個學生進廟　The door of the temple on the
一個裝香兩　summit is open. Three students
個拜保佑先生　enter it; one burns a stick of
中秀才秀才騎　incense, the other two kneel
馬馬頭高一根　to the idols praying that they
馬鞭十八節讀　may become *hsiu-ts'ai* gradu-
書之人節節高　ates. A *hsiu-ts'ai* has a whip
　of eighteen joints and rides a
　horse which holds its head
　high. Those who study will
　be promoted step after step.

[挑. 担. loads swung from each end of a bamboo pole placed across the shoulder. The length of the whip and bearing of the horse are cases of vicarious ostentation.]



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交辮線館元賣湯元了長此女么弟鞋擺學生你打我回去渣此小
交紅茶上賣湯了完辮長交賣元寶小唱弟紅搖擺上生先來生莫我吃口渣來男唱
交繁上賣湯長交完湯元寶小女么弟鞋擺搖紅穿么孩童渣吃我莫先來摆搖穿么孩童

With my curly, curly pigtail,
Tied with red cord,
I go to the tea-house,
To buy congee balls.
The congee balls are all sold—
My curly, curly pigtail
Has grown quite straight!

(This is sung by little girls.)

Tiny, tiny young brother,
Wearing his red shoes,
Come swaggering to school.
"Teacher, teacher, do not beat me!
I will go home and take a drink of my mother's milk!"

(This is sung by little boys.)

[Congee balls are eaten on the 15th of the 1st moon. 么. is used by Soochow people for 小. Red shoes are worn by young children. The 鄂. Hupei people call milk 渣. 渣.]

---

滿月回門望嫂哥嫂
嫂聽着旁人說打發
鴉鬟泡滿茶堂前見
過家常禮姑娘 你
到他家去到一月姑
爺待你如何嫂嫂
你是前生前世修得
到今生今世嫁把我
家哥我是前生前世
修不到今生今世嫁
着个酒糊塗頭不曾
上床脚睡下枕頭倒
枕就打呼姑娘 等
得哥哥回來日勸得
鸞鳳合成雙嫂嫂
若是眞眞有那日坐
轎回門謝嫂哥

One month after marriage I return to my home to see my elder brother and his wife. My sister-in-law, hearing of my return, sends the maid-servant to make some tea for me. After I have paid my respects to her [she says]: "My younger sister, you have now been a month at your husband's house; how does he treat you? "My elder sister," [I reply] "how fortunate it is that you married my elder brother! I am so unfortunate as to have married a stupid drunkard. He sleeps with his head at the foot of the bed, and no sooner does it touch the pillow than he is sound asleep!" "Dear younger sister," [says she] "when my husband comes back he will reconcile you two." "My elder sister," [I reply] "if that is really so I will return in my chair to thank you both!"



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橘子皮　桂花香　打開城　門嫁哥　娘姑娘　不嫁的　留得屋　裡說鬮　的姑娘　不抬的　留得

Orange-peel and cassia-scent ! The city gate is opened for the bride to go to her husband. But there are many who are not allowed to marry, but merely are left in their apartments to rail; there are many who are not borne away in sedan-chairs [to be married], but merely are left in their apartments to gamble.

[This is a complaint put into the mouth of one grieving over the neglect of women's education in early times. The antiquity of the song is shown by the peculiar rhymes 嫁 and 鬮; 抬 and 牌.]

---

搖大船打大鼓　阿娘喜討新婦　新婦新婦幾時　歸臘月二十四　歸帶得舍子歸　帶得糕糕場歸　公一份婆一份　姑娘小叔合一　份大也爭小也　爭拿棒來打畜　生畜生打不着　打了新婦好小　脚三尺布攏膏　藥

The great ship sails, the big drum is beaten. The mother rejoices that her son has taken a wife. "Bride ! bride ! when will you come back ?" She returns on the 24th day of the 12th moon, bringing with her some provisions in the shape of cakes and puddings. One-third is given to the father, one-third to the mother, and one-third to the sister and younger brother between them. As the brother and sister quarrel, the parents take a big stick to punish them. But the blow misses the youngsters and lands on the small foot of the bride ! So they get a bandage three feet long and bind it up, after anointing it with unguents.

---

楊人年五二金堂一一屋中間送出　柳笑妹回來聽帶回稱　樹我年妹來金看一淋　結疤多多七三人
　　姊妹哥哥妹妹一　　

不一說說荐裡妹短妹嫂之眼叫指碗一來拜來上聽妹年人楊
回伸冬冬留有那被妹把也一妹甲莧碗一一堂金妹二五笑柳
娘手瓜瓜得蓉裡有歇脚哥音妹摘菜魚碗杯屋街回妹年我樹
家一正絕蓋荐歇窄嫂一叫殺同之不不肉冷中嫂來來嫁姊結
　投開乏冬嫂哥留說踢妹以上也音鮑血茶間聽帶看一妹疤
　總花了瓜說說得床哥妹目嫂根恰鱗淋送拜妹桿哥个多多
　總脚嫂哥蓉田妹有叫吃止把哥以一淋出一回稱哥七三人

Every one laughs at me for having as many sisters as the willow tree has scars. Every three or five years one of them is married off. Then the seventh and second sisters return to see



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their elder brother. The latter, hearing they have returned, shoulders his steelyard and goes to Gold Street [market]. When his wife hears they have returned, after the exchange of salutations, she sends them out a cold cup of tea, a bowl of meat, but dripping with blood, a bowl of fish, but with the scales not removed, and a bowl of vegetables with the roots still on! When the elder brother calls "Sisters!..." his wife stops him with a glance. When he asks them to eat she gives him a kick. When he asks them to stay the night she says the bed is small and the coverlet narrow—how on earth can they put them up? When he says there is plenty of straw in the field, she says the straw is wanted to cover the winter pumpkins. When he says the pumpkins are all dead, she says they are just in bloom. So the sisters become angry, take their leave, and never return!

---

海龍王家三小姐
家做夫人丈夫又
婆有得嫌公公罰
八百支婆婆罰我
明要半斤老羊不
不等鷄啼要四兩
草要吃西邊露水
指頭威扇切剔也
淋雞得金家嫂嫂
包飯送與守羊人
聲守羊人低叫一
嬸難得金家嫂好
書送與爹爹此句
亦欠自然疑有誤
我帶得血書到一
與他涼誰人將我
書到一條手巾送
塵血書帶到大廳
一見吃一驚問我
我是你家三小姐
我是他七日七夜
脫金家一姓人丈
滌油煎叔嬸伯嬸
上夫江帶是上他
西公水書何龍柏
天婆推人人王灰
帶把誰不叫聲高好得根吃不搓我不嫁
得破人入我金叫手血十東等蘇守愛把
血扇將韵寫家一巾淋个邊天繩羊公金

The Dragon-king's third daughter was married into the Gold family. But her husband did not love her and her parents-in-law treated her badly. "My father-in-law made me herd eight hundred sheep during the day, and my mother-in-law made me spin thread — four ounces before cock-crow and half a catty before daybreak! The old sheep did not like the grass on the eastern side, but ate that on the western side, where it was covered with dew. All my ten fingers were lacerated. Fortunately the Gold's aunt was kind to me, and brought provisions in a handkerchief to the shepherd, calling me in a loud voice 'Shepherd' [when at a distance] but [when close at hand] addressing me softly as 'Mrs. Gold.' Fortunately the Gold's aunt was kind to me, and suggested my writing a letter to my father. 'Whoso will take this letter of grief for me will be rewarded with a broken fan; whoso will take this letter of grief for me will be rewarded with a torn handkerchief to wipe off the dust!'"

When the letter reached the Dragon-king's palace, the king was much surprised and asked the messenger who he was. He



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replied: "I am the messenger from your third daughter." The Dragon-king then, as a punishment, caused the Yangtzŭ River to overflow for seven days and seven nights, drowning the whole Gold family. The husband and parents-in-law were boiled in oil, but the uncle and aunt were sent up to the Western Paradise.

[The predilection of the sheep for the dewy grass is mentioned to indicate the labour imposed on the shepherd of constantly driving them back.]

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掃帚繫着黃金鎖瘡
娘爲窮賣了我一賣
賣給個使船的郎吃
的大米乾飯鮮魚湯
白天聽着鵝鴨叫黑
夜聽着山水響有心
跟着山水走又怕山
水無盡頭

The golden lock is fastened to the broom. My mother being poor sold me. She sold me to be a sailor. My food is rice and fresh fish soup. During the day I listen to the cry of the geese and the ducks; at night I listen to the sound of the rivulets on the hill-sides. I would like to go and follow the course of the rivulets, but fear that they would not lead me to my desired end [i.e., home].

---

火亮大做二打兩婦虫媽籠子挑
筷篾蓬虫兒裁兒長個取老糊白老養
蓬子縫子工娘牙燈頭鬍桶頭

The fire-fly's light is very bright. The eldest son is a tailor, the second a farm labourer. Both their wives take the worms out of teeth. The old mother pastes paper lanterns; the white-bearded old father carries the night-soil tub.

[Toothache is (or was) supposed by the Chinese to be caused by worms in the teeth, the extraction (of the worms) being chiefly done by women. This ditty refers to the necessity of each member of a poor family being obliged to engage in some occupation: if any will not work neither shall he eat."]

*(To be continued.)*



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# A GOLD COIN OF THE MING DYNASTY

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

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The question whether gold in the form of an actual coin, either moulded or minted, did or did not exist in China before the republican régime, has been touched upon only superficially by earlier writers. Some have asserted its existence, whilst other authorities have negatived it. The preponderance of opinion appears to favour the theory that gold as a medium of currency, existed only between B.C. 1122 and A.D. 224. It is well therefore, before treating upon the recently 'discovered' coin which forms the subject of this article, to refer to the statements of writers on Chinese currency, coins and kindred subjects, with particular regard to the use of gold in relation thereto.

For early notes on Chinese gold, I must first refer to that distinguished student of things oriental, Terrien de Lacouperie, and a few quotations from his numismatic *chef-d'œuvre*, the *Catalogue of Chinese Conns from the VIIth Cent. B.C. to A.D.* 621, are instructive. His first mention of gold is under date of B.C. 1091: "In the thirteenth year of Tcheng, second King of Tchou, his minister, Kiang Tai Kung, establishes the nine Treasury Offices, and regulates the currency in metal and silk (gold in cubic-inch, bronze in rings, . . . ). The historical statement is given in the *Tsien Han Shu*, or *Annals of the Former Han Dynasty* (Shih ho, iv. 2). With reference to metal, it says: 黃金方寸而重一斤錢圜函方輕重以銖 which we understand as 'gold was in square inch, weighing one *kin*, bronze money was round, tongue-like and in squares and their weight was ascertained by *tchus*"* Under date B.C. 221, we find: "The King of Ts'in 秦紀 assumes the title of She Hwang-

*Introduction, p. X.



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ti 始皇帝, 'the first universal Emperor.' The use of gems, pearls, tortoise-shells, cowries, and tin is henceforth forbidden for currency. Issue of a new coinage, . . . and for gold in small cubes *yh*." * These *Yh's* weighed one pound, in similarity to those under the Tchou dynasty. † In A.D. 7, Sin Wang Mang 新王莽, as Regent, issued round coins, and having assumed the supreme power in A.D. 10, he "discontinues his coinage of knife-money and establishes new sorts of currency, in gold, silver, . . ." ‡ This gold currency was regulated by and named 斤 *kin* 'pound,' and had the value of ten thousand copper cash, but no specimens of these gold pieces are now found, and it is unfortunate that no precise description of their design has survived. § Under date of A.D. 558-565, it is declared that Sassanian gold and silver coins circulated under the Northern Tchou dynasty in Shensi. ¶ Lacouperie only treats on Chinese coins up to A.D. 621, and it may readily be assumed that so many centuries ago, when metal was comparatively scarce, the officials and gentry were chary to bury their dead with other than copper cash pieces, since such highly prized metal as gold or silver was probably unnecessary to act as a sesame at the gates of the Nether World for the departing spirit.

In the *Stewart Lockhart Collection of Chinese Copper Coins* published in 1915, reference is made to gold. Of several thousand years ago, it quotes the Historical Records of Ssŭ-ma-Ch'ien (司馬遷), or 史記 *Shih Chi*, for the statement that the media of barter under the Emperor Shun (舜), B.C. 2255, and during the Hsia dynasty, B.C. 2205-1818, were of three kinds of metal, described as yellow (gold); white (silver); and red (copper). Ma Tuan-lin (馬端臨) avers that at the commencement of the Han dynasty, B.C. 206, the place of pearls, jade, tortoise-shells and gems as currency, was substituted by gold and copper. ‖ Some Chinese authorities have declared that the casting of metallic money was done to tide over a temporary emergency, and that this casting ceased as soon as the stress of the times relented. A more extensive reference is made to gold on pages X-XI which is worth quoting in full. "The metals used for media of exchange have been gold, silver, copper, iron, white metal and lead. *No gold coins have been cast*, ⁋ but in the Chou dynasty there were gold pieces an inch square and weighing one *Chin* 斤 or 16 *Liang* or ounces, from which they were called either 一斤 *1 Chin*, one

* Introduction, p. XIV. † Chapter VIII, p. 338. ‡ Introduction, p XV. § Interregnum, p. 381. ¶ Introduction, p. XVI. ‖ Introduction pp. IV-V. ⁋ The italics are mine.



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chin, or 一金 *1 Chin*—one gold piece. In the Ch'in dynasty the gold unit was one 鎰 I or *20 Liang* or ounces and was called 上幣 *Shang Pi*, money of higher value, copper being designated *Hsia Pi* 下幣, money of lower value. The Han dynasty reverted to the Chin 斤 or gold unit of the Chow dynasty and in the year B.C. 95 the Emperor Hsiao Wu Ti 孝武帝 had gold pieces made into the shape of the foot of the unicorn and the hoof of a horse to celebrate the auspicious appearance in that year of a white unicorn, of a famous horse and of gold in the Mountain of T'ai Shan.* It appears, therefore, that during the Chou, Ch'in and Han dynasties there was a gold standard of value represented by a certain weight, as well as copper currency. As time went on the gold standard was replaced by a silver standard . . . ." In chüan 369, page 6, Kuan Tzŭ 管子 states that when Liu Kuang-shih 劉光世 was governor of Hupeh, *circa* A.D. 1130-1131, he cast gold, silver and copper coins, but Stewart Lockhart regards them as tokens, mentioning as reason therefor, that they were not strictly a regular Government issue.†

A curious passage in the *Su-chow-fu chih*,‡ a book on Soochow topography, throws some light on old Chinese gold coins. It states that during A.D. 1175, one Han Yen-ku, then a brigadier stationed at Soochow ordered the execution in that city of a Shupan, for acts of bribery. As a result of carrying into effect the extreme penalty, the culprit's property was confiscated, and an enormous amount of gold was found in his possession, given as—gold shoes, 15,720 taels; gold wine cups weighing 6,730 taels; five pecks of small gold lumps; *gold coins*, 60 *strings*,§ and other gold articles. Brigadier Han shortly afterwards lost his life in the Nü-chên Tartar war.¶ The above statement, if correct, would lead to the inference that during the twelfth century gold generally, and gold coins in particular, must have been immensely in circulation. Possibly this gold was the same as the coins mentioned by *Kuan Tzŭ*.

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*Kuan Tzŭ, Chap. 335, p. i.

†In view of much provincial copper currency having been issued during many centuries, and implicitly accepted by numerous numismatics as coins, and the more recent continuous production of minted provincial coins, this statement may be regarded as too sweeping. What is—especially in China—a strictly Government issue, that is to say, an issue strictly made by the Central Government's authority, is a subject which should arouse considerable controversy, and would at best narrow itself to expressions of opinion only.

‡Chap. 145, p. 44.

§The mention of strings, would tempt us to believe that those gold coins must have had a hole of some shape in the middle to thread them by.

¶Edkins. *Chinese Currency*.



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Wagel, whilst insisting that the real basis of currency in China has been neither gold nor silver, but copper, still asserts that "for thousands of years China has been using gold and silver, although there has been no continuity in the use of either one of the metals or both as currency." * Of all authors on Chinese currency or coins in general, Wagel writes in the most positive strain. "During the dynasty of Hsia (B.C. 1990 to 1558) and Shang (B.C. 1558 to 1150) gold, silver and copper money were in circulation besides the well-known cowrie shells." † In dwelling upon the prohibitive order of the Ts'in ruler forbidding the use of cowrie shells, pearls, gems and precious stones in barter, he states that "the units of the gold coin were the *Yi*, twenty taels in weight and the *Chin*, sixteen taels in weight; these were used as currency quite extensively." ‡ Referring to Wang Mang's usurpation of the throne, mention is made that there were twenty-eight different kinds of money during his reign from A.D. 7 to 22; "there were gold, silver of two qualities, four grades of tortoise-shell, five grades of cowrie shells, ten grades of Pu or bell-shaped money and six grades of copper coinage." § It would seem that after all, Wagel was not satisfied that all this gold money was in actual coin shape, and in explaining that the policy of the Government *up to the close of the eighth century* ¶ was regulated by the principle that the coinage of metals was only for the convenience of trade, he says that "gold and silver were used as commodity money almost all through this period; no efforts were, however, made to coin these precious metals." ‖

Of more recent publication (1917), the *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, —that monster-masterpiece on anything Chinese states under the heading of 'Numismatics' that "*Gold has never been cast in coins.*" ⁋ But, be it remarked, this was before the coin forming the subject of this article was found, and the statement was ostensibly correct as having presumably been based on the declaration of earlier authors.

So much for the chronicles of the past. In its issue of 8th April, 1921, the *North-China Daily News* wrote: "A morsel of unwritten history saw the light a few days ago near the old Magistrate's yamên in the native city.° Workmen engaged on excavation at the new water works site dug up a number of jute-

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* Wagel. *Chinese Currency and Banking*, p. 35. † pp. 35,36; ‡ p. 36. § p. 37. ¶ The italics are mine. ‖ Wagel. p. 38. ⁋ The italics are mine. ° A native version says in front of the Chih Dah Temple in the Shanghai City.



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bags containing coins, inscribed "Wung Woo," * "Hsuan Teh," † and "Chia Chêng" ‡ (Ming Dynasty). The astonished workmen lost no time in offering some of the coins for sale to passers-by and a large crowd was quickly attracted by this unusual and no doubt fascinating sight. It was inevitable, of course, that where money was in process of changing hands an official should appear. A Chinese police constable looked into the matter, reported to an inspector, and the inspector promptly annexed the money bags and carried them off to headquarters, on the principle that treasure trove is the property of the Government. Zeal of this kind deserves reward, and we should not be at all surprised if, in this connexion, the inspector's intelligence anticipates forgetfulness on the part of his august masters." Some days later, upon Peking hearing of the find, instructions were promptly telegraphed down ordering that the coins be sent on to the Capital. Two weeks later, I was approached by a native money dealer who showed me the three-quarters of a gold coin inscribed 正德通寶, Chêng Tê T'ung Pao or Currency of the Chêng Tê Period. After purchasing the gold piece, although the dealer refused to explain the circumstances which led to its having been brought to me, he admitted that it came from the above find, adding in typical Chinese fashion: 'more better no talkee other man how fashion have catchee this curio money, my belong only sell man.' Whether it formed one of the coins sold by the workmen who discovered the bags, or whether it found its way into private hands during the transitory period of its possession by the inspector, headquarters, 'august masters,' in transport to Peking, or when in Peking itself, has not, and will very likely never be revealed.

Expert opinion was sought. One authority, whilst admitting its age, considered it more in the nature of an amulet; this latter, is, however, an ornament generally inscribed with mystic characters, not "Currency of the Chêng Tê Period." § Should we then consider it a charm coin? In its present state, the weight is 125.74 grammes; diameter 48.5mm.; thickness slightly irregular, from 7.5 to 8mm.; cast in red gold, but altered on the surface into dull yellow by long contact with water filtered through

*Probably "Hung Wu" (洪武) A.D. 1368-1398.

†Hsüan Tê (宣德) A.D. 1426-1435.

‡Chia Ching (嘉靖) A.D. 1522-1566.

§The Glover collection contained a very large number of charm coins and amulets; all bear various devices and legends, but none are inscribed 通寶 'Currency.'



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alluvial soil; it is a little corroded. Exactly fifteen millimetres are missing from the right angle diameter, we are thus able to determine the weight, when in its original entirety, at about 179.77 grammes or say 4.75 taels. Allowing a quarter tael for corrosion and graft, for the officials under the Ming dynasty were no exception to their predecessors or successors. We have then a coin ostensibly made to represent five taels in gold, or the equivalent of fifty taels in silver, the ratio of these two metals being, in former times, 10 to 1.* I have before me several fifty-tael gold pieces minted during the T'ung Chih period, A.D. 1862-1874, *id est*, representing the nominal value of fifty taels of silver, the pieces themselves weighing about five taels of gold; this fact would apparently corroborate the above deduction, notwithstanding that the minted pieces were made at a considerably later period; but of these coins, more anon. Should we then, in view of the facts *ut supra* of a specific and standard weight having been given to the piece, designate it a charm coin?

Type I in the plate shows the recently delved coin in its present state; Type II, a drawing of it made by a Chinese artist, from records known of the tendencies, customs and trend of ideas believed to have existed during the Chêng Tê period, A.D. 1506-1521, and it purports to show the state of the coin in its original condition. Types IV A. and B. are coins in copper cast during the Chêng Tê period; these and the woodblock prints illustrating the Glover collection,† show that during the Chêng Tê period, the custom of placing an allegorical dragon and also a phœnix in the design of coins, was a prevalent one. Type III is the reproduction of a piece of Chinese jade carved during the Ch'ien Lung (A.D. 1736-1795) period as a charm. The remarkable feature of this jade is its size and inscription. In diameter the exact replica of the gold coin—48.5 mm.; in thickness exactly half—4 mm.; the inscription reads the same 正德通寶, but it is manifestly clear that this jade piece at such a late period of Chinese civilization, did not, nor was it meant to, act as currency. The reverse shows the design of a dragon and phœnix facing each other, somewhat according to the fancies that prevailed during the Chêng Tê period. All these inscriptions, size *et cetera* correspond in a most strange degree

*Morse in *The Trade and Administration of China* 3rd Ed. p. 141 states that, "the standard introduced by the T'ang dynasty and continuing in theory until to-day was a part of a bimetallic system, or even of a trimetallic system, by which, in value, 1 gold = 10 silver = 1,000 copper, these being the metallic exchange equivalents in China thirteen centuries ago."

†Stewart Lockhart. *The Currency of the Farther East.* Vol. II pp. 69,70.



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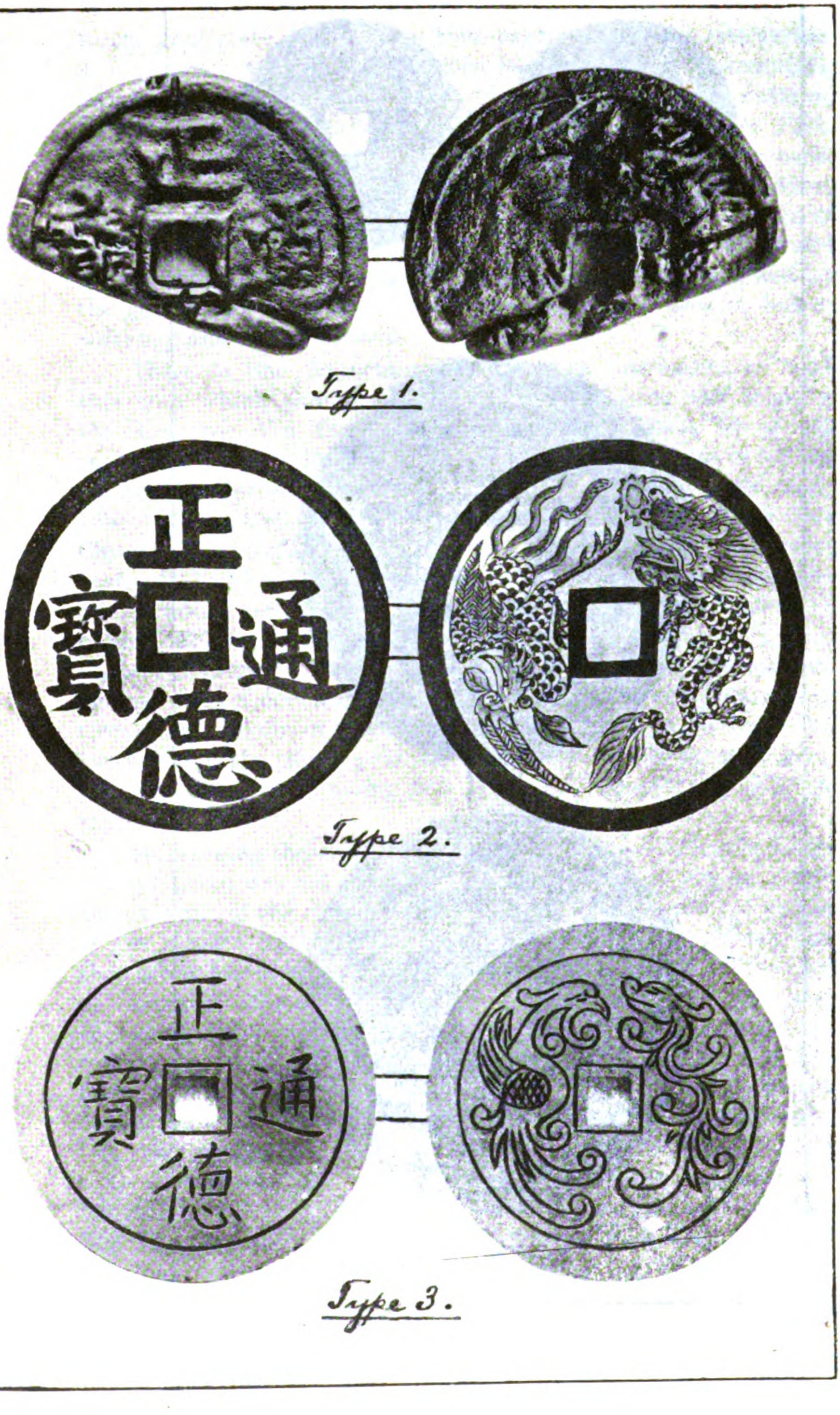


Type 1.

Type 2.

Type 3.

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Type 4. A.

Type 4. B.

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to the gold piece, and having been carved at such a late period, it is evident that the jade piece was copied from something important, say from the gold fifty-tael piece, to serve as a charm. Incidentally, this would tend to prove that as late as A.D. 1736-1795, the gold coin was still in circulation. Is it unreasonable to assert that the latter is a *sine qua non* of the former ? If then, the gold piece is to be considered a charm coin, why should its replica in jade to serve as a charm, have been considered at all ? It is obvious that if the jade charm was apparently inspired by the gold piece, the latter was not regarded as a charm, but as currency and issued as such.

There is one important circumstance in connexion with this coin which should not be ignored. During the reign of the Emperor Wu Tsung under the title of Chêng Tê 正德, copper coins were little issued,* but during the reign of his immediate predecessor under the title of 洪治 Hung Chih—A.D. 1488-1505, as well as of his successor under the title 嘉靖 Chia Ching—A.D. 1522-1566, a fair number of copper coins were cast. It has been advanced that for this reason—a very slim one, it would seem strange that a coin in gold should have been issued between the two reigns. Although China is a great paradoxical country, in this instance it can well be that this militates against such a conclusion, since it probably is that because the circulation of coins of small denomination was thought ample for the needs of the times, gold coins were cast, ensuring, as it were, the possibility of reducing five thousand coppers into a single piece.

In bringing these arguments to a close, it may be added that this gold coin was not excavated from a grave, but dug up within the ex-walls of the Shanghai City. Investigation into the annals of the locality where it was found, disclosed the important fact that a few hundred years ago, the Ground Tax Office of the City of Shanghai stood over the spot. What prompted the bags containing coins generally to be secreted underground, should not remain a mystery. Also, why in the city itself, beneath the very floor of that tax office and by whom, may be ascribed to a person connected with officialdon ,whose scruples were not immaculate, but who reaped as reward only the preservation of his secret unto eternal oblivion. Should we then conclude that this daily handler of currency of the realm was unconscious of the fact that this gold piece was only a charm coin ? or must we grant

*The Stewart Lockhart collection does not contain any, and the Glover collection contained nine pieces only.



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him the benefit of the doubt, and assume that his power of discrimination between a gold coin as currency, was perspicuous enough to realize its complete impotency, were it only a charm coin? Further, if the solution of the mystery of this treasure trove is correctly ascribed to an employee of the Ground Tax Office, even if the piece was intended as a charm coin, was it tendered and accepted in payment of taxes? Circumstantial evidence and logical deductions reply affirmatively, and hence it follows that the charm coin nature of the gold piece *de facto* ceases, retaining its "charm," only where its power of purchase is concerned, much the same as the charm which money in our day possesses. It may be remarked incidentally, that not only did the coin occupy less space underneath the floor in the earth, but entailed less labour in burying it, probably precipitately done,—than its equivalent of 5,000 copper coins would have involved.

How then should this gold piece be classified? I have endeavoured to advance the pros and cons., but the answer to the question remains indefinite. Perhaps an appeal to our readers may bring forth important revelations and thereby we may attain the desired goal.



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# MR. WALEY AND "THE LUTE GIRL'S SONG"

BY

PROF. H. A. GILES, LL.D.

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I was much struck at the time of the great Missionary Conference in 1878 by a remark from Dr. Edkins, who had been working with distinction at the language and literature of China for no fewer than twenty-nine years. He spoke of "statements which he had made years ago and had then to correct as imperfect or erroneous" (see *Record*, p. 69).

Now, I have always maintained that students of Chinese should make known as soon as possible any errors, fancied or real, which they may detect in the work of their predecessors or contemporaries. Unfortunately this system is very sparsely adopted, authors being often as thin-skinned about their literary efforts as Sir Fretful Plagiary himself, with the result that critics are deterred from hurting feelings which ought not to exist, and which assuredly ought not to be spared. Irritation at the discovery of a mistake should be confined to a personal regret for having made it, and not extended to the discoverer, coupled with satisfaction—here's the rub !—that Chinese scholarship will move a step forward.

I have been led into this rambling discourse by Mr. Waley's "Notes on the Lute-Girl's Song," vol. ii, p. 591, of this *Review*, about which I should like to say at once that whether he is right or wrong, Mr. Waley does good service by challenging interpretations which do not appear to him to be satisfactory ; on the broad ground that "Truth's like a torch : the more it's shook it shines," which is always a much better foundation for criticism than a petulant "tit-for-tat with John Russell." In any case, so far as I am concerned, no apology will ever be necessary ; and I will now proceed to make my own remarks on Mr. Waley's strictures.



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1.—I did not translate the Preface, for the simple reason that it was not given with the text on which I worked in 1882. I drew my story of the poem chiefly from the poem itself. The poet says, "fever-stricken I reached this spot, where in its desolation, from year's end to year's end no flute or guitar is heard. I live by the marshy river-bank, surrounded by yellow reeds and stunted bamboos," etc., etc. It is difficult to reconcile these words with "the rank of sub-Prefect in the city of Kiukiang," no mean rank in no mean city. Meanwhile, thanks to Mr. Waley for the Preface, his rendering of which he should compare, for amusement, with that of Mr. Cranmer Byng in "A Lute of Jade," p. 76, which is followed by my translation of this poem, choppped up into lines, with no acknowledgment of the source.

2.—Mr. Waley says that he retains the title by which the poem is best known to English readers. I have hitherto been under the impression that I introduced the piece in 1884 to English readers and christened it with a title which I thought would be more suggestive than "Lines for the Lute" which is the real translation of 琵琶行, the last character of which is not, I believe, associated in any way with "song," except as derived from this famous poem. Nor is the above the only Chinese title under which the poem, with Preface, is found. In editions of 1606 and 1703 we find 琵琶引 which I take to mean "The Story of the Lute."

3.—I never for a moment inagined that any of Po Chü-i's lines were sung by the girl, as Mr. Waley implies. This is proved by my rendering, "Then *every note she struck* swelled with pathos deep and strong, *as though telling the tale* of a wrecked and hopeless life."

4.—楓葉荻花秋瑟瑟 is not the text which I translated. For 荻 read 貶 which alters the sense completely and also greatly improves it. Maple leaves in autumn are said by the Chinese to look like flowers; the collocation of the maple-tree with a small reed is very unconvincing. The *T'u shu* gives a third reading, 蕭.

5.—Mr. Waley objects to my translation of 回燈 "Lamps trimmed again." The fact is that I translated the alternative text, mentioned by Mr. Waley, 攜燈 which he says means "carried, brought, which is much easier." He has mistranslated both terms. (*a*) 攜 has been, since the days of the 說文 a synonym of 提, which is often used for the colloquial 挑 in the sense of trimming, *i.e.* picking up the wick of a lamp to make it burn more brightly—how often have I seen it done and done it myself.



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(*b*) Of 回燈 Mr. Waley says, "Literally it must mean 'lamps turned round,'" which to me means nothing. Mr. Waley ought to have deduced the meaning from the context; it is really obvious enough. The festivity to speed the parting guest was over; but when the musician came on board the boat, it was a case of 添酒回燈 "Supplying more wine and *bringing back* the lamps."

6.—Mr. Waley's rendering of 轉軸撥絃三兩聲 by "she turned the 'pegs' (to tune the instrument) and struck the strings (with her plectrum) playing two or three notes" is no doubt more literal than mine; but if, as Mr. Waley tells us later on, p. 597, "the general reader will accept whatever makes good sense and good poetry," he will scarcely find both conditions fulfilled.

7.—I did not understand the technical meaning of 絃絃掩抑. Mr. Waley's "with every string muted" is accepted with thanks.

8.—Mr. Waley is right in saying that my "Now softly, now slowly, her plectrum sped to and fro" is not "an attempt to translate" 輕攏慢撚抹復挑. His own attempt, of the correctness of which he is "not confident" requires no fewer than twenty-eight words to make seven characters clear, and would have been quite out of place in a popular work. The Chinese terms employed are purely technical.

9.—曲終收撥當心畫四絃一聲如裂帛. Mr. Waley suggests as the sense of these lines, "When the tune was ended, she withdrew her plectrum, sweeping it (as a painter sweeps his brush) across her breast, and the four strings (played in *arpeggio*) sounded with a slash like the rent of silk." In the first place, my text has 抽 for 收, a much better reading, inasmuch as the latter must simply mean "she took away" or "she put up" the plectrum, whereas the former gives the arpeggio *pull* across the strings. As to "sweeping her plectrum across her breast," I can only say that 當心 undoubtedly refers to the face of the lute and not to the breast of the maiden. Mr. Waley has adopted my last eight words "with a slash like the rent of silk." [Students who are not far advanced may like to have it pointed out that "slash" comes out of 畫 in the first line, which stands for 劃, 然 being understood.] Further, as the previous sentence clearly showed that the song was ended, I did not unnecessarily insert "When the song was over." Mr. Waley's mistaken view of 曲 is dealt with under No. 14 below.

10.—"My childhood, etc." was, as Mr. Waley suggests, intentional. Names of places and of personages, unless particularly



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famous, have always to be kept in the background of "Chinese Gems" translated for general readers. Many of the most beautiful pieces are quite untranslatable because of the myriad allusions which strike chords in a Chinese heart, but leave the European reader cold. How could a Chinese translator from English literature hope to interest his countrymen by any rendering of "call up him who left half told The story of Cambuscan bold," or even of such phraseology as "the morning star of song," and the like ?

11.—阿姨 I also translated this term intentionally by "mother" instead of by "aunt," which stared me in the face in every dictionary ; but I will not give my reason, which now seems to me to be feeble. Of course "aunt" is correct, and it will be safer to drop "mother" in future. I need hardly add that Mr. Byng has "My mother died."

12.—住近盆江. For "I live by the marshy river-bank," Mr. Waley would have me say, "I live near P'ên River." See No. 10.

13.—春江花朝秋月夜.
往往取酒還獨傾.

Mr. Waley says that I omit these lines. I certainly did not translate them, for like the British fleet, they were not in sight—of the text at my disposal. Neither do I think now that Mr. Waley has correctly rendered the second line by "Many a time and again I brought wine and drank it alone." One important character is entirely ignored. My translation would be "Time and again I fetched wine and took it home to drink alone." The lines are given in the editions of 1606 and 1703, in both of which the number of words is said to be 612.

14.—更坐彈一曲 Mr. Waley complains of my "Sit down awhile and sing to us yet again." He says "the girl has been playing on the lute, not singing," and that the last three characters "can only mean play one tune." I think he will find upon closer examination that 曲 means technically a song with words, as when we 唱曲 sing songs. But, like ourselves, the Chinese have "songs without words" which they speak of in precisely similar terms 無字曲; *i.e.*, songs which are not sung, but which are produced from instrumental music alone by the skill of the composer or of the performer. Such, in fact, are the famous *Lieder ohne Worte* by Mendelssohn, and such too was the song of the Lute Girl. To speak of the latter as a "tune" would make Mr. Waley appear to have done what he thought I had done,—to



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have misunderstood the whole poem. Thus 曲調 means "song tunes," or as Hemelin puts it in his English-Chinese Dictionary, "the tune of a song." Finally, I did not use the word song inadvertently, without reference to the claims of the English language. He have in fact the same usage, one meaning of "song" being "a musical composition suggestive of a song," *q.d.* suggestive of words. A similar but more transcendental meaning is exhibited in Kingsley's lines—

Do noble deeds, not dream them, all day long;
And so make life, death, and that vast for-ever,
One grand, sweet song.

From which I venture to claim that if a song can be constructed from such elements the same licence may be conceded to an air, pregnant with picturesque imagery, drawn by a skilled performer from a lute. Addison too may be quoted. In his famous hymn he improved upon the "music of the spheres" by speaking of the stars—

For ever singing as they shine
The hand that made us is Divine.

The result for me is that I feel quite justified in having rendered the last three characters by "sing to us yet again" rather than by "pluck one tune," "pluck" and not "play" being technical meaning of 彈.

15.—Mr. Waley objects to "while I commit thy story to writing" for 爲君翻作琵琶行 and suggests "while I translate your tune into a lute-poem." I had before me as commentary 翻字卽翻譯之翻 and I was fairly well acquainted with the value of those words, having been myself for some years a humble 番翻譯官. I can only say that if "translate" is an improvement, "tune" is most emphatically a blemish.

16.—却坐促絃絃轉急.
凄凄不似向前聲.

My rendering was "sat down and quickly broke forth into another song, sad and soft, unlike the song of just now." In addition to italicizing my "song" as a mistake, Mr. Waley says "This is hardly translation" and proceeds to offer "sat down again, set the strings in motion, and the strings (under the plectrum) moved even more swiftly than before;" supplementing this with "for *song* of just now" substitute "for *tune* of just now." See No. 14. Here, if I have rudely ignored the Japanese *ututa*, as Mr. Waley alleges, he has entirely ignored the two characters



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慇 懃 with their varied and elusive meanings. These characters and not the 急 of line 1, give the sense which distinguishes the second poem from the first.

In concluding this portion of my paper, I have only to thank Mr. Waley for stepping forward when so many other competent critics stand back. I am also glad to see that Mr. Arlington is continuing his notes in this Review, of which No. 1 of Vol. III has just come in; and I will take the opportunity of contesting a small point before I forget it. On page 498 of Volume II Mr. Arlington says that I have made a mistake in my *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 313, when I set down 阿衡 as the personal name of 伊尹, and that it was his official title. The 史記 however, backs me up; it is from the commentators that the other view has come (See *Mémoires Historiques*, I. p. 378). Which is right? His explanation of 衡 seems to me to carry conviction, and it is fortified by analysis of the component parts of the character.

I will now turn to Mr. Waley's defence of certain positions of his own which I had attacked in a previous issue (Vol. II, 319 *seqq.*), for which defence it is a pity that some more distinterested student has not taken up the cudgels on behalf of Mr. Waley; so true is it that even if we manage to resist the allurement of 人家的老婆 other people's wives, we are all of us fatally enslaved by the beauties of 自己的文章 our own compositions.

Mr. Waley's No. (1) is nothing more than a brief essay on translation and paraphrase. I will leave it to stand or fall by its own merits.

In No. (2) Mr. Waley says that our versions differ "chiefly because I have followed other commentators;" but that does not get us away from the question as to which version is the more accurate rendering of the Chinese text. He adds that "a Chinese poem cannot be turned into an English one merely by tagging rhymes on to the ends of the lines." I am not aware that I have ever supported a contrary thesis. I have published rhymed versions of Chinese poems, and hope to do so again; meanwhile, my own withers are unwrung; for Mr. Waley has been kind enough to say of my efforts that they "combine rhyme and literalness with wonderful dexterity." No one could ask for a more complimentary or more generous statement.

With regard to the first line of the poem under consideration 青春受謝 Mr. Waley thinks that its meaning is better brought



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out by his translation "Green spring receiveth the vacant earth" than by my "The green spring comes and goes." To begin with I have not yet met anyone who could understand Mr. Waley's line, which he now explains by "the metaphor is that of interchange, of one sentry relieving another,—or the like," though how that metaphor is conveyed by "Green spring receiveth the the vacant earth" is beyond my wit. I can now add something towards elucidation of these four words.

Shortly after dispatching my MS. to the editor, I was showing our splendid Chinese Library to the following gentlemen: 袁希濤 formerly Vice-Minister of Education, Republic of China; 王天柱 Chairman of Legislative Council of Kansu Educational Association; 水梓 Vice-President of Kansu Education Association; 任誠 Principal of No. 5 Normal School, Kiangsu; and 楊維興 Member of Board of Education, Peking. I seized the opportunity of submitting to them—a rare chance for me—the four characters in question; and these distinguished scholars rapidly and unanimously agreed that the meaning of 受謝 was simply 來往 "come go." That ended my disquiet in the matter.

(3) I am not at issue with Mr. Waley on the general principle of "equivalents" in translation, as Mr. Waley will see if he will refer to an article of mine in Vol. X of *The China Review*, p. 150. I have often used such terms as Bucephalus, Excalibur, and even Ulysses, to convey the purport of a Chinese allusion which, translated baldly, would have no meaning for foreign readers. Each case must be decided on its own merits.

(4) I pointed out that Mr. Waley had inadvertently omitted verse 17 of *The Great Summons*, there being 25 verses in all. His reply is "The verses which I omitted were cut out intentionally. I felt that in so long a poem they could easily be spared." This is indeed a singular plea. He would be a bold editor who should leave out one verse from *The Ancient Mariner*, which is about five times the length of *The Great Summons*, on the ground that it is so long. Mr. Waley finishes up with a *tu quoque* which would be smart and well-deserved if true, but which I have shown is not the case (see above, No. 13). On the other hand, Mr. Waley seems prone to omit, without, as it appears to me any sufficient reason. For instance among his "170 Chinese Poems" he has included, under the title of "Seventeen Old Poems," seventeen pieces taken from a collection known as 古詩十九首 "Nineteen Old Poems." In his note on the same, Mr. Waley says, "I have omitted two because of their marked inferiority." This inferiority is invisible to me. Anyhow, one of them belongs to



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the only nine poems which remain to us from the hand of Mei Sheng, and was translated by me, together with the other eight, for this Review (Vol. II, p. 33); and the other was pronounced by a distinguished scholar 劉勰思 Liu Hsieh, of the 6th century, to be 傳毅之詞 in the language of Fu I, 1st century, of whose work so little remains that we can hardly afford to sacrifice a line,

(5) I will pass no opinion on this paragraph except to repeat my view that all readers of translations are justified in demanding the real meaning of the text. Let us see how far Mr. Waley's dictum that "the general reader will accept whatever makes good sense and good poetry" is correct. In a poem published among "170 Chinese Poems," p. 41, line 1, Mr. Waley has a line which I analysed in *The Cambridge Review* of Nov. 22 1918, pointing out its absolute inaccuracy, as well as other blemishes in the 18 lines of the piece. Now Mr. Waley must have thought that his rendering was "good sense and good poetry," or why print it? The words are 冠帶自相索 and refer to the sights of the capital. As his rendering Mr. Waley gives, "The 'Caps and Belts' go seeking each other out," with a correct note that "Caps and Belts" means "high officers". Of course the word 索 has here its original meaning of "rope," which conveys to the reader the picture of "strings of high officials passing to and fro."

Mr. Waley winds up with a statement that his motive in penning the above notes was "to show that it is from a very glassy house" that I throw stones. I quite agree with him in this. All early work ought to be revised with the help of various solid books now available which did not then exist, as when I only had glass to build with in 1882, and earlier. I am sorry that Mr. Waley ends with what I am obliged to characterize as an unfair blow below the belt. He says, "If further proof [of my glassiness] be needed, I would ask the reader to compare with the original Professor Giles' translation (*Chinese Literature*, p. 179) of Ssŭ-k'ung T'u's (司空圖) *Shih P'in* (詩品)." This is not literary cricket. Mr. Waley is now bound in honour to publish what he holds to be the correct meaning of that abstruse poem, or at any rate to give a list of mistakes, to give me a chance either to accept or to traverse, as the case may be.



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# THE HANGCHOW BORE

BY

G. T. MOULE

These notes* on the Bore are merely a compilation. As an excuse for venturing to offer what follows to this learned and religious Association it may be mentioned (1) that the writer has during the past 33 years seen the Bore 200 times and more ; always, alas ! with an ignorant and unscientific eye : (2) that he assisted Captain Moore when making the observations which resulted in the first report mentioned below ; and helped him in preparing a paper on the Bore which was read before the North-China branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1888.

His love for what has been well called "one of the most striking of the world's unusual natural phenomena" has led him, he hopes, to use the most trustworthy descriptions of this second glory of Hangchow.

These are: (1) "Report on the Bore of the Tsien-tang Kiang, by Captain Moore, R.N., of H.M.S. *Rambler*, 1888" ; published by order of the British Admiralty. [Hereafter referred to as "Captain Moore's Report."]

(2) Captain Moore's "Further Report on the Bore, 1892."

(3) "Report on the Hydrology of the Hangchow Bay and the Chien Tang Estuary" ; published in 1921 by the Whangpoo Conservancy Board. [Hereafter referred to as the "Conservancy Report."]

(4) "The Tides" by Sir G. H. Darwin, third edition, 1911. This is a standard work, of which American, German, Italian and Hungarian editions have been published.

(5) "Notes on Hangchow" by G. E. Moule ; 2nd edition, 1907. Not published.

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* A paper read before the Hangchow Missionary Association, June, 1921.



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Bores—probably smaller ones—are to be seen on several other rivers ; *e.g.*, the Amazon, the Petitcodiac (Bay of Fundy) N., the Hugli, and the Brahmaputra.

## II.—THE HANGCHOW BORE

In this case the 4 conditions mentioned above are all present.

(*a*) The tide-range (springs) at Rambler Island—about 30 miles east of Hai-ning—is given by Captain Moore as 25 to 34 feet, in 1888 : while the latest chart of the Bay (No. 20, published April, 1921, by the Chinese Customs) gives the range of springs as 22 to 26½ feet, at the same place.

(*b*) The Bay is 50 to 60 miles wide at its mouth, quickly narrows to about 10 miles, and at Hai-ning to about 5 miles.

(*c*) There is a vast area of sand flats in the Bay and Estuary ; (by the "*Estuary*" Captain Moore means the water immediately to the east of Hai-ning, which place he regards as the entrance to the *river* proper) ; and the depth of water in the eastern part of the Bay is much greater than it is in the western, narrow, part of the estuary.

(*d*) The Ch'ien-t'ang river has a considerable volume of water and a good current.

Captain Moore discovered that the Bore begins—*i.e.*, the tide-wave assumes the shape of a Bore—not as he had expected, at Hai-ning, but usually some miles to the east of Hai-ning near Chi-san (*i.e.*, Chien-shan 尖山) a conspicuous hill "12 miles E. by S. ½ S. from Hai-ning."

The Chinese knew this long ago : "at Chien-shan, on the north bank, the tide rises up with waves of silver and billows of snow" is an old saying.

The Conservancy Report confirms Captain Moore's statement : "the bore originates in the vicinity of Hsiao Chi Shan" (*i.e.*, Chien-shan).

But on rare occasions it may form much further away, off Chapu—about 36 miles from Hai-ning.

Captain Moore's general description of the Bore is as follows:

"At full and change of the moon the Bore of the Tsien-tang Kiang originates between 10 o'clock and 10.30 in the neighbourhood of Chi-san" (Chien-shan). "On a still night, it can be heard from Hai-ning within half-an-hour after it has formed.



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It is divided into two branches, one of which keeps along the shore, touching the sea-wall with its north extreme, and the sands with its south extreme ; this is the main Bore and the highest. The other appears in view at Hai-ning from a south easterly direction, touching sand on both sides. When 4 miles from Hai-ning, the branches join, the right extreme of the first with the left extreme of the second, making a continuous white line 2 miles in length" (rather "*breadth*"). "Shortly afterwards, the Bore commences to contract in width, increase in speed, and rise in height, conforming to the mouth of the river. When 2 miles from Hai-ning, the flood stream (probably that from the south-east which runs through the other) charges into the sea wall. There is no particular effect at the wall itself ; but a violent rebound, causing a tumultuous rising of the water in waves several hundred yards behind, but twice as high again as the front of the Bore. These waves are in existence for many minutes, travelling in a southerly or south-westerly direction ; and, after a time, subside on to the back of the Bore. Precisely as the moon crosses the meridian, the Bore passes Hai-ning" (the Conservancy Report states, however, that 'the wave passes *Chapu* practically simultaneously with the moon's transit'), "where it is nearly a straight line across the river, 9 cables wide, 8 to 11 feet high, and travelling between 12 and 13 knots an hour ; its front being a uniform sloping cascade of bubbling foam, falling forward and pounding on itself and on the river before it at an angle of between 40° and 70°. The highest and steepest part is over the deep channel of the river." * * * "The river fills up to the level of the Bore soon after it passes, but not evenly. The height, speed and regular appearance of the front are maintained for 15 miles above Hai-ning" ; [as to height, the writer's experience has been that the Bore diminishes gradually but definitely in height before it has gone ten miles west of Hai-ning], "After which the Bore decreases in height, and passes the city of Hangchow at 1.45, soon to break up and disappear. A quarter of an hour after the Bore has passed Hai-ning the water has risen to 13 feet, and at 2 o'clock to 18 feet. It is high water, 19 feet, at 3 o'clock, and the stream at once begins to run out swiftly." * * * "At 8 o'clock it is nearly low water. The outgoing stream, however, continues to run to the eastward with great velocity until the arrival of the next Bore." * * * "It is high water at Hangchow about the same time as at Hai-ning, but the rise and fall does not exceed 6 or 7 feet."

As to the height of the Bore Captain Moore says : "It is improbable that the height of the cascade ever exceeds 15 or 16



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feet." * * * "The effect of a rebound from the sea wall is to raise water from 5 to 15 feet above the Bore, making a total of 20 to 30 feet under very exceptional circumstances; but only for a few minutes."

Of the sound of the Bore he says: "The sound in the distance is peculiar, and not exactly like any other. It most nearly resembles the leaden noise of breakers on a distant coral reef, being a continuous muttering, broken only by an occasional dull thud, indicating some new addition to the flood, or some exceptionally heavy breaker. As it approaches, the sound increases very gradually until it passes with a roar, but little inferior to the rapids below Niagara."

In conclusion Captain Moore remarks: "The regularity of its appearance and shape, the distance at which it is heard at night and seen by day; its charge against the sea wall; its speed, height, gleaming front, and thundering roar as it tears past the observer, render it a most impressive phenomenon."

It is to be regretted that only one or two additional extracts from the Whangpoo Conservancy Board's Report on the Hydrology of the Hangchow Bay and Estuary can here be quoted. The portion of this Report referring to our subject extends to more than 40 pages, but some 30 of these are tables and "graphs" which do not lend themselves to quotation in a paper to be read aloud. Members of the Association who are interested in the Bore, are strongly advised to study the Report. It is a very important document; the result of surveys and investigations lasting from April, 1919, to January, 1921, carried out by highly trained observers under the direction of the Conservancy Board's distinguished Engineer-in-Chief, Mr. von Heidenstam.

Had the Conservancy Report shown Captain Moore's Report to be seriously inaccurate, it would, of course, have been necessary to make much fuller reference to the former; but this states that Captain Moore's observations "have been fully confirmed by the Board's investigations."

"The principal factors operating to produce the bore (probably one of the largest in the world) are the rise of the tide, the conformation of the coast, and the sand bars above Kanpu. * * * The bore of the Chien Tang Kiang is not a simple wave; there is no regular undulation of the water surface, but a definite motion of translation, particles of water are carried forward and particles of wood have been seen borne along on, or immediately back of. the crest of the bore, retaining their position relative to the crest for long distances." (Conservancy Report, pp. 39,40).



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*Speed of the Bore.*—"At Hai-ning the bore passes at springs at a maximum velocity of 15 knots—the current on the after-rush is from 6 to 10 knots; the duration of flood is about 3 hours. The ebbing currents reach 6 knots the second hour after high water, and the velocity falls away until just before the bore arrives, when the river seems to be sucked out into the bay. Above Hai-ning the flood currents gradually become less until at Zakao the bore passes at about 6 knots and practically the whole flood-tide." (Conservancy Report, page 28). The speed of the Bore of Dec. 10, 1919 (3 days after full moon), between Station No. 4 and Haining, a distance of 10 sea miles, was found to be 18.7 knots per hour (*Ibid.* page 60).

Mr. von Heidenstam terms the Bore a "famous and impressive phenomenon": later he coins for it the happy epithet —"this hydrodynamic freak."

## III.—LEGENDARY ACCOUNT

The Chinese legend of the origin of the Bore is given as follows in G. E. Moule's "Notes on Hangchow." "With regard to the tide of the Ch'ien-t'ang, there is an old legend that Wu Tzŭ-hsü 伍子胥 after frequent remonstrances with the Prince (Fu Ch'a of the feudal state of Wu 吳) without result, was condemned to death, but permitted to die by his own sword. When about to die, he charged his son in these words—'Pluck out my eyes at the south gate, that I may see the army of Yüeh' [on the right bank of the river] 'coming to ravage Wu,' [the state of Wu]. 'Take the skin of a *t'i* 鯷 fish, wrap in it my corpse, and fling me into the river. Then at dawn and dusk I shall come on the tide to gaze on the fall (or defeat) of Wu.' From that time the tide-head at Tide-gate Hill 潮門山 came hurtling up, several hundred feet high, over-leaping the sea-wall and passing Yü-p'u 魚浦, after which it gradually subsided. Whenever it came again at dawn and dusk, it had a wrathful sound, and the swift rush of thunder and lightning, and could be heard more than a hundred *li* off. Then might be seen, in the midst of the tide-head, Tzŭ-hsü sitting in a funeral car drawn by white horses. Whereupon they built a temple to appease him with sacrifice." (Hsi-hu Chih 西湖志 §45, fol. 2). The date of this legendary event is, according to Mayers (*Chinese Reader's Manual*), about B.C. 475. Another account gives B.C. 484 as the date of Wu Tzŭ-hsü's death.



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## IV.—SEA-WALL: DYKES OR EMBANKMENTS

Between Hangchow and Hai-ning, on the left bank of the river, there are two main embankments.

The inner (presumably the older) is built of earth, and pierced with many weirs or sluices. How these were used is not clear; they are described as for storing water and lessening the impact of the Bore. This inner embankment, locally called the "Grass Dyke" 草塘, * is a most striking work: in some parts it is over 20 feet high, and often more than 15 feet wide at the top. The base, for many miles, is over 30 feet wide. The distance between this dyke and the Sea-wall varies; in places they are more than a mile apart.

The outer embankment (sea-wall) is known locally as the "sea-dyke": 海塘. This is of earth resting on piles, with a stone bunding; the massive stone slabs, as a rule, joined together by iron rivets.

As the "sea-wall," at least near Hangchow, is probably well known to most members of the Association, it does not seem necessary to describe it in detail. Particulars of its construction and extent will be found in Captain Moore's and the Conservancy's Reports. In the latter, on pages 3 and 4, there are some admirable diagrams showing cross-sections of the dykes at various points from Choling, near the mouth of the Bay, to Hai-ning.

Of the sea-wall at Hai-ning Captain Moore says: "the sea-wall abreast of the pagoda is 23½ feet high above low water ordinary spring tide, and 16 feet above the junk platform. The side is cut in steps (15) like those of a dock, but only 4 inches broad. * * * Its top is 3 to 4 feet above high water ordinary spring tide, and is faced with blocks of stone † 5 feet long, 16 inches broad, and 14 inches deep, laid end-ways out, and joined together by rivets of iron." He describes the Hai-ning junk shelter as "a platform of stones inclosed by piles alongside the sea wall. It is protected from the Bore by a massive buttress at the eastern end 253 feet long (*i.e.*, parallel to the sea wall) and 66 feet wide, which is semi-elliptical in shape; and deflects the flood stream. * * * This shelter, abreast the pagoda, is 1,100 yards (should be "*feet*") long, 20 feet wide, and 7 to 8 feet above low water ordinary spring tide. At the west end of it, there is another buttress protecting a shelter on a higher level."

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*In maps, the name of this Dyke is Li Kao T'ang (Inner High Dyke) or Lao T'u T'ang (Old Earth Dyke).

† Concrete blocks are now being used in place of stone.



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The Conservancy Report's account of this junk shelter—in 1920—is :—

"Junk shelters have been built along the wall. They are all of the same type, the one at Hai-ning being the longest and best protected. Massive elliptical buttresses of fascine work —250 feet long and 70 feet wide—have been built perpendicular to the sea-wall, one 800 feet below the pagoda, and one 300 feet above the pagoda—making the shelter practically 1,100 feet long. A platform is built against the foot of the sea-wall, and between the buttresses, about 20 feet wide and 7 to 8 feet above low water : piling is driven outside the platform. The wall itself is built in steps, each step set in about 4 inches. * * * The junk men on hearing the bore approach, remove their run-ways and make preparation to take the force of the wave, fending off with their bamboo poles, etc. . . There is always a great deal of commotion—some of the junks surge back and forth and strike against the seawall, but usually there is no damage."

The local pride in the sea-wall and embankments (as great and wonderful works) is justified by Dr. C. K. Edmunds (observer-in-charge of the Carnegie Institution's Magnetic Survey of China) who has ·id : "The Hangchow Bore Wall, built about A.D. 915 and still protecting millions from a twice-daily flood from the sea, has, though less known, impressed me as worthy of a greater share of fame than the Grand Canal or the Great Wall, because of the dynamic difficulties to be overcome in the construction of 180 miles of a wall which so effectively shuts out one of the most gigantic and powerful tidal bores of the world."

The following notes on the history of the embankments are from "Notes on Hangchow"; and from the Conservancy Report:—

"The notices of the building of the embankments are vague in many respects. The first is found in the Tu Shih T'ung-tien 杜氏通典, and refers evidently to the neighbourhood of Hangchow—then probably on the bank of the southernmost mouth of the Yangtze. It relates that one Chün Kung-tsao 郡功曹, styled Hua-hsin 華信, in the Han dynasty, being anxious to build an embankment offered to pay a thousand cash for every load of earth and stones deposited on the river bank. The people gathered in crowds and waited on the bank with their loads, whereupon Hua-hsin said he was sorry that he did not want what they had brought, and the people flung down their loads and went away unpaid : the materials were used to build the dyke which was sarcastically called Ch'ien-t'ang (money dyke).



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Next we hear that the sea-wall in the district of Yen-Kuan 鹽官, 40 miles in length, was *rebuilt* early in the 8th century ; (*see* T'ang-ti-li chih 塘地理志)."

[Yen-Kuan was the old name of Hai-ning : this *rebuilding* is probably what is referred to in the Conservancy Report, page 77, where it is stated that "the official construction of the sea dykes along the northern shore of the Hangchow Bay and the western shore of the Yangtze Estuary was begun in 721. Prior to that no authentic records are available, but it is reported that short reaches of dyke were built by the local people."]

Time will not permit of an account of the dykes on the right, southern, bank of the river. But it may be mentioned that the Conservancy Report, p. 79, states that "the official construction of the sea dykes along the southern shore of the Hangchow Bay was begun in 722."

"In the autumn of 773 a great storm at sea caused the Bore to rise to a great height 'swallowing up 5,000 houses and 1,000 ships'. Fifty years later the dyke was again broken several times. At length, in A.D. 910, Ch'ien Wu-su built the embankment, the line (if not part of the actual structure) of which may still be traced outside the east wall of this city. His dyke extended to Hai-ning."

[Here may be interpolated the picturesque description of Prince Ch'ien's exploit given in the Topography of the Jên-ho Hsien, XII, 15 : "in the fourth year of K'ai P'ing (A.D. 910), Prince Ch'ien Wu-su at length commenced" — all previous efforts having failed — "to build a dyke outside the gates Hou-ch'ao and T'ung-chiang. But, encountering day and night the violent assaults of the tide, he could never succeed in connecting the two portions of the work. Then the Prince ordered several hundred arbalistiers to face the west" ["*west*" seems unlikely : in an almost identical account the words "face the west" are omitted]," and discharge their bolts, in order to slay the spirit of the tide. At the same time he caused prayers to be said on the hill Hsü." [Now called Wushan : the Drum-tower stands at the foot of this hill.] "Thereupon the tide retired abashed, when the Prince hastened to make creels of bamboo, which he filled with large stones, and to drive in huge piles. The dyke thus completed, he rested some time before proceeding to create the fortified city. What is now level *terra firma* was all anciently washed by the river." For a lively poetical version of Prince Ch'ien's triumph, by the Rev. T. Gaunt, see the *New China Review*, Dec. 1919.]

The Sea-wall which now exists, *i.e.* the *outer* of the 2 embankments mentioned above, "was begun apparently from the



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Chien-shan 尖山 end about 1730. The work was finished in 1743." [The Conservancy Report says of the Dykes in the Hai-ning section — *i.e.*, Hangchow to Chien-shan ; — "the first building of the stone dyke in this section was started in 1659. A stone dyke about 10 miles long from Hsiao Chi Shan" (Chien-shan) "westwards was found to have been completed in 1664. * * * The inner earth dyke was built in 1733. * * * The dykes in this section, Hangchow to Hsiao Chi Shan" (Chien-shan) "have been in the constant care of officers appointed specially for the purpose since 1659, except during a period of 12 years from 1853 —1864, owing to the disturbance, known to foreigners as the Taiping Rebellion".]

On the "Sea-wall" (outer embankment) there are watchmen's huts (stations 堡) placed less than a mile apart : the first of these is about a mile from the Ching-tai gate of Hangchow, at the head of what is known as the "Avenue", while the 33rd is outside the south gate of Hai-ning : from this point the numbering of a new series of huts (stations) begins again eastwards.

The Avenue—most charming of walks—, and the rest of the road along the top of the Dyke to Hai-ning was until a few years ago an ideal "track." During the past five or six years it has greatly deteriorated. Between the 10th and 13th stations it was, last year, in very bad condition. As a proof of the good state of the road formerly it may be mentioned that in 1896 H. W. Moule and the writer walked from the south gate of Hai-ning to the T'ai-p'ing gate of Hangchow — about 25 miles — in 7 hours 9 minutes.

A few years ago there were four iron oxen, mounted on the Sea-wall between Hangchow and Hai-ning, for the protection of the Dyke from the assaults of the Bore. [See *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, by Père Doré, Vol. V., p. 663.] It is to be hoped that they are still there ; but the ox at Hai-ning was mutilated some years ago. It was reported at the time that the outrage was committed by a representative of western civilization.

## V.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

1. HIGHEST BORES. These occur usually in the late autumn and winter months. The Chinese at Hai-ning say that Bores in the winter months are almost always higher than those at other seasons.

On page 26 of Captain Moore's Report it is stated that the Chinese "expect highest tides and highest Bores in the winter. This is at Hai-ning where a high or low Bore has a practical bearing upon their daily life. At Hangchow there is a story that



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the highest Bore is always on the 18th day of the 8th moon, *i.e.*, 3 days after the full moon of September; but it certainly was not so this year (1888), and I cannot see why it should be any year except when full moon happens to correspond with Perigee."

N.B.—The 18th day of the 8th moon is not always 3 days after full moon of September; *e.g.*, in the 5 years 1917 to 1921 it occurs as follows:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1917 | on October | 3 | *i.e.*, 2 | days after Full moon |
| 1918 | on September | 22 | *i.e.*, 2 | days after Full moon |
| 1919 | on October | 11 | *i.e.*, 2 | days after Full moon |
| 1920 | on September | 29 | *i.e.*, 1 | days after Full moon |
| 1921 | on September | 19 | *i.e.*, 2 | days after Full moon |

Captain Moore made the common mistake of assuming that the 15th day of the Chinese moon is always full moon. But this is not so; for instance, during 1921 full moon occurs six times on the 15th, four times on the 16th, and twice on the 17th day of the Chinese moon. Captain Moore is however quite correct in saying that there is no reason why the Bore of the 18th of the 8th moon should be the highest of the year. It certainly is not the highest, *as a rule*; and the Chinese, when asked, have never told the writer that it was. But they have all said that day was the day on which to propitiate the Tide "Dragon" with offerings.* Formerly all went on that day to the San-lang temple 三郎廟 just outside the city. Later, when the great change in the left bank of the river prevented the Bore from being seen there, the 7th "station" (Pao), on the sea-wall was the proper place to go to. Later still, as the extraordinary silting up of the north bank has made the 7th "station" a bad point of view, and the railway, provides cheap excursions, those who can spare the time now go to Hai-ning for the festival. Even now great numbers go to the 7th "station," and enjoy the "fun of the fair"; though they see little, if anything, of the Bore.

The Conservancy Report, page 39, says that "the statement often made that the bore only occurs at the equinoxes is erroneous; while the position of the sun and moon relative to the earth is frequently more favourable to a high tide at the equinoxes, a violent rush of water takes place on *every* tide, spring or neap." * * * "Chinese lore favours the syzygies following the autumnal equinox, but the bore is not always greatest then."

* The 18th is a Festival of several Immortals celebrated for their love of Wine. Two of them are the Poets Li Po ("the most famous name in Chinese Literature") and Liu Ling; both *drowned*. ("Researches into Chinese Superstitions" by Doré, Vol. V., p. 599).



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2. WINDS IN THE BAY. The Conservancy Report, p. 72, states that "the prevailing winds are from the North veering from N.E. to N.W. (December) and back to N.E. From April to August the winds are S.E." Another authority gives the following note of the prevailing winds :—

| | |
|---|---|
| January to March | NNW. to NE. |
| April | E. to ESE. |
| May to August | SE. |
| September to November | E. to NE. |
| December | NNW. |

3. OCCASIONAL CESSATIONS OF THE BORE. The tide has probably for centuries entered the river at Hai-ning in *Bore*-form twice a day with but few exceptions. One of these failures to function is recorded in the Conservancy Report, page 75, which states that "from 1841 to 1845, there was no bore in the bay or river ; the water simply rose and fell with the tide. In the autumn of 1846, the bore started to occur again, at first a mere rush of water on the flood which gradually grew until a bore occurred at all seasons and tides."

Another of these occasional cessations is perhaps the explanation of the fact that Marco Polo makes no mention of the Bore in his very detailed description of Hangchow. This seems more probable than the suggestion made by Mr. P. von Tanner who wrote in 1901 that "the fact that Marco Polo does not mention it (the Bore) shows almost conclusively that he never visited Hangchow, but got his account from a native poet." To the writer it seems that (even if Marco never came here) the Bore is just the sort of thing that the "native poet" would dwell on.* It is to be regretted that in Professor Cordier's new volume (1920) of notes, etc., to "Ser Marco Polo" this theory is again quoted. It may be mentioned that in 1864, when Bishop G. E. Moule came here, there was a vast sand-bank in the middle of the river, just below the city, which prevented the Bore from functioning properly if at all.

4. DAYS ON WHICH TO VISIT HAI-NING. Those wishing to see the Bore well should visit it at — or near — Hai-ning in the late autumn or winter months. There is at present no place near Hangchow within *easy* reach of the city, where the Bore can be properly seen. The 2nd and 3rd days after new and full moon are as a rule, the best days. During the last 3 months of 1921 good Bores may be expected on the following days:

* Twelve hundred years ago the great Poet Sung Chih-wên, looking from the terrace of the T'ao-Kuang temple at the wonderful view of lake, city and river combined, singled out the *Bore* for mention in his immortal couplet



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October 2, 3 ; 18, 19: November 1, 2 ; 16, 17; 30 : December 1 ; 16, 17 ; 30, 31 (December 17 corresponds with perigee).

Two days should, if possible, be given to the expedition. If the full moon Bores of December 16 were chosen the following time table is suggested:—

December 15. Leave Hangchow city in a native boat (Wu-hsi K'uai), about 4 p.m.

December 16. Arrive at Hai-ning about 8 a.m. See Bore from near pagoda about noon ; or (rather earlier) from a place on the sea-wall about 4 miles east of the pagoda, where the 2 branches of the Bore meet. (Plate No. 42 in Conservancy Report.) In the afternoon visit the "Tide Temple in Hai-ning. About midnight see night Bore from pagoda.

December 17. During the forenoon arrange with master of a junk (on junk shelter at pagoda) for a passage to Hangchow. About noon go on board junk : see Bore arrive, and return to Hangchow "on" the Bore.

The Junk voyage should not be omitted. Those who have not seen the raging of the tide from the deck of a junk swept along behind the "Iron Horse" (a Chinese term for the Bore), have no idea of its grandeur.

Those who can give one day only to the visit should go by the early morning train to Chang-an, and take a boat from there to Hai-ning. After seeing the Bore, Tide temple, etc., return by boat to Chang-an, and thence by train to Hangchow.

## CONCLUSION.

The writer has introduced the Bore to many friends. Some of them took no interest in the sight. Many found it much less attractive than a Chinese crowd. Such complete altruists should certainly choose the 18th day of the 8th moon for their visit! But others found it both beautiful and impressive.

Four years ago he had the pleasure of showing it to one of those "blessed saints and humble hearts" whose "conversation" is manifestly in Heaven. When the Bore had passed, his friend was asked what he thought of the sight. He was so overcome with emotion that for some moments he could not reply ; then he said "My first sight of Heaven will astonish and delight me as this has done." Four months later he knew if he was right or not.

Some there are who after seeing this "hydrodynamic freak" can only say — in Shakespeare's words — "Kneel down, kneel down, and wonder."



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# ORNAMENTAL CARVING EXTRAORDINARY

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON

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While I was stationed at Tientsin in the early eighties one of Li Hung-chang's soldiers brought me a highly polished carved peach-stone which he offered to sell for one thousand taels, saying that it was so old and rare that if I looked all over the world I should never be able to find another one like it. He pointed out what appeared to me to be some sort of tracery, saying that they were dragons, etc. Becoming interested, I examined the stone under a magnifying glass and was astonished to find that it had carved on it a pair of archaic dragons guarding the sacred fungus ; while the border represented the Buddhist group of Lohans or Arhats. That a stone no larger than the first phalange of my thumb could possibly contain so many ornamental figures so distinctly visible and beautifully carved, I could never have believed except on the evidence of my own eyes ! Though I had no idea of the value of such things, the sum demanded appeared excessive, and I refused to buy the thing, thinking that I could come across another one at some future date. Alas for my simplicity ! I have never seen another one like it. My experience was similar to that of the Prince of Chou as related by Dr. Giles of the "retainer who spent three years in painting a bean for his Prince ; but when the latter saw nothing more than the picture of an ordinary red bean, he was very angry. 'Build a ten-foot wall' said the painter, 'cut in it an eight-foot window and then examine it there, in the rays of the rising sun.' The Prince did so, and was astounded to find it covered with dragons, snakes, birds, houses, chariots, etc."*

* *History of Chinese Pictorial Art.* p.2.



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Carving in wood is said to be very ancient in China. One of the earliest allusions to carving,-as far as I am aware, is in the Analects, where it is stated that Tsang Wên-chung of the Lu State, kept a large tortoise in a special house for divining purposes, on the capitals of which he had *hills made*, with representations of duckweed on the small pillars above the beams supporting the rafters. *

In the 國語 it is recorded that Prince Hui of the feudal kingdom of Chin (of the Chou Dynasty) commanded General Han Chien to challenge to combat Prince Mu of the Ch'in kingdom, and that the latter was armed with a lance, the handle of which was beautifully carved with various emblems.

The above refers to ornamental carving of a large design, and not to what may be called "microscopic" carving as in the case of the peach-stone.

The following remarkable feats of "microscopic" carving have been selected from the following books:—**農田餘話**; **稗史類編**; **王氏筆管記**; and **輟耕錄**:

A retainer in the Palace of the Sung Emperor T'ai Tsu (A.D. 960-976), carved on a small ivory spoon about the size of a little finger, twenty pieces of household articles; each about the size of a sesamum seed. Each piece could be removed and replaced, but only when referring to the diagram which he made showing the position of each piece.

* * *

A lady friend of mine had a finger ring set with a carnelian about the size of a small bean, on the face of which were inscribed the twelve Branches or Horary characters.

Each character was as fine as the finest silk. As it did not appear to have been done by any human agency, it was called the Devil's-work gem—*i.e.*, of supernatural origin.

* * *

In the first year of the Emperor Shun Chih (A.D. 1644), a native of Kiangsu carved on a peach-stone an amphitheatre of hills in which was nestled a cluster of houses and towers—a miniature hamlet in fact. A city wall and moat surrounded the whole. The occupants of the houses could actually be seen looking out of the windows. Under the shelter of a low mountain peak was a temple, in front of which stood three trees, through the branches of which a monk was seen standing in the doorway and pointing at some birds just alighting on the trees. On the path-

* *Analects*, chap. 公冶長.



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way leading to the temple a monk was going along with a bundle slung over his shoulder ; he appeared bent with age and looked as if he were returning from a pilgrimage.

Across the open space from the temple there was a bamboo grove, out of which appeared an acolyte going towards a seven-storied pagoda. On the shady side of the grove was a river showing the ripples on the water as they were fanned by the breeze. Tied to the bank was a boat, and through the window of the cabin an old man was seen reclining on a table ; while at the bow of the boat a boy with his hair done up in two tufts and wearing a short coat was fanning up a fire as if preparing the evening meal, the smoke of the fire and the steam of the kettle rising in the air. On one of the hill peaks was a bell-tower, and an old man peering out of a loop-hole ; while just over the brow of the hills the light of the moon was seen breaking through the clouds. Finally, there was a couplet of fourteen characters, the purport of which was as follows :

The lonely traveller asleep on his boat outside the gate of Kusu, is aroused by the toll of the bell in Cold Hill temple as it rings out the midnight hour.

* * *

A celebrated carver in wood who lived during the early years of the Manchu dynasty carved out of 108 cherry-stones no less than 500 Lohan. Each cherry-stone had from three to six Lohan, to which were added sacred scenes and figures, intermingled with conventional emblems of the Buddhist and Taoist religions. The Arhats were seen in various attitudes, such as standing, walking, sitting, praying, bowing or sitting in alcoves in meditation. Some wore caps of bamboo leaves, the peaks projecting over their foreheads. There were also many animals, wild and tame, moving about under the trees, each being clearly distinguishable. What was wonderful was that the features of the monks, such as the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, eyebrows, wrinkles in the faces and folds in the robes were all clearly visible. One party of monks was sitting beneath the shady trees pouring out and sipping tea, at the same time apparently listening to the abbot reciting from the *sutra*. In addition to the 500 Lohan there were 500 emblems of various descriptions, including the animals.

* * *

The Prefect of Têchow in Shantung, Wang I, who lived during the reign of the Sung Emperor Chên Tsung (A.D. 998-1007) came into possession of an ordinary Chinese pen-holder on which was carved an army in full marching order, the officers and men



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being easily distinguishable. The army was represented as marching across a wild-looking country returning from the frontier. The horses and their riders, the flag bearers and the trumpeters all looked as natural as life. Even the manes of the horses could be seen fluttering in the breeze. There was a rest-house around which stood some old looking gnarled trees, and a tablet recording in fourteen characters the departure, exploits and return of the army from the frontier.

What with the hill and mountain peaks, lonely desert tracts, and trees and mountain streams combined with an army in full marching order, it was truly a remarkable picture, and all this on an ordinary pen-holder !

* * *

An expert carver named Chin Lao a native of Kiangsu who was a stupid and ugly looking fellow, could produce some remarkable carving of the very finest description. He carved for example, an old-fashioned pleasure boat of the type so much beloved by the great poet Su Tung-po during his pleasure trips on the West Lake. This he did on a flat peach-stone. The scene represented life on the West Lake at Hangchow.

The boat was fully equipped with a mast, sail, ropes, even showing a tiny railing running along the deck on both sides. At the stern of the boat was an old man dressed in the garb of a sailor ; with one hand he held an oar, while with the other he held a pipe from which the smoke could be seen curling in the air. At the bow of the boat stood a boy fanning a fire on which was a kettle with the steam rising from it.

Over the door of the cabin a screen was hanging, and on both sides were windows which could be opened and closed at will. On opening the window the figure of Su Tung-po was exposed to view ; in one hand he held a book, and with the other was pointing at something on the lake. In the centre of the cabin stood a table on which were displayed 32 dominoes, the spots on each being clearly visible. Sitting sideways with his legs crossed, was Fo Yin, the bosom friend of Su, playing on a flute. *

The lake scene itself was perfect : the temples and trees fringing the lake ; the shadows of the willows reflecting in the water, and the arched bridges all harmonized and blended into

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*The name and surname of Fo Yin 佛印 (which was his "hao" or fancy name) are not known. His name in religion was Liao Yüan (了元). He is said to have retired from official life to the Chin Shan monastery at Chinkiang. He was an excellent critic, especially of poetry. hence Su Tung-po selected him as a bosom companion.



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one. A solitary boat was seen coming out of the shadows along the shore, and appeared as if gliding away to become part of the scene that appeared so lovely and restful on the waters of the lake. In 37th year of Kanghsi (A.D. 1699), the governor of Kiangnan, H.E. Sung, came into possession of this wonderful carving, and as one of the edges of a window was broken, he looked all over the country for some one to repair it. After many months he finally discovered Chin Lao the original carver of the stone, who repaired it so neatly that the governor was astonished, and asked him how he, an old man, with failing eye-sight, could possibly repair such a delicate carving. "Oh," said Chin Lao, "all that is required is good eye-sight, a steady hand and a calm conscience, that is all."

* * *

Another famous carver was Tu Shih Yüan (杜士元), a native of Kiangsu. Owing to his superb masterpieces, he was given the nickname of "The Demon Worker." One of his best microscopic masterpieces was on a dried olive. This was a representation of Su Tung-po's excursion to Ch'ih Pi in Hupeh where the troops under Chou Yü defeated the great Ts'ao Ts'ao. The famous "Red Wall" sets off the scene to perfection. In addition to the landscape, the extraordinary minuteness of the smallest detail connected with the boat passes comprehension. Everything was in exact proportion. The boat was equipped with a mast, sail, ropes, rudder and two oars, which latter were moveable. The cabin had windows on each side, through which could be seen the figures of three men. One was Su Tung-po dressed in a gown and cap; one was the famous Fo Yin garbed in a monk's robe and hood. He was depicted as pointing to something on the landscape. The other was Ch'in Kuan, the husband of Su's youngest sister (See *Biog. Dict.* No. 391). He was leaning out of a window playing a flute. In the bow of the boat stood a boy fanning a fire on which a kettle was steaming. Beside it was a tray with three tea-cups. On the deck were three sailors, two standing and one lying down. Although the heads of the men were no larger than a sesamum seed, the eyes, ears, nose and even the eyebrows were distinctly visible.

Tu Shih Yüan used to receive as much as fifty taels for a masterpiece, and could have made a small fortune, only that he was extremely fond of the wine cup and would do nothing so long as he had a cash left. The Emperor Ch'ien Lung on hearing of this wonderful man, ordered him to proceed to Peking without delay; but it was not until the third summons that he consented



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to go. On his arrival at the palace the Emperor treated him with exceptional kindness; gave him many valuable presents, and a large sum of money; provided him with good quarters and a special workshop. But poor Tu not being used to "Life at Court" became daily more and more depressed, and would not be consoled unless he was promised his freedom.

This not being obtainable, he made several futile attempts at escape. One day, however, he managed to escape to a remote section of the palace grounds, looking for a means of exit, but being detected by a sentry he pretended to be simply strolling about, and cutting off a bamboo he made a flute, and, climbing a large pine tree, began to play a mournful air, which so astonished the sentry that he at once reported Tu's eccentric behaviour to the Emperor, who, thinking that Tu had gone mad, at once ordered his expulsion from the palace. Tu, therefore, returned to his home in the South in great glee at having escaped from his uncongenial and enforced confinement.

* * *

One of the most famous of microscopic carvers was Tsan Ch'êng (詹成), who lived during the reign of the Sung Emperor Kao Tsung (A.D. 1127-1162). It is recorded that he was able to carve *movable* figures of birds, animals, etc., between the two sides of a thin bamboo frame, but which could not be taken out from their setting.

It is recorded by one Chou Ju-hu (周汝瑚) a native of Ch'angchow in Kiangsu that it took an expert carver eight or nine years to produce a masterpiece for which he only received a sum sufficient to provide a family of eight for six months; hence, the craft fell into disuse. He also states that the most expert carvers were all natives of Kiangsu.

It would be interesting to know if the Chinese in ancient times, or even during the early days of the Ch'ings, made use of the lens for magnifying purposes. If we are to believe the *Tz'ŭ Yüan* (辭源) spectacles were first introduced into China under the Mings.

The 援鶉堂筆記 quoting from the 淮南子泰族篇 has the following obscure passage: 欲知遠近而不能數以金目. Chin mu 金目 would appear to refer to some sort of lens or spectacles. Kanghsi quoting the 洞天清錄 states that spectacles called *Ai tai* (靉靆) were brought into China from 西域; probably Malacca or Arabia, during the Yüan dynasty.

If our "microscopic" artists did not make use of the lens, and allowing for a certain amount of exaggeration, it is not easy



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to understand how they succeeded in obtaining such astonishing results. Taking the bald statements of the chroniclers, however, it would appear that our glyptic artists had no assistance but their own unaided vision, which must have been remarkable in the extreme ! They probably first etched the outlines with a needle and then filled in with colour thus enabling them to carve with some sharp-pointed instrument. We already know that the craftsmen in carved lacquer during the Sung and Ming not only excelled in the colouring and the finished technique of the body, but also in the literary style of the inscriptions which were etched underneath the pieces. From this step, it requires no great stretch of the imagination to see that the microscopic carvings referred to above, are not exactly figments of the imagination ; more especially, if, as recorded by Chou Ju-hu, that it took them eight or nine years to carve a single masterpiece.

There is at the present moment living at Peking a man named Yü · Hsiao-hsüan (于 曉 軒), an ex-magistrate, a native of Yangchow, who produces some wonderful carving in ivory. I have seen specimens of his work. He is able to inscribe as many as ten thousand characters on a piece of ivory one inch square, leaving a margin of about three-tenths around the rim.

But he uses a magnifying glass and turns out a difficult piece of work in a few days. A vast difference between unaided vision and nine years of patient toil !



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# NOTES AND QUERIES

Those readers who were interested in the article on the Chinese Abacus (p. 123) will be pleased to add to it the following note kindly sent us by Mr. F. H. Williams :—

Under the heading "Operations—multiplication" (p. 129) it is stated "The result will show . . . but not the position of the decimal point, which is generally to be determined mentally."

While in no sense a discovery, and while being of perhaps only academic interest, may I describe the manner in which I made the placing of the decimal point in both multiplication and division as mechanical as possible ?

I have a little clip which clips on to the top of the framework, and, representing the decimal point, naturally sits between any two bars.

When multiplying, the multiplicand is set up, and should the sum involve decimals, the clip is set in the place required by the multiplicand (*i.e.*, 123.48 is set up 123 clip) 48. *Before* carrying out the operations of multiplying, the clip is now moved as follows :

Move the clip as many spaces to the right as there are 'whole' digits in the multiplier or, move the clip as many spaces to the left as, failing 'whole' digits, there are noughts following the decimal point in the multiplier.

*E.g.* The multiplier being 6.78, the clip would go one space to the right: the multiplier being .0678 the clip would go one space to the left. The multiplier being .678, the clip would remain where it is.

The operations of multiplying may now be carried out, the clip will be found correctly to represent the decimal point in the answer.



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The difficulty of working with such a multiplicand as .0000-12345 is overcome by making cuts at intervals of about ⅛-inch round both sides of the board : these cuts represent bars, and the clip can be placed between the cuts, and the cuts represent noughts should the clip still be left at the side of the board after the preliminary operation of "fixing the decimal point" is completed.

Division is done on the same system, but of course reversed : *i.e.*, set up the dividend : place the clip where the dividend requires it, and *before* working the sum,—

Move the clip as many places to the left as the divisor has 'whole' numbers, or

If the divisor has no 'whole' numbers, move the clip as many places to the right as there are noughts after the decimal point in the divisor.

* * *

The article by Mr. H. P. Wilkinson in our last number (p.159) is sadly disfigured by the absence of a good many diacritic marks in romanized Chinese words ; and it seems only fair to explain that the fault is not with the author, who wrote all such words according to the Wade system ; nor with the editor who carefully marked each necessary correction in the first proof. But the fact is the printing office lacks the type.

* * *

We have photographs of rubbings of the cross in the Temple of the Cross already referred to several times in this *Review*, and a translation of the *Syriac* inscription. Unhappily they are not easy to reproduce satisfactorily and we must defer their appearance till our next number.

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## Notes by A. C. Moule.

Relying on an untrustworthy memory, I do not think that any of the exponents of the Christian Monument at Hsi-an fu (景教碑) seem to have used the text printed in the 全唐文 *Ch'üan T'ang wên*, c. 916. In a hurried perusal of the text I noted four readings which are worthy of record. On fol. 23v° : 印持 (闕 — 字)字. The character 十 *shih* has, in fact, been defaced, though it is not "missing" on a good rubbing. The *Ch'üan T'ang wên* is dated 1818, and so the defacement must have been done before that date. On fol. 24v° : 俗 無 寇 盜. Legge (*The Nestorian Monument*, 1888, p.15) claims to be the first to have discovered that the third word was 寇, and though it is hard to believe that a native scholar would be deceived by the manuscript



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form used on the monument, yet Diaz, who must have had Li Wo-ts'un's text before him, prints 稷 and Wylie, who had studied several purely native text, prints 侵. Here at any rate is 寇 in 1818. On fol. 25v° : 情發目誠, Diaz, Wylie, Havret, Moule and Saeki changed 目 to 自 ; Legge printed 目 but did not translate it ; Pauthier printed 目 and translated it, getting no thanks therefor from Dr. Lionel Giles who insists in his recent notes (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 1920, pp. 19, 20) that the original 目 needs no mending. Dr. Giles, by the way, seems to have transposed Wylie and Legge. On fol. 26r° : 乃策各於玉帳. Dr. Giles (ibid. p. 21) had very acutely perceived that 王 of the original (and of all the printed texts known to him) represented 玉 and he will be interested in this confirmation of his views.

A further examination shows the text of the *Chüan T'ang Wên* to be extremely inaccurate. There are at least fourteen mistakes of the magnitude of 元 for 无, 亦 for 示, 戴 for 戴, 順 for 時, 列 for 刻, 王 for 皇, 皇 for 萬, etc. This inaccuracy does not necessarily vitiate the readings 玉 and 目 to which special attention is called.

The *Ch'üan T'ang Wên*, in the manner characteristic of such works, does not say what or where the inscription is, nor does it give the exact date or the name of the writer.

* * *

A curious example of quotation by Chinese authors is provided by Mr. Arlington's note on the reading 斁 in the *Shu Ching* (supra, p. 70). The 焦氏筆乘 *Chiao shih pi ch'êng* (A) quotes the *Han Shu* (B); the *Han Shu*, c 86, fol. 4v°, quotes the *Shu Ching* (C), 2, fol. 9v°. The readings of these three are :—

斁 A. 臣聞皐陶戒帝舜曰無敖佚欲
敖 B. 臣聞咎繇戒帝舜曰亡敖佚欲
斁 C. 無斁逸欲

The Commentary on the *Shu Ching* that goes under the name of *K'ung An-kuo* knows no reading but 斁 : Yen Shih-ku in his notes on the *Han Shu* knows only 敖, remarking that it stands for 傲.

* * *

With regard to Mr. Arlington's notes on the tomb of Yü, and the way of writing Yü-hang, the date of the story which would write the Yü 禹 is of importance. The *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* (c. A. D. 980) says "When 禹 Yü of the Hsia was going east he left his boats and went ashore here ; hence the name 餘杭 Yü-hang." (*Ch'ien-tao Lin-an chih* c. 1. fol. 1). The *Shih Chi*, B.C. 90, c. 6, fol. 11v° has this passage :



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三十七年十月癸丑始皇出游左．．．過丹陽至錢唐臨浙江水波惡乃西百二十里從狹中渡上會稽祭大禹 "On 28th October B.C. 211 Shih Huang set out and travelled to the east. Passing Tan-yang he came to Ch'ien-ta'ng and went down to the shore of the river Chê. The waves of the river were dangerous, so he went 120 *li* to the west and crossed at a narrow place. He went up Kuei-chi and sacrificed to Yü the Great." From the notes we find that 晉灼 Chin Cho (c. 4th century) considered the river Chê as the southernmost of the three mouths of the Chiang, a theory carefully explained and supported by Yüan Yüan in the 19th century; and that 徐廣 Hsü Kuang (c. A.D. 400) says of the 'narrow place,' "namely at 餘杭 Yü-hang. 顧夷 Ku I says: As to Yü-hang, Shih-huang of Ch'in passed through it to Kuei-chi and made it a *hsien*." The possible reference to the Bore in the words 水波惡, "the waves of the river were violent," should be noticed. In his notes to the *Shih Chi*, Vol. I, p. 162; Vol. II, p. 186, Chavannes does not discuss the reality of the tomb of Yü, but in the *T'oung-pao*, 1913, p. 794, he laughs at the idea that Shun or Yü ever penetrated so far south. The 廣輿形勝 Kuang Yü hsing shêng, a modern book, says 餘杭一名禹杭. Of the authorities at hand none mentions the Great Yü in connexion with the name Yü-hang before the *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi*, and that carefully writes 餘杭 Yü-hang in the usual way. And what indeed would 禹杭 Yü-hang mean? It will be seen that Mr. Ailington's book says Yü left his carriage for a boat. As his next move was to climb a hill, "left his boats and went ashore" seems the more probable version of the story.

* * *

"Introduced" does not seems to be the right word to use in connexion with 放生 *fang shêng* in the West lake at the end of the 16th century. (*Supra*, p. 72). The Lin-an Chih c. 32, fol. 1v°, 2v°, definitely ascribes the origin of the festival on the 8th day of the 4th month to Wang Ch'in-jo, and gives the date A.D. 1020: 天禧中故相王欽若始奏以西湖爲放生池禁捕魚鳥爲人主祈福自是以來每歲四月八日郡人數萬會於湖上, and above: 天禧四年郡守王欽若奏以爲祝聖放生池.

* * *

"*A few Chinese Puzzles*" (See p. 144)

(1) In the ordinary edition of the *Chin shu* c. 56, the gentleman's name is 江彪 Chiang Pien (or Pin); nor is it surely necessary for 鴻祀 (not 紀) Hung ssŭ to mean a "sacrifice to a goose,"



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though it might have been, in Chiang's opinion a sacrifice by a goose.

(2) The context (in *T'ang shu* c. 5, 開元, not 原, K'ai-yüan 2nd year ; cf. 23 year) shows that 侍老 Shih lao is plural ; and we need not worry about their names. The phrase is not in Couvreur, Giles, or the *Tz'ŭ yüan*.

* * *

The last paragraph of Mr. Morley's article on the *Shu Ching* (p. 31 of this year's *Review*) is to a large extent answered by Pelliot's interesting and most learned article *Le Chou King et le Chang Chou che wen* in Mémoires Concernant l'Asie Orientale, II. 1916, pp. 123-177. On p.127 M. Pelliot writes, "Aujourd'hui, les meilleurs érudits chinois sont arrivés à cette conclusion unanime : le prétendu *Chou King* de K'ong Ngan-kouo est un faux ; . . . le faussaire a attribué à la recension de K'ong Ngan-kouo . . . la recension authentique de Fou Cheng."

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NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON.

In the Preface to his Chinese-English Dictionary, Dr. Giles tells us that "No one writes 學 nowadays ; but on the other hand, every one writes 教 and 殺 and 舌. Yet the first character is right according to K'ang-hsi, and the second, and third and fourth are wrong." But he does not tell us that the Emperor Hsien-fêng altered 壽 to 寿, because it was considered unlucky to have the character for 'longevity' "broken off in the middle." Therefore, nearly every one writes 㝵 nowadays instead of 壽. The character for year, too, was altered by K'ang-hsi from 歲 to 嵗 because the 止 "stopped the years" (of one's life) ; whereas, 山 being a symbol for 'longevity', increased it. *V.* 字學舉隅.

* * * ❧

Li Shih-min (李世民) the T'ang Emperor (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1196) on account of the character 民 in his name, altered the character *hun* 昏 'stupid' to 昏. Dr. Giles says nothing about this under No. 5222, the original form of which was 昏, or under No. 7922 溷 'foul,' etc. (altered to 溷). The general rule was to extend the *taboo* only to characters of inauspicious meanings. Therefore, 珉 No. 7913, would not be *taboo*, but 湣 was. And so with the whole series of the *hun* and *min* characters, that have the 民 in them. *Ibid.*

* * *

The famous Empress Wu Hou (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2331) was not satisfied with the character Chao 曌 in her name, so she specially



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invented another character with the same sound but a far different meaning, viz., Chao 嫿 implying thereby that she "had nothing in her eyes" (i.e., nothing in common with any one), everybody and everything being beneath contempt. That she was in fact a 'superwoman.' She is said to have invented altogether nineteen characters. *Ibid.*

* * *

The Empress Lü Hou (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1442) whose name was *Chih* 雉 the Argus pheasant, was also a *taboo* character, being altered to *yeh chi* 野雞, said to be euphemistic for 雉. It is to be noted that the term 'yeh chi' is of modern origin in the sense of 'courtesan' etc. *V.* 洪武正韻.

* * *

The famous Empress-Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi* of the Manchu dynasty also indulged in a little *taboo* on her own account. Her name was *Lan* 蘭 and her 字 or style *Chih T'ien* 芝田. The character 蘭 was therefore *taboo* within the palace precincts; although there was no decree issued forbidding its use. No inscriptions, scrolls, embroidery, hair ornaments, shoes or clothing were allowed to have representations or figures of the *lân* on them.

The 蘭 (*Cymbidium ensifolium*,) could only be referred to as the *Hui* 蕙, a fragrant species of marshy orchid. To such an extent was the *taboo* of the character carried that if any one sent in a Memorial or card with the written character 蘭 on it, it was either altered to 蕙 or the radical for 'grass' removed from the top. *V.* 西太后軼事 and 清代軼聞.

I am not aware from what sources the assertions of the authors are derived; but there is a statement in the Manchu Annals that the *Yêhê* tribe of Manchus were originally Tumed Mongols,

---

*Her surname was *Na Lan* 納蘭 generally written *Nala* 那拉. She was a lineal descendant of the *Yêh-Hê-Na-Lan* tribe (葉赫納蘭部), who were conquered by the Manchus before the latter conquered China. T'ai Tsung 太宗, whose accession took place in 1627 under the reign title T'ien Tsung, was engaged to a lady of the *Ni-k'an-wai-lan* tribe (尼堪外蘭部), but the engagement was broken off through the machinations of the latter into which she subsequently married. This act aroused T'ai Tsung's ire, and out of revenge he made war on them and conquered both the tribes. Thus through the medium of a woman (the old story),—no less a personage than the famous Empress Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi—who was a descendant of a tribe conquered by the Manchus, through her misdeeds, in turn eventually brought down their own ruin! A fitting epitaph to her would be "*Triumpho morte tam vitâ.*"



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who conquered the *Nala* 納喇 tribe occupying Hulun, and then themselves took over the family name of *Nala*, which was only changed to *Yêhê* 葉赫 when they migrated to a river of that name. (Another version says it is the name of a country). Thus the stock of the late Empress-Dowager *Yêhê-Nala* was really as much Mongol as Manchu. (See *Mongolia after the Genghizides and before the Manchus*, by Prof. E. H. Parker, in Journal N. C. B. R. A. S. Vol. XLIV, 1913.)

It is to be noted that *Nalan* and *Nala* are the Chinese sounds and have nothing to do with the meaning of the characters. Although the character Na 納 appears frequently in the names of sons of the Manchu Emperors, I can find only one with Lan 蘭 in it, and that is the first son of the Emperor T'ien Tsung, which was *Ahlant'ai* 阿蘭泰.

*Query.* Did T'ien Tsung name his first-born after the woman he loved ?

It is not generally known that the Emperor Ch'ien Lung deposed his Secondary Consort *Na Lan Shih* 納蘭氏 who belonged to the same clan or tribe as Tz'ŭ Hsi, for presuming to dictate to His Majesty. She then entered a Monastery at Hangchow where she died. A certain Manchu Censor memorialized the Throne that she should be interred according to the State ritual, but it was refused on the plea that no one with the hair cut off, especially a female who had taken monastic vows could be buried with Imperial ceremonies. But in the 5th year of Chia Ch'ing (A.D. 1800) she was granted the honor, "The ceremony however, being somewhat disparaged." So says the author of the 清代軼聞.

* * *

No. 476 劍, also means to cleave, swish through the air with a sword, etc. It is also read *chiao*$^{1}$ and *ch'ao*$^{1}$.

* * *

No. 520 巢, 南巢 is the modern province of Anhui where the infamous tyrant *Chieh* was compelled to flee to, and where he died three years later.

* * *

Under No. 13,329 瀛, the "family of a high official" 瀛眷 should be mentioned.

* * *

A term worth adding to No. 2886 is 香烟之種$^{3}$ "To be pregnant"—supposedly with a son who performs the ancestral sacrifices.



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No. 3276 軍 also means rhubarb, *e.g.*, 熟軍 Prepared rhubarb. No. 9849 沈 has also the rhyme 沁.

* * *

Nos. 12,225 遁 and 12,241 遯 are interchanged. So are Nos. 8591 般 and 8595 班.

* * *

Under No. 5106 皇 Dr. Giles rightly refers to No. 5119 鳳. But he does not tell us that 皇 is the old form used in the classics for 鳳 No. 5108.

* * *

In the Analects, chap. 7, 述而 it is stated that when Confucius was in Ch'i he heard the *Shao*, and did not know the taste of meat for three months (子在齊聞韶三月不知肉味). The 高麗本論語集解, however, states that this is incorrect and that the correct text is: 子在齊聞韶音, 不知肉味 "When the Master went to Ch'i and heard the music of the *Shao*, he lost his taste for meat—in consequence.

Then again, in the Shih Chi (史記) it is stated that when the "Master visited Ch'i he heard the *Shao* studied or practised it for three months, during which time he lost the taste for meat." (子在齊聞韶, 學之三月, 不知肉味).

Confucius said that the *Shao* was the most perfect and beautiful of all instruments; so why should he limit his loss of taste for meat to only three months? Why limit it at all? In this, as in many other things connected with the Analects, Chu Hsi is not to be depended upon.

* * *

In the 論語駁 by 晋樂肇 it is stated that the classical sentence: 文莫吾猶人 "In letters I am perhaps equal to other men" (Analects, chap. 7, 述而); should be: "(In moral character) I am *almost* equal to other men."

文莫 is said to be a provincialism in current use in the 燕 and 齊 states, meaning 'nearly' or 'almost.' There would appear to be some truth in this statement, since Confucius was more likely to pride himself on moral character or *li* rather than on *wên* scholarship.

No. 9395 擘, *po*$^4$ is also read *pi*$^4$ and in the Pekingese vernacular *p'i*$^3$, especially in the classical phrase 巨擘 "The thumb," alluding to Ch'ên Chung-tzŭ (陳仲子). *Vide* Mencius, chap. 滕文公. But it is correctly read *po*$^4$ "to divide," as in 擘窠.



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What, however, has called my attention to this character is, that the Author of the *Sui-yuan-sui-pi* (袁枚) states that the term 巨擘 meant, in the *Ch'i* state dialect, an "earthworm." Hence, Mencius compared Ch'ên Chung-tzŭ to an earthworm owing to his refusal to face the cares of official life, although he had great ability. Hence, Mencius derided rather than praised him.

* * *

*Etymology.* Dr. Giles in his Chinese-English Dictionary gives some good illustrations of the characters 牛 and 物; and how, in pre-historical times, the Chinese began to make rude pictures of the sun, moon, stars, etc. He also gives some good examples of how they were extended to their present form. That the *original* signification of some of the characters has actually been *transposed* is evident from the following: Shê 射 is formed from "body and inch." Naturally, one would think, this should refer to people of "short stature"; yet, it has no such meanings; but, instead, the predominant meaning is to "shoot with an arrow," "To aim at," etc. But Ai 矮, made up of "arrow and throw" which one would naturally suppose meant to "shoot with an arrow," has no such meanings attached to it at all, but means (what 射 *ought* to mean), "short of stature," a dwarf! There are many other suchlike deceptive characters, if we will only take the trouble to look them up.

* * *

No. 13,287 胤, is wrongly given as 氖 instead of 胤 under Chronological Tables on p. 22 in Giles' Dict. And 氖 instead of 𠙵 under No. 5217 (諱). Not only Yung Chêng, but the founder of the Sung dynasty, Chao K'uang Yin (*Biog. Dict.* No. 168), altered 胤 to 𠙵. Under No. 13,287, No. 11,581 is wrongly referred to instead of No. 11,851.

The general rule for *taboo* characters was to omit the *last* stroke, never the first, or alter the symbol as, *e.g.*, 淳 to 湻 as in T'ung Chih's name or 琰 to 琬 as in the case of Chia-Ching's. Or, as in the case of Kuan Yü, the god of war. The 羽 being slightly altered.

The 熹 in Chu Hsi's name was also *taboo*, being omitted altogether; hence *Chu Fu-tzŭ*. The only sentence extant that I know of where the character 曦 is used is in T'ao Yüan Ming's 歸去來辭: 恨晨光之熹微 "I hate the faint light of dawn." Dr. Giles under No. 4080 omits 恨 and translates "The faint warmth of morning."



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In the *New China Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 70, I pointed out what was obviously a glaring misprint, viz., *Wu chiao* 無敎 for *Wu ao* 無敖; Giles' Dict. No. 83, in the sense of vain-glory, etc. Unfortunately, the responsible printer could not get away from the rooted idea that *ao* 敖 *must* be *chiao* 敎, although the character *ao* was clearly and distinctly written;* but as that particular phrase has been handed down for thousands of generations whether it made sense or not did not concern the printer; what concerned him most was that it "always has been so," and could be nothing else; thus confusing the whole tenor of the note and perpetuating the very mistake it was intended to make clear!

* * *

My object in drawing attention to the above note is concerned with another anomaly or corrupt meaning, viz., the classical sentence "予有亂臣十人 (I have ten able ministers)." In the dictionaries, the first meaning of *luan* 亂 No. 7461, is 'to regulate'; 'to govern'; the second is just the opposite, 'to confuse,' confusion, etc. The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* says that 亂臣 means "治亂之臣也" (To govern the rebellious ministers); and "作亂之臣也" (Rebellious ministers). The ten ministers (one of whom was a woman) were: 周公旦; 召公奭; 太公望; 榮公; 太顛; 閎夭; 散宜生; 南宮适; 畢公; and the woman 文母. Dr. Legge in a note says that the style of the whole chapter, however, is different from that of any previous one, and rightly says that "We may suspect that it is corrupt."

According to Ma Jung (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1475), 文母 was the daughter of 有莘氏 and the wife of Wên Wang, *i.e.*, 太姒.

But what none of the lexicographers or commentators seemed to know was that 乿 an old form of *chih* 治 was confused with *luan* 亂; hence, as might be expected, inevitable confusion! They seemed to overlook the fact that a character could not possibly mean "Disorder" and "confusion" and at the same time mean "to govern, or regulate." They had to assign a meaning in conformity with the text, and so defined it to mean "able," etc., although they must have known that it had no such meaning. And just as our printer with *chiao* and *ao*, so the commentators; they could not get away from 亂 and gave it a meaning utterly at variance with its root meanings. In the 四書昧根錄, there is a quotation from one 劉侍讀 (I cannot discover who Liu

*The Editor cannot refer now to Mr. Arlington's manuscript but accepts the responsibility of having allowed the wrong character to be printed, and regrets the error.



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was, *shih-tu* would appear to be his title or "Reader"), saying that there is no such principle as a son employing his own mother as a minister; and that 文母 was a woman named I Chiang (邑姜). That the nine ministers controlled external and the woman internal (Palace ?) affairs. He also says that *luan* 亂 is a misprint for 乿 an old form of 治. The following extract is taken from the 朱註四書: 或曰舊本作乿古治字今作亂字疑誤也又文母係邑姜也所謂爲文王之后妃武王之母者非.



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# RECENT LITERATURE

*Ars Asiatica, III ; Sculpture Civaites*, G. Van Oest & Cie., Bruxelles et Paris, 1921, fr. 125.

Two earlier numbers of *Ars Asiatica*, one by Petrucci on Chinese Painting in the Musée Cernuschi, and one by Chavannes on Chinese Sculpture, appeared before the war. After a long interval this third volume appears, but, alas! it is dedicated "A la Mémoire d'Edouard Chavannes et de Raphaël Petrucci."

The present volume means less to us in China as it is entirely about Indian Art. Çiva is only known to us here through his corrupting influence on the Buddhism which entered Tibet. He himself, better known to us in the old-fashioned spelling as Siva, is the supreme deity of the Hindu trinity, "the absolute entity, the god without attributes, neither Being nor not-Being. The forty-seven wonderful heliotype plates in this volume are all concerned with him. The first six reproduce two bronzes of him in the act of dancing. Then there are fourteen reproducing a three-headed cliff-sculpture—one head being that of Çiva—in the famous temple called Elephanta. The image is some 12 or 15 feet high and a curious fact is recorded that behind Çiva's head a niche has been discovered capable of holding two persons out of sight, which gives rise to the suspicion that oracular utterances were here sought for and received.

The remaining twenty-one plates reproduce carvings on an immense rock at Mavalipuram on the Coromandel coast where innumerable figures are represented hastening with joy towards a central point. The interpretation—a new one— which is now given to this wonderful sculpture is that it represents the joy of the Universe after Çiva had permitted the Ganges to fall



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from Heaven upon his head, from whence it flowed to enrich and purify the world.

As to the plates, we can only say that they are in the highest style of heliotype engraving; it is hardly possible to conceive of work more exquisitely done. The text which accompanies the plates is of extreme value, and that the art is worthy of study by all students is proved by the ecstatic, if sometimes cryptic utterances to which they move the great master Auguste Rodin—who also has since gone *ad majores*. The illustrious artist was quick to see the analogies between Indian Art and that of our Middle Ages. He was engaged on a work dealing with the Cathedrals of France, and felt drawn by the art discussed in this volume, an art in which religious thought predominated and in which stone became symbolic. Hence he wrote in 1913 the pages with which the volume opens. Thus of the Dancing Çiva he writes:—

"La pose est connue, selon les artistes; mais il n'y a rien de commun; car, dans toute pose, il y a la nature, et si loin! Il y a surtout ce que les uns et les autres ne v ent pas: les profondeurs inconnues, le fond de la vie. Dans l 'gance, il y a la grâce; au-dessus de la grâce il y a la modéle; tout va plus loin, on l'appelle doux, mais c'est puissamment doux! Alors les mots manquent. . . ."

After Rodin's pages the well-known Indian writer Coomaraswamy tells us all that it is necessary for us to know about Çiva, and we are thankful t ve so clear an account from an Indian scholar.

The remaining papers, with a bibliography of the subject, are by E. B. Havel and Victor Gol ibew who is also director of the publication.

*Ars Asiatica* is from this th d number published by the École Française de l'Extrême-Orient. For English readers it may be well to add the English measurements of the sumptuous work, which is called in-4° jésus. It is $16\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

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*Bulletin Archéologique du Musée Guimet*, Fasc. 1 (fr.15), Fasc. 2 (fr. 8); G. Van Oest; petit in-4°, 1921.

This is a new publication complementary to the larger series of *Annales* of the Museum and the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; it is to be issued as occasion arises when some important event connected with the Museum demands it, such as the return of an expedition, and some fascicules will be devoted to describing the precious collections already in the Museum. Thus,



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the first of those before us is entitled "Salle Edouard Chavannes" because such a new salle has just been opened. It deals with Chavannes himself in a paper by Pelliot, and there are half-a-dozen other papers by M. Sylvain Lévi, M. de Tizac, M. Vitry and M. Jean Lartigue, chiefly dealing with the Missions of Chavannes, Segalen, de Voisins and Lartigue. Many of our Shanghai readers will remember that M. Segalen lectured at the Royal Asiatic Society some years ago. He died in 1919.

The fascicule has four plates, one, a portrait of Chavannes, the same that was given in the first number of this Review, but infinitely superior as a reproduction.

The second fascicule is entitled "Asie Centrale et Tibet," and treats of the Missions Pelliot and Bacot. Prof. Pelliot himself gives a very succinct account of his Mission, and there is a long description by Hackin of the documents etc. of that Mission preserved in the Museum. Several other valuable papers complete the number, which also is embellished with four good plates.

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*Le Proto-Chinois, Langue Flexionnelle; par* B. Karlgren, extrait du Journal Asiatique, Avril, 1920.

Prof. Karlgren is well-known for his intensive studies of the Chinese language, and a notice of very erudite work of his on its phonology appeared recently in this journal. It probably appears to many people that phonetics applied to Chinese is altogether too recondite and uncertain, but of the writer's erudition there can be no question and to those who can make use of such studies his works can be heartily recommended.

The paper before us is a brief study which cannot fail to interest every serious student of Chinese, even if he should be unable to agree entirely with the conclusions. The method of study by which the Professor seeks to prove that there is a real inflection in the ancient language seems very ingenious and scientific. He takes the pronouns of the first person and rigidly examines them as they stand, first in the *Lun Yü*, and within these limits he shows that 吾 *Wu* appears ninety-five times as a nominative, five times as genitive and three times as objective.

*Wo* 我 on the other hand functions six times as nominative, four times as genitive and twenty-six times as objective. Thus 吾 is shown to be the absolutely preponderating form for the nominative and 我 is almost alone as objective; but while 吾 shows no tendency to extend the objective case, the objective 我 is beginning to carry it over the nominative.



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The same method is applied to Mencius, where, in a hundred and forty-four nominatives seventy-six are represented by 吾 and sixty-eight by 我, while there are fifty-three objectives all represented by 我.

Again, in the *Tso Chuan*, of six-hundred nominatives, 吾 is used three hundred and sixty-nine times and 我 two hundred and thirty-one times. There are two hundred and sixty-one objective cases, only four of them being represented by 吾 and two hundred and fifty-seven by 我. (For brevity's sake we are ignoring the genitive case.)

Having shown the strict method used we need only add that the Professor applies it also to the *Shu Ching* and *Shih Ching* and finds they have absolutely no distinction in cases of pronouns, which leads to the conclusion that the language of Lu was a dialect survival.

Various subsidiary proofs are brought forward to show that originally 女(汝) was nominative and genitive and 爾 was objective, which later obtruded itself into the sphere of nominative. Appealing to the phonetic values, 吾 being pronounced *nguo* and 我 *nga*, while 女 and 爾 have also sounds beginning alike (it is impossible for our printers to reproduce the extraordinary 'spelling') we have a perfect paradigm of the first and second person of the pronoun.

The argument is re-inforced by examining 予 and 朕, and the conclusion is that proto-Chinese was an inflected language but that the inflections have been shed except in the pronouns exactly as has happened in some other languages.

Incidently the fact that the nominatives in the *Lun Yü* are only fourteen per cent. 我, while in the *Tso chuan* its percentage is thirty-eight, is used as a proof that the latter was not produced by the same pen or at the same period as the former.

The complete study, of which we have given only slight indications, is certainly of great value, and should be read by all who are truly interested in the origin and structure of the Chinese language.

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*Religious Persecution in China: A Historical Study of the Relations Between Church and State.* By H. K. Wright, (Chinese Recorder, June, 1921).

This reprint is a valuable study, more scholarly and balanced than is usual with Recorder articles. It is largely a critical study of De Groot's well-known work. De Groot's facts are accepted as generally correct but his treatment of these facts meets with a good deal of sound criticism.



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We have spoken of the book as "well-known": it would be a curious and interesting question to ask how many missionary readers of the *Recorder* possess and have read it.

We can heartily recommend all who have any interest in Church History or in Chinese History to read the paper at least.

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We have received a prospectus of an important work to which we are glad to call attention. Business firms who know the value of Dingle's Commercial Atlas & Gazetteer will welcome the *Far Eastern Products Manual* by the same editor. It is to be a complete work of reference concerning all Far Eastern Products with which merchants here or at home have to deal; the list seems exhaustive, and concerning each one there is given its description, its provenance, modes of preparation, old and new, methods of packing, measurements, quality, adulteration, uses, insurance and apparently whatever other particulars anybody in the world needs to know about it. We cannot conceive of a work of its kind which promises to be more complete or more useful.

The *Review* is unfortunately always out of the press later than it should be, so that our readers, if dependent on this notice alone would, we regret to say, be too late to take advantage of the subscription price of Tls. 100; but even at the higher price after July 31 no firm will hesitate to invest in a work so necessary. It is published at the offices of the Far Eastern Geographical Establishment and "Finance and Commerce."



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# THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

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*The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.*

*When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.*

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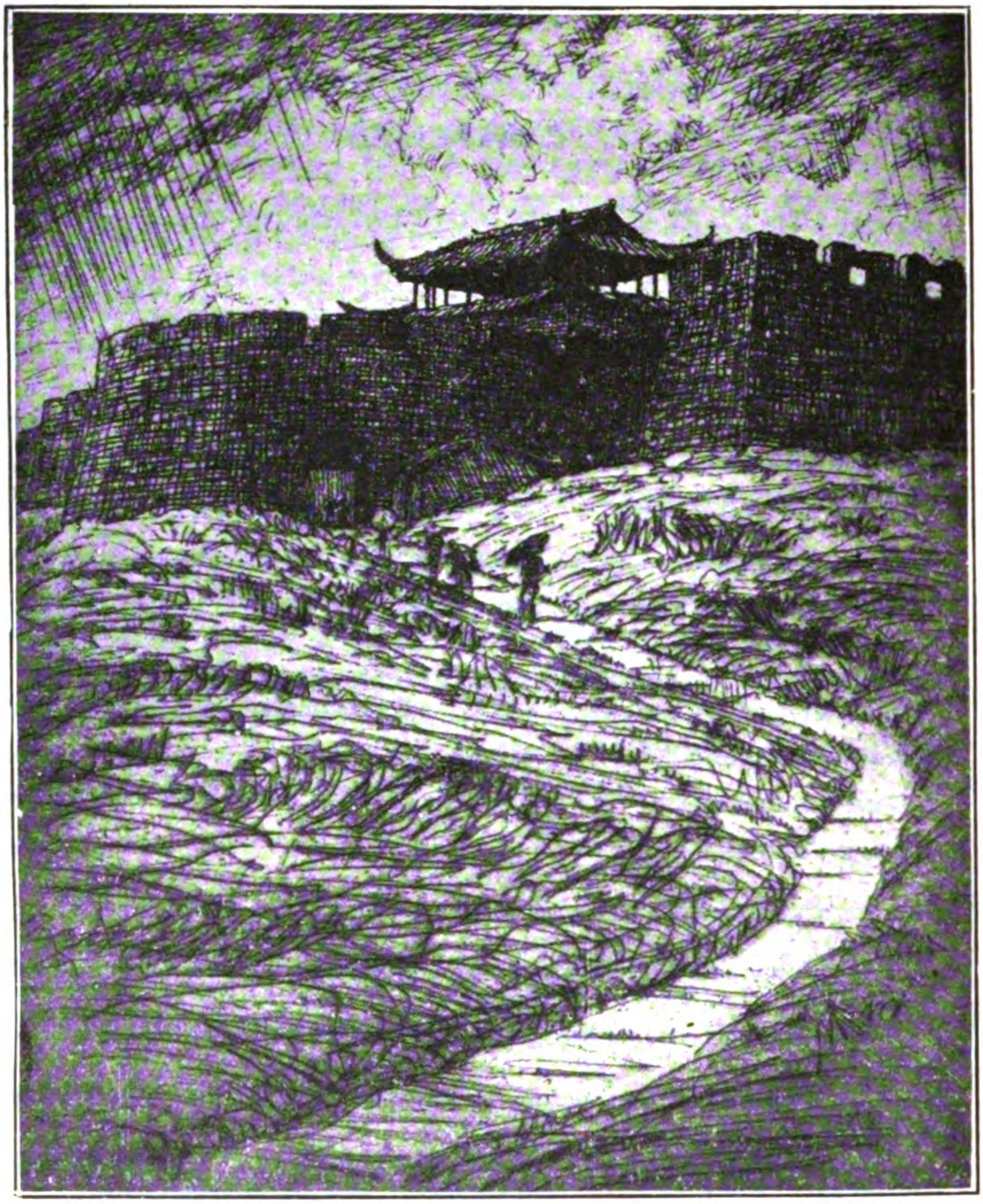

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THE NEW
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# ON HSÜ HSIA-K'O, 徐霞客 (1586-1641) EXPLORER AND GEOGRAPHER

BY

V. K. TING*

When Sir Aurel Stein went to Turkestan to explore for archæological purposes, he was in the habit of telling his Chinese friends that he had Hsüan Chuang (玄 奘), the celebrated monk and traveller, as his patron saint, and he metaphorically attributed the success of the expedition to his protection. Well, I had also a patron saint of my own when I went to south-western China in 1911 and again in 1914. His name is Hsü Hung-tsu (徐 宏 祖), more commonly called Hsü Hsia-k'o, under which name all his works are known. Whether my patron saint is as great a man or rather saint, you will have an opportunity to judge for yourselves to-night, but in one respect at any rate I can claim some advantage over Sir Aurel in my choice, because Hsü Hsia-k'o was born in 1586, only some 300 years before me in the district of Chiang-yin (江 陰) in the Yangtze delta scarcely 20 miles from my parental home. So both in time and space I am much nearer to my patron saint than Sir Aurel ever was to his, and presumably I ought to have been in closer spiritual communion with my protector. Incidentally this convinces me that there needs be no

*Read before the Wên Yu Hui (文 友 會), Peking, June 14, 1921.



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relation between the protector and the protected, for Sir Aurel in spite of his shadowy claim over Hsüan Chuang has become deservedly famous.

As we have seen Hsü Hsia-k'o was born in 1586. He died in 1641 at the age of 55. Now the half century in which he spent his life is one of the most important landmarks in the history of Chinese civilization. In order to understand the spirit of his time I must ask your permission to make a short excursion into Chinese history.

Summarily stated, the T'ang (唐) dynasty that ruled China from the 7th to the 9th century saw a glorious development of fine art and imaginative literature, but on the whole it was hopelessly inefficient in politics and administration. There was no lack of religious enthusiasm, but the spirit of the time was too liberal and artistic to practise strictly any rigid dogma. Life was probably more free and, I am afraid, more licentious during that period than in any other age in China. Civil war and social revolution soon followed.

When the Sung (宋) dynasty had at last reunited the country under one government in 960, a strong reaction against the spirit of the preceding age set in and gradually developed into a new movement known as Li-hsüeh (理學.) Literally it means the study of philosophy, but in reality it was the cry, " back to ignorance." For all knowledge of real things was despised as unnecessary and foolish ; meditation, a practice borrowed from Buddhism, was considered as the only road to enlightenment. It was a scholasticism minus method ; a religion minus faith. Its crowning success was the dogmatization of Confucianism and its subsequent adoption as a state philosophy. Intellectual curiosity was carefully smothered, and literature degenerated into the meaningless and stereotyped form of composition imposed by the state examinations. This development came about at first very gradually, but the Mongolian conquest no doubt helped it materially by destroying the books and discouraging learning. From the middle of the 14th to the end of the 16th century this school held China with undisputed sway.

Towards the beginning of the 17th century, however, intelligent men began to become dissatisfied with the intellectual life of their time and to long for something more real and fruitful. Besides, they were tired of the prolonged eunuchs' misrule and frightened by the repeated Manchu invasions. Political dissatisfaction stimulated intellectual activity, and the spirit of inquiry, awakened from her prolonged sleep, was once more walking abroad. This great movement may be termed the Chinese



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renaissance, which began by textual criticism of the classics and ended in the introduction of western science and philosophy.

Into this era of doubt and unrest Hsü Hsia-k'o was born. Small wonder that we find him even at an early age deserting state examinations and an official career for the study of history and geography. To the latter subject he devoted himself with great skill and sustained enthusiasm. His family was apparently well-to-do, therefore he was able to procure all the books he wanted for his study. He attained considerable literary fame, and had for his friends many notable men of letters, among whom is the well-known poet, Ch'ên Mei-kung (陳 眉 公). His great friend was, however, the Fukienese statesman and scholar, Huang Tao-chou (黃 道 周) who afterwards died as a national martyr fighting against the Manchu invaders.

A few specimens of his poems have been preserved. Whilst they show the common defects of the poetry of his time, namely, the lack of spontaneity and freedom, they are faultless in form and elegant in expression. His father died when he was comparatively young, but his mother lived to a great age. He was married and had several children. In short, he was a cultivated gentleman of means, enjoying all the advantages of a refined home, congenial friendship, and unlimited leisure. In such an environment very few men would be inclined to attempt any work that involves physical hardship and foregoes home comfort. But with Hsü Hsia-k'o his untiring intellectual curiosity and his passionate love of mountain scenery were too strong to allow him to rest in his peaceful retreat, and he felt the imperative call of nature to go forth and learn her ways. His mother was unselfish enough not to discourage this desire of her son ; she only insisted that he must tell her where he intended to go before leaving home and never change his plan without letting her know, a precaution by no means unnecessary.

With the consent of his mother, therefore, he began to travel constantly from year to year.

In 1607, when he was barely 21 years old, he went to the T'ai-hu (太 湖) Lake and climbed all the hills there. Two years later T'ai-shan (泰 山) and the home of Confucius were visited. In 1613 he went to P'u-t'o (普 陀) Island by sea and thence to the mountains of T'ien-t'ai (天 台) and Yen-tang (雁 宕) on the mainland. In 1616 he was in Anhui (安 徽), wandering over Pei-yo (白 岳) and Huang-shan (黃 山), both high ranges on the Chekiang-Anhui border. Even in these early journeys, Hsü Hsia-k'o showed his remarkable power of endurance, for he went there in the depth of winter and had to brave a snowstorm, which,



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however, did not spoil his trip as he was delighted with the snow scenery. To these mountains and to T'ien-t'ai and Yen-tang he returned many years later and was able to make more extensive climbs in better weather. He was four times in Fukien (福建). The first journey was in 1616 to the well-known mountain of Wu-yi (武夷) in north-western Fukien. The second was in 1620 to the Chiu-li-hu lake and the waterfalls in the district of Hsing-hua in the S.E. part of the province. The other two visits were to Chang-chow (漳州), where one of his uncles held an official appointment. In 1623 he undertook a much longer journey. Going to Honan (河南) overland he arrived at Chêng-chow (鄭州) in nineteen days and then spent several nights at the Sung-shan (嵩山), the second sacred mountain visited, and went to Shensi (陝西) by way of Yi-ch'üeh (伊闕), popularly known as Lung-mên (龍門). There he ascended the third sacred mountain, the T'ai-hua-shan (太華山), and descended south by one of the eastern passes and finally reached Tan-chiang (丹江). Instead of coming down the river all the way he stopped at Chün-chow (均州) to visit the T'ai-ho (太和) or Wu-tang-shang (武當山), famous to all Taoists. He made the interesting observation that the Sung-shan was absolutely barren right to the summit; the T'ai-hua-shan was forested only in the upper region; but the entire Wu-tang-shan was covered with beautiful trees. He rightly attributed this partly to the different activity of the temples, partly to the nature of the slope and soil.

Soon after the last journey his mother died, and her death allowed him to wander henceforth with greater freedom; but before he started on his great expedition to south-western China, he went once more northward, and in the summer of 1633 visited successively the Wu-t'ai (五台) and the Héng-shan (恆山), both in northern Shansi. Thus after having seen four sacred mountains out of five and most of the famous ranges in S.E. and central China, he at length began his last and most extensive journey, which lasted nearly four years, entailed terrible hardships, resulted in important discoveries, and finally cost his life.

Let us follow him step by step on his self-appointed task. His original plan was to go to Yünnan (雲南) whence to Tibet and come back by way of Szechuan (四川). Instead of going to the first-named province by the usual route—the only route in his time—across Hunan (湖南) and Kweichow (貴州), he deliberately chose a round-about way so as to include in his journey the main mountains that divide the waters of Hsi-kiang (西江) from those of the Yangtze valley. On the 19th of the 9th moon in the year 1636 when he was already 51 years old, he set out



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with a servant and a Buddhist monk as companion. The latter wanted to deposit in the temples of Chi-tsu-shan (雞足山) near Talifu (大理府) the Sūtra which he had copied in his own blood, a form of devotion fairly common in those days. They went up the Ch'ien-t'ang River (錢塘) until they came to Kiangsi (江西) where they struck southward to Lung-hu-shan (龍虎山) the mountain of Dragon and Tiger, and further south to the Fukien frontier. Turning westward they zigzagged their way across the longitudinal valleys of Kiangsi until they reached the district of Yung-hsin (永新). Instead of going down to Hunan by boat, Hsu Hsia-k'o left his companion and went alone northward on the eve of Chinese New Year to the Wu-kung-shan (武功山), one of the parallel ranges in southern China which culminates in a series of peaks over 4,000 feet above the sea. Joining his companion further east, they wandered through the hills of T'u-ling (茶陵) and Yu-hsien (攸縣) and slowly approached Hêng-shan (衡山) where they ascended the Nan-yo (南岳). Thus he was one of the few Chinese who have had the good fortune to see all the five sacred mountains. Once more he made a circular tour alone in southern Hunan, exploring the Chiu-yi-shan (九疑山) before he joined his Buddhist friend to go to Kwangsi (廣西). In that province he travelled nearly 1,000 miles, exploring all the five branches of the Hsi-kiang. He went southwest near the Tonkin frontier, trying to get into S.E. Yünnan, but was turned back by the threatened Annamite raid, and had to change his route by going northward from Nan-ning (南寧) in order to reach Kwei-yang (貴陽) by way of Nan-tan (南丹) and Tu-shan (獨山), a route that is little known even to-day. He had now no other companion than his servant, because the monk died in Nan-ning in the autumn of 1637. Hsü Hsia-k'o was away from the city, but when he heard on his return that his friend expressed the last wish to be buried with his Sūtra at Chi-tsu-shan, he decided to carry out this dying request at all cost, and henceforth carried with him the ashes of his friend for 360 days through all sorts of difficulties until he finally deposited them at the mountain in question with befitting ceremony. Personal loyalty is no doubt a characteristic firmly linked up with the eager search for truth and passionate love of nature.

His stay in Kweichow was quite short, as he travelled soon afterwards by the usual route to Yünnan. The eastern part of the last province was thoroughly explored. From Chan-yi chow (湔益州) and Ch'ü-ching-fu (曲靖府) he followed the river to Lin-an-fu (臨安府) and Shih-p'ing-chow (石屏州), coming back to Ch'ü-ching by way of Kwangsi-chow (廣西州), Shih-



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chung (師宗) and Lo-p'ing (羅平). Yünnanfu was reached in the autumn of 1638. After a short stay he left for Wu-ting (武定) and Yüan-mo (元謀) to visit the Gold Sand River whence he travelled to Chi-tsu-shan via Ta-yao (大姚) and Yao-an (姚安). In the spring of 1639 he was in Li-kiang (麗江) intending to go into Tibet, but the Moso chief, although quite friendly, warned him that he was practically at war with the Tibetans. He then turned back southward to Talifu, crossed the Mekong (瀾滄江) to Yung-ch'ang (永昌) and Têng-yüeh (騰越) to get into Burmese territory. This attempt was also a failure, but he was able to explore the country west the Salween (怒江) and to go south-east to Yün-chow (雲州) in the lower course, of Mekong. He returned to Chi-tsu-shan in the autumn of the same year, after which his diary is missing. Some of his biographers said he actually went into Tibet, hurt his foot, and spent three months at Chi-tsu-shan to write the Records of that mountain, after the completion of which he became ill and travelled homeward for 150 days in a chair, a mode of locomotion he very seldom indulged in when he was well. But as they all agree that he reached home in the summer of 1640 and died a few months later, I think that it is impossible that Hsü Hsia-k'o could have been in Tibet.

This brief outline, I am afraid, gives you little idea of the terrible hardships he endured and the great courage and perseverance that must have been necessary to carry him through. When he set out he was well provided with money, but on the Hsiang (湘) River he was attacked by pirates and lost all he had, narrowly escaping drowning. Through the patronage of Prince Kui (桂王) in Hêng-chow (衡州) he was enabled to proceed. In Kweichow he was twice robbed and was penniless on reaching Yünnan. He had the good fortune to meet a local man of letters, T'ang T'ai (唐泰) by name, who knew him by reputation and did all he could to help. When he was in Yung-ch'ang he lost his purse in one of the stiff climbs and had to endure many a hungry day and only saved himself by selling his outer garments. Getting thoroughly wet with little food and worse shelter was an everyday occurrence. Occasionally he was provided with a pony but most of the time he went on foot, and more than once he had to carry his own baggage. His servant finally deserted him on his second visit to Chi-tsu-shan. The desertion was discovered in good time and the monks proposed to send men after him, but with characteristic serenity, Hsü Hsia-k'o refused, saying that it was no use to force a man to stay against his will; although he was robbed again of all the money he had. The event, however,



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affected him deeply, as he could not understand how the servant had the heart to desert his master after spending three years together in a strange country 10,000 *li* from home. In defence of his servant I must say that as he was uninterested in geographical discoveries and did not appreciate scenic beauty, starvation must have been a merciless enemy against loyalty.

One may well ask, what was the reason that made Hsü Hsia-k'o desert his comfortable home in the Yangtze delta for the wildness of S.W. China at an age when most people would consider themselves to have earned their rest and be thinking about retreat? Great travellers we had not a few before his time. For example, there was Chang Ch'ien (張 騫) who went through Central Asia to Persia in the beginning of the Christian era. There was again Hsüan Chuang, Sir Aurel Stein's patron saint. But then Chang Ch'ien set out as an ambassador of the imperial court; he was serving the Grand Monarch in his great imperial programme. Hsüan Chuang again was a monk first and traveller afterwards, and was fired with great enthusiasm for the Buddhist faith. My patron saint was courting favour neither from emperor nor from God. He was not at all interested in politics, and, although a sincere Buddhist and well learned in the Sūtras, he did not go out as a pilgrim. Love of mountain scenery undoubtedly supplied a great deal of motive power, but then there was plenty of beautiful scenery in the near-by provinces which he had not yet visited. Why did he choose the S.W., especially Yünnan, as the place to spend the last years of his life? The explanation is supplied by his biographers, who all agree in saying that Hsü Hsia-k'o thoroughly *disbelieved in the theories of geomancy* and used to tell his friends that most of the things written on the Chiang (江) and the Ho (河) and the mountain ranges were either manufactured from imagination or copied from tradition. He desired to go to the least-known part of China, and, if possible, outside China, in order to see for himself the truth. There we have the explanation not only of his desire to travel, but also his choice of routes. He was essentially a *geographical explorer*. This spirit of enquiry is so startlingly modern that it alone would have ranked him as the earliest leader of modern geography in China.

His claim to greatness is, however, resting on even more solid ground. He left a voluminous diary written day by day on this journey describing all his observations in detail. The travels previous to his great expedition to the S.W. were less detailed, and as a rule only the temples and their immediately surrounding mountains were treated, but on his last trip the diary



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contains everything that we may want to know. Thus, only 150 days were recorded for the former journeys with about 40,000 words written down, whilst we have records of about 700 days out of 1,000 amounting to nearly 450,000 words, thus averaging 650 words per day. Even this gives you only an imperfect idea of his industry, for the 700 days include many in which only a few sentences were written; in fact, when he was exploring a new region the diary averages nearly 2,000 words a day, and, exceptionally, it may reach 4,000. Only those who have travelled for long periods of time in regions where physical comfort was out of question, can appreciate the magnitude of the task. In such a case the energy required even to overcome the inertia is considerable, not to say to write such wonderful composition. How very detailed and painstaking the diary really is, you can judge from the following translation of a passage picked up at random :—

"Going out of the southern gate [he was leaving Hsün-ning (順寧)], I followed the main road southwards for 2 *li* until I came to a village with houses on each side of the road where I turned to take the east branch, going through a flat basin southward with the road to Sha-ho (沙河) on the west. After 5 *li* crossed the Shên-ch'i 神溪 bridge, to the south of which is a group of houses. That is the village of Chu-ko-ying (諸葛營) where is also a temple of Chu-ko (諸葛), rather small and facing east. Further on is a temple of Tung-yo (東岳) much larger and also facing east. Another 5 *li* in the same direction is the village of Ta-shu-tun (大樹屯) with a number of houses. A small stream flows south-east from the north of the village whilst another small stream comes from the south, flowing north-east so that the two streams unite just east of the village forming the river of O-ssu-wo (臥獅窩). Another 3 *li* south a river flows from west to east at the foot of the southern hill. That is the river of Ao-tzŭ-p'u (坳子舖). Crossing the small stone bridge on this river I begin to ascend the southern slope where the road divides into 3 branches: one going south-east to the foot of a high mountain; one south-west to Shih-tien (石甸) and Yao-kuan (姚關); and the other directly east to Yang-yi (養邑)."

This reads more like a 20th-century surveyor's field note-book rather than the diary of a 17th-century traveller. I think I can say with confidence that no topographical observations were ever written down so clearly and in such detail before the 19th century. So Hsü Hsia-k'o was at least 200 years in advance of his time. We must also remember that he had no instruments of



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any kind, not even a compass. Nor had he a pencil and note-book to write anything down as he went, but had to wait until the evening or some halting-place during the day before he could unburden his memory of the distances and directions. Of the accuracy of his record there can be no question, as one can follow him with ease on a modern map, or a rough map may even be plotted from his descriptions. I have done both in eastern Yünnan and found his accounts astonishingly exact.

You may perhaps say that this kind of diary must be dull reading, but any one who is familiar with similar modern works, say Sven Hedin's *Ein Routenaufnahme durch Persien*, will not imagine that modern geographical literature is all interesting reading material. Besides, Hsü Hsia-k'o's diary is an unedited field note-book, for it was published exactly as he wrote them down the first time, since he had no chance to work it over before his death. But besides the details of topography and route, there are innumerable beautiful passages describing what he saw, and it was these that have helped to save his diary from oblivion because people always regarded it as a *tour-de-force* in literature and printed it as a model for composition. I think, however, that it will live as a scientific document rather than as a piece of classical literature.

There is nothing so admirable as his firm grasp of topographical form. In the table of contents of the Records of Chi-tsu-shan which he wrote for the Moso chief of Li-kiang in order to earn the necessary travelling expenses to get home, we find in chapters I and II remarkable evidence of the scientific turn of his mind. Chapter I is called the "Outline of Fundamental Form" (眞形統彙) consisting of the names of mountains, the ranges of mountains, the forms of mountains and the boundaries of mountains, etc. The second chapter is termed the "Classification of Scenery" (名勝分標), which is divided into: peaks (峯), cliffs (巖), grottoes (洞), plateaux (台), rock (projections) (石), passes (嶺), staircases (梯), valleys (谷), gorges (峽), ravines (脊), basins (坪), forests (林), springs (泉), waterfalls (瀑), pools (潭), streams (澗), and hot springs (溫泉). It is this wonderful power of analysing topographical details that enables him to adhere to a strict system of geographical terminology which it will pay modern Chinese geographers to study. Again, none of the vague stock-phrases such as a 1,000-ft. cliff or a boundless expanse of water, so common on Chinese literature, ever enter into his diary. Everything is specifically observed and carefully noted in feet or *li*.

Of the numerous interesting observations there are two geological facts which I should like to mention. As everyone



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knows, the mountains in S.W. China, especially those of Kwangsi. often consist of conical peaks with small enclosed basins between, practically without surface drainage, as the rivers flow underground. This is technically known as karsts, due to the solubility and the horizontal position of the limestone beds. To this we have numerous references in his diary, but the following quotation must suffice:—

"The hills of Kwangsi consist sometimes entirely of rock, sometimes with earthy layers between, but they are isolated, and form individual peaks quite distinct from each other. Those of Yünnan have a more earthy aspect with only occasional rocky projections, and as a rule they form continuous ridges enclosing basins. The hills of Kweichow are intermediate between the two. Because of the more earthy nature of the mountains, the Yünnan rivers are muddy, and with alluvial deposits near the lakes. On the other hand the rockiness of the mountains of Kwangsi keeps the streams clear which often flow underground in grottoes. The rivers of Kweichow are also intermediate." When he saw more of S.E. Yünnan, however, this view was somewhat modified. Speaking of the mountains of Lo-p'ing, he says, "The mountains of Lo-chuang (羅 莊) are very rugged, and further east isolated peaks are seen, lined one after another, reminding me of the scenery of Kwangsi. This strange forest of conical hills b gins here and continues north-eastwards for many thousand *li* till it reaches Tao-chow (道 州). It is the marvel of the S.W."

The ability of co-relating topographical forms with their geographical distribution is here evident.

In Yünnan true crystalline schists are rare. When I was there in 1914, I descended into Yüan-mo valley from the east where the red sandstone of Devonian age predominates. Going across the valley I was surprised to see typical mica schists cropping out in low hills bordering the north-south valley. I thought that I had made the first discovery, but to my astonishment I found that Hsü Hsia-ko had already noticed the occurrence 300 years ago. He was going from Yüan-mo to Ta-yao on the 6th of the 12th moon, 1639, and he noticed that on the slope of a waterless ravine in the western hills of Yüan-mo valley, the "rocks are shining like gold sand, brilliantly yellow in the sunlight like flakes of mica pressed together." Here in this case at least I can claim some spiritual communion with my patron saint.

So much then for his diary. But in order to do justice to my patron saint, I must, before I conclude, try to summarise the most important scientific results of his exploration. Out of



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the mass of geographical information three facts stand out to his credit.

First, the discovery of the true source of the Hsi-kiang or Canton River. In his time very little information about the upper branches was known. The only important source discovered was that of the P'an-kiang (盤江) which the imperial road from Kweichow to Yünnan had to pass. According to the geography of the Ming Empire (大明一統志), the P'an-kiang had two sources; the northern and the southern Pan, both of which took their rise in the mountains near Yi-tzŭ-k'ung (亦資孔) on the Yünnan-Kweichow border. Hsü Hsia-ko paid a special visit to that very mountain and found the two streams too small to be the true sources of the P'an-kiang. On his arrival at Chü-ching-fu, he was at once impressed by the far more important water supply of the river flowing near that city. After determining its head on the north of Chan-yi-chow, he went down the river to explore it thoroughly. He found it navigable as far as Yüeh-chow (越州), and then in order to avoid a rapid had to travel 15 *li* by land before getting into the boat again to reach Lu-liang (陸涼). All the way from Chü-ching every tributary was noted and described. He heard, however, that further south there was an important branch from Shih-p'ing-chow. He at once went there to study it. He discovered that the source took rise at Kuan-k'ou (關口) 40 *li* west of Shih-p'ing. After following its course in detail, he found that it joined the river from Chüching north-east of A-mi-chow (阿迷州). On he went to Kwangsi-chow, but the local people failed to supply him with any definite information with regard to its destination further east. He, therefore, followed it from there to Shih-chung and Lo-p'ing as far as its confluence with the river Kiang-ti (江底). He also recognized correctly that the K'o-tu-ho (可渡河) was the real source of Pei-p'an-chiang (北盤江), but he made the mistake of supposing that the waters of Yang-ling (楊林), Hsün-tien (尋甸) and Sung-ming (嵩明) gathered to unite with the K'o-tu-ho, in spite of the fact that he was told by the natives that these rivers went into the Niu-lan-chiang (牛欄江). Another mistake was that he erroneously thought that the Nan-p'an-chiang (南盤江) was the upper portion of the river of Pai-sê (白色). These mistakes are, however, all reasonable guesses, and not faulty observations.

The second great discovery he made in Yünnan is his clear conception of the Mekong and the Salween as separate rivers, Both in the Imperial Geography and in the Records of the prefecture of Hsün-ning, the Mekong and Salween were supposed to



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unite somewhere below Yün-chow. When he was on the Salween, he noticed that the amount of water and the width of the river were very similar to those of the Mekong. He further remembered that the Salween was also called the Gold Sand River (金沙江) by the Shans and was one of the four sacred rivers of the Shan Empire. He argued that in order to deserve such an honour it must have a separate outlet to the sea. To test his theory he went to Hsün-ning and further on to Yün-chow. It was there that he ran short of funds and accidentally lost the little money he had. Partly by enduring starvation, partly by selling his superfluous clothing, and partly by begging, he struggled on. The first thing he noticed was that the K'u-k'o-ho or Hsün-ning river instead of flowing into the Mekong as was said in the district records, emptied itself into the Salween. Then he met a lame traveller who explained to him that not only the Salween had a separate outlet to the sea, but also the Mekong which was said by the Imperial Geographers to unite with the Red River (紅江). He found this account so detailed and definite that he was convinced of its truth, but he did not turn back until he found the statement absolutely confirmed by several Chinese merchants in Yün-chow.

The last and perhaps the most important result is the recognition of the Gold Sand River (金沙江) as the true source of the Yangtze. He wrote an elaborate essay on the subject which unfortunately is lost, and only an extract has been preserved in the district records of his native city. It is so clearly written that I think it better to translate it somewhat more fully :

"The Chiang and the Ho are the two principal rivers ; one in the north, the other in the south. My district happened to be situated near to the latter's entrance into the sea ; hence the name Chiang-yin. Those who are born and brought up there realize the greatness of the Chiang but not its length. Its source has always been supposed to be the Min-chiang (岷江).—The explorers of the Ho agree that it rises in the mountains north of Kuenlun (崑崙). It must be ten thousand *li* from the Min. How is it that the Chiang has a so much shorter course ? Is it because the Ho is much larger than the Chiang ? When I saw the Ho for the first time, its width was only one-third that of Chiang ! Is it possible that the larger Chiang has a smaller drainage ? After I had travelled in the north, the south and the west, beyond Shih-mên (石門) and Gold Sand River, I then realized that the Ho drains only five provinces, whilst the Chiangs drains eleven*. No wonder the Chiang is larger. Let us study

*Only 10 provinces can be said to contribute to the Yangtze.



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their source. The Ho begins in the north of Kuenlun, the Chiang in its south, and the two rivers are practically equal in length. The northern Ho flows northward; after passing Chi-shih (積石), it begins to turn east to enter Ning-hsia (寧夏) and the Ordos (河套); then it turns south to Lung-mên (龍門) and finally joins the Wei (渭). The southern Chiang at first is known as Li-niu-shih, flowing southward, and passing the Shih-mên-kuan (石門關), it begins to turn east at Li-kiang to become the Gold Sand River. It turns again in the northern direction and joins the Min-kiang at Hsü-chow (敘州) to become the Ta-kiang (大江). Now the Min-kiang passing Ch'êng-tu (成都) to Hsü-chow is hardly 1,000 *li* long, whilst the Gold Sand River, passing through Li-kiang, Shih-mên, Yünnan, Wu-mêng (烏蒙) (Tung-ch'uan 東川) to Hsü-chow is at least 2,000 *li*. Why regard the shorter one as the source of the Chiang ?—Besides, south of Min there is another river the Ta-tu-ho (大渡河), coming down from Tibet, and joining the Min to the north-west of Gold Sand River. Its source is also longer than the Min but not so long as the Gold Sand River hence the last alone must be regarded as the true source of the Chiang . . ."

This was written at least 100 years before the Jesuit fathers made their map of China by order of K'anghsi. Yet European writers of the 19th century confidently declared that the Chinese never knew that the Gold Sand River was the true upper Yangtze!

Now it is time for you to form an opinion of my patron saint. His biographers said that on his death bed Hsü Hsia-ko told his friends that before him there were three great travellers, namely, Chang Ch'ien of Han (漢), Hsüan Chuang of T'ang and Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (耶律楚材) of Yüan (元). But all of them enjoyed government support and were more or less on official missions. He was the only private individual who had the good fortune to see so much of the world, therefore he died quite contented. Whether he actually said so or not we do not know, but I think this would be a very just estimate of himself. I only want to add that he was not only the only private traveller but was also the only scientific geographer. The *zeitgeist* of renaissance was in him when he braved physical discomfort to the point of starvation for the sake of pure knowledge and intellectual satisfaction.



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# THE PHILOSOPHY OF CHINESE GROUP-ACTION

BY

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Most foreigners in China have probably noticed, without understanding it, the tendency of the Chinese to act not singly but in groups. On entering a shop in a Chinese city the Westerner finds, often to his annoyance (if he is a new arrival in China), that all the employees in the room will come and look at him and "assist" (in the French sense of the word) those who are waiting on him; though his wants may be attended to by one or two only, the rest of the group take part in the conversation, leaving the business on which they were engaged to devote their attention to him until he leaves the establishment. That this tendency no longer exists or is decreasing in many modernized towns does not alter the fact that generally the tendency is towards group rather than individual action. Only the other day I counted no less than eighteen employees in a Chinese bank who "concentrated" on the simple cashing of an ordinary cheque, and half of them came out of the door to see me off! The difference between the two sets of ideas may be seen by contrasting this group-action with the custom in a Western bank, where the eighteen are more likely to be outside than inside the counter and waiting more or less—generally less—patiently for the attention of one overworked clerk inside it!

Other instances of Chinese group-action are the following. A guest at an hotel when taking a meal, especially if alone, will often notice that the Chinese "boy," or attendant, will stand as close to his elbow as possible and watch each mouthful as he



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conveys it to his mouth, much in the same way that visitors to a zoological garden watch the animals being fed. The accessory implements on the table, such as cruet-stand, small vases, etc., will be placed in a group touching each other rather than standing apart individually as is usual in Western countries. If separated, these implements will often be pushed together so as to touch each other by a native, who also prefers pictures or scrolls not to be hung on the wall with spaces between them and chairs to be placed close up alongside tables. At a Chinese feast, as at an ordinary Chinese meal, all dip out of one dish, and should, according to the strict rules of etiquette, eat simultaneously and drink simultaneously. The habit of making at the same time, usually all together, a hissing noise with the mouth as soup or other liquids are taken, vulgar to Western minds, though decreasing, still exists. There still exists also the custom of shouting out the order for the next course to a whole string of servants, who pass on the shout until it reaches the cook in the kitchen. The fact is that this wealthy or important personage has finished one course and is ready for the next, the publication of the fact in the manner described being an Oriental form of ostentation sufficiently repulsive to upset a Western stomach. At a banquet it is customary to pay money to the servants, coachmen, ricksha-pullers, etc., of the guests or to give them food, thus allowing them in so far to be partakers with the feasting group.

It is also quite proper for servants to join occasionally in the conversation at meals and banquets, and for servants generally to give advice to their masters.

Contracts, whether of betrothal, marriage, lease, or other, are in China not made as with us between two parties who sue for breach in a court of law, but require a group of three, namely, the offerer, the acceptor, and the guarantor. For example, the rent of a house is guaranteed by some shop, firm, or bank, to whom the lessor applies on default being made by the lessee. Marriages are still arranged by "middlemen," or "go-betweens," though "young China" has "gone one better" than the West in that not only do the Lotharios and Dulcineas arrange their own matches, but the latter on occasion even propose to the former! Until recently, also, married couples often lived after marriage in the house of the bridegroom's parents, as they still do in many cases, instead of setting up separate establishments. The emperor, under the Monarchy, had to make love to his wife or concubines in the presence of at least one eunuch, a custom which to a Western mind would certainly have endangered the hope of a successor! Concubinage itself is more of a group than is monogamy. The



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*jus primae noctis*, which once existed in parts of China, also indicates a group rather than an individual system. In China the clan or family is the unit, not the individual, and this gives rise to the law of revenge on any member of a murderer's family, and also to the punishment of a whole family for a crime committed by a single member of it, as well as to the occasional substitution of another member for the actual criminal. The nation itself is a group of heterogeneous provinces rather than one united homogeneous mass. Want of differentiation caused until recently the offices of head of the national executive, of high priest, master of ceremonies, and military commander-in-chief to be grouped together and represented in the one person of the emperor. Officials and their parasites in the old yamêns who constituted those over-staffed institutions, making a group far greater than was necessary for the discharge of the duties attaching thereto, are also examples of the same tendency. A similar grouping is found in the professions, where the functions of priest and physician, judge and lawyer, poet and singer, dancer and musician, actor and dramatist, architect and builder, etc., were and still often are found combined in one person. Policemen on their beats were usually in pairs, not single, as were also junks when on fishing or trading expeditions. Increasing division of labour caused the grouping apart of male from female labour, the specialization of trades, sub-groups in each trade, localization of trades in separate districts and in towns in separate streets. Such groups as guilds, trade unions, clubs, thrift and philanthropic societies, literary associations, etc., need not be more than mentioned. In some cases, such as self-mutilation, we find the idea of association so strong that a son, for example, will cut off a finger, hand, etc., in order to cure his sick mother, the idea being that the injury to himself will result in a corresponding benefit to her. Funeral rites indicate clearly the grouping, in Chinese ideas, of this life with the next, and this is shown in the similarity of the two, as well as in the making of deities from human beings, male and female (animal, plant, and other worships have a human origin).

When deeply aggrieved, a Chinese will *han chich*, "yell the street"; in other words, when he or she considers great injustice has been done, or when petty annoyances have become intolerable, appeal is made to the group, *i.e.*, to all and sundry who come within earshot of the cry which he (though it is usually a she) takes care is no whisper, in fact, it can often be heard the whole length of the street. Ricksha coolies and cartmen — notorious extortioners — readily appeal to bystanders, making their griev-



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ance known as loudly, and consequently as widely, as possible, and in a street or other fight the intervention of a third party as peacemaker is quite orthodox. When a Chinese hands an article to another he almost always holds on to it longer than is necessary for its safe passage from the one individual to the other. If a foreigner walks up and down his compound for exercise the servants will often come out and stand in a group watching him, partly out of interest in a person who exerts himself when he might be sitting still, and partly with the idea of protection and respect. They show the group instinct of certain types of social aggregates, shown also in grown-up men holding each other's hands as they walk along the street, just as school boys and more often school girls do in the West. A group of coolies, called upon to start work, will either stand still or all move in a body, individuals showing reluctance to take the initiative. School children shout their lessons all at the same time. Scholars will often unite their libraries for joint use. Even the leaves of Chinese books are double, and the small volumes (*pên*) divided into groups by the covers (*t'ao*). A *mafu* will often follow a rider on foot, keeping up with him as well as he can, and in sports, such as foot-racing, etc., the Chinese idea is rather that though one win the prize it should be shared by the whole group, who have not exerted themselves for nothing! (These cases do not of course include those, such as modern college students, who have come under Western influence). A foreigner going out alone for a walk would frequently be followed, especially in the smaller or out-of-the-way places, such independence being regarded with suspicion. In the same way, the squeaking of wheelbarrows and carts, now less frequently heard than formerly, was not due to any mechanical defect but to the idea that silence implies suspicious conduct—"the non-squeaking cart is probably a robber cart," as a Chinese explained it to me once. It should, however, be added that the squeak had also a utilitarian result in giving notice, like the toot of a modern bicycle or motor car, of its advent in narrow roads and when passing round corners, but this was not the original cause of the squeak. Stone images outside, and *tui-tzŭ*, scrolls, inside houses, temples, etc., are, or should be, in pairs. Groups of lamps are often seen on rickshas, and retainers (sometimes as many as three on each side), generally armed, stand on the footboards of automobiles, partly for ostentation, partly for protection, but in either case forming, with the occupants and driver, a group. In the streets of cities, when a carriage is being driven round a corner, the footman jumps off, runs to the horse's head, and guides it round, the corner being thus negotiated by the group coachman-



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footman-horse instead of, as in Western countries, by the coachman and horse only. The Oriental, like Nature, abhors a vacuum, and will saw off the legs of a chest of drawers in order that it may rest flush upon the ground. In Hongkong, many years ago, a long series of rooms was built for the hill chair-coolies, so that each might have a separate apartment; but the inspector found that they preferred all to herd into one or two !*

Regarding all these facts in their *ensemble* we may say that group-action is the rule and individual-action the exception, isolation being almost if not quite as great a sin as poverty is in incompletely-civilized societies. Generally, an isolated person, without friends or relations, was regarded as one who might be killed with impunity.

If the above instances of group-action, and many others which might be named, are contrasted with the behaviour which would obtain under similar circumstances in the West, it will be obvious that the cause of psychological differences so widespread must be deep-rooted. In many cases the behaviour of East and West is not only different, but opposed. For instance, in civilized countries isolation or weakness is a cause of sympathy or help, not of callousness or open hostility. (On the Canton river I have seen sampans hurrying to the spot where a poor old woman selling firewood from a boat had been wrecked by the wash of a passing steamer, not to save her life, but to steal her firewood !). A Westerner would resent the want of individuality of mind shown by a reply being made on behalf of himself as a member of a group without his being consulted beforehand. He prefers to take his meals in peace and quiet without the progress thereof being shouted, if not from the housetop, at least down the stairs, and he feels more at ease if each mouthful is not closely watched. He dislikes any noisy hissing sound as an accompaniment to eating or drinking. He prefers to make his contracts directly with the other party without the intervention of guarantors or middlemen. The idea of punishing a whole family for a crime committed by one member of it is repulsive to his sense of justice. He keeps his other world or life (where he believes in it at all) at a remote distance from this one. If aggrieved, he does not "yell the street," but either keeps his grievance to himself or confides it to some sympathetic or helpful friend. To "yell the street" in London,

*A relative of the present writer, when on a hunting expedition in Central Africa, enquired of some native boys why they habitually avoided entering a certain part of the jungle. One of the group, without consulting the others, immediately replied: "We are afraid." Not *I am*, but *we are*, afraid.



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for example, would be to court board and lodging in Colney Hatch. His recreational walks are more comfortable and beneficial if unwatched by a group of onlookers. His school children say their lessons separately, not all simultaneously. He likes his bureaux to be raised off the ground by legs or rollers. He loathes the ostentation of superfluous retainers on automobile footboards, and in fact, if he is civilized, ostentation of any sort. And his ideas on social structures and functions are manifested in the early periods of his history by his differentiating the duties of king, high priest, commander-in-chief, and master of ceremonies, and entrusting them to separate individuals.

How can we reconcile ideas so divergent? How can we unify such opposite sets of behaviour? Is there any law running through them all which will furnish a clue to their interpretation?

In their wild state zebras, when attacked, immediately form a circular group of which their heads are the centre and their heels the circumference. Obviously, unless they put their heads together they would be open to attack on more sides than one: an isolated animal cannot kick in all directions simultaneously. This habit is found to be adopted by domesticated zebras when the danger is apparent only, as, for example, when a person bringing food is not recognized as a friend but is mistaken for an enemy.* If group-action thus serves a social end in aiding the group and its component individuals to repel attack, why do we find certain types of group-action discarded and certain types retained in the most advanced societies? Evidently the group-action adopted to ensure safety is discarded because in the most advanced societies attack is less frequent or less to be expected than in the more primitive ones. (By "advanced" is here meant those which have progressed far on the road to complete civilization). For instance, in the above-mentioned case of the one bank clerk and eighteen customers, reversion to group-action would take place where the customer was an anarchist or other like person bent on dynamiting the building or stealing the money. In this case the protection of the bank takes the place of the protection of the customer (an asset in times of peace): the group (now inside the counter) is created for self-protective purposes by what I may call social phagocytosis.

*English lawyers will be reminded of the custom at the Inns of Court dinners on "Grand Nights" when, as the loving-cup is passed round, those on either side of the drinker stand up in order to protect him from being stabbed while in the defenceless position of burying his nose in the huge tankard—a danger now imaginary though once real.



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We thus get a clue to a part-explanation of the kind of conduct we are here considering. But this is a part-explanation only, for we have still to explain the facts of survival and of the existence of those groups which are not for purposes of defence. Group-action takes place in societies subject to attack, and in certain cases survives in those which have been, but are no longer, so subject, whilst other groups cannot be ascribed to this cause. What are these cases ?

In early types of society the army is the nation mobilized and the nation at peace is the demobilized army. But in later stages external forces, such as hostile raids, cause groups of part only of the nation to come together. These groups are regiments, battalions, etc. What is that common characteristic which differentiates them from the rest of the community ? It is their similarity to one another, natural or acquired, in physique, dress, weapons, actions, ideas, etc.—a general uniformity holding more with regard to this military group than with regard to the heterogeneous mass out of which it has been formed. It is in this fact of uniformity that the solution of the problem is to be found.

In this fascinating but curious universe we see forces acting on matter causing constant redistributions, or rather, we find persisting force, under its forms of matter and motion, causing perpetual changes. One of these changes is the production of differences in what was before homogeneous and of definiteness in what was before indefinite. This change is aided by segregation, a process which separates like from unlike units and brings them together in a group. How is this accomplished ? It is accomplished by the action of forces on mixed units ; those forces tending, in proportion as the units are unlike to deposit them in different places. If the units are the same, they will be differently affected by different forces ; if the forces are the same, they will act differently on unlike units. A good example is furnished by the Chinese process of winnowing, seen at certain seasons on the threshing-floors of villages and occasionally in open spaces in cities. As the mixed units in the tray are thrown up into the wind the heavier ones, if the wind is uniform, fall almost vertically, the lighter ones are carried a short distance, and the still lighter ones a greater distance ; whereas, if the wind is not uniform, the resulting groups vary in proportion.

The forces which act on the diverse units constituting humanity as a whole, and divide it into tribes and nations, are chiefly physical, psychological, and sociological. The climate and food of some regions are injurious to inhabitants of other



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regions, causing them to die out or to group themselves elsewhere. Mental differences also produce segregated groups; for example, the small groups of foreigners herded in settlements and concessions marked off from the larger groups of surrounding Chinese. Class-segregations, also, are due to the same cause, the broad distinctions between those trained to brain work and those trained to manual labour show respective community of character in each, leading to those engaged in like occupations dwelling together where possible, and to the formation of unions, societies, and associations, representing a sifting-out and grouping of like with like. This process may be traced out in detail, until we come down to the petty cliques of narrow-minded suburban and village life, of foreign communities in Eastern and other countries, and of drunkards and mischief-makers at club bars.* That marked sign of ill-breeding known as "putting personal questions," which is regarded by the Chinese as an act of courtesy rather than the reverse, is also indicative of the less-developed type of group-idea in that it implies that personal particulars are the common property of others than those whom they chiefly concern. The parasitism or commensalism vulgarly known as "sucking up" to persons of wealth or position is also an example of the lower type of group-action. The effects of the forces of the sociological environment may be illustrated by the re-grouping of portions of national territory or colonial possessions after a war, or by the creation of patriotic and unpatriotic groups in China as the result of actual and threatened Japanese aggression.

Of the groups resulting from the physical, psychological, and sociological environments we may distinguish two main kinds: which we may describe generically as arising from militarism and industrialism respectively. They survive, with an exception presently to be named, in proportion as the environing conditions are maintained. Thus, in societies where there is chronic fear of attack, either in national, family, or individual life, the grouping appropriate to the military *régime* (defensive and destructive) will obtain and probably predominate; whereas in societies long subject to peaceful conditions, external and internal, the type of group will bear a sympathetic and constructive

*How pronounced this segregation may become is well illustrated by the caste system in India. Under that system, water touched by a non-Brahman offered to a thirsty Brahman would desecrate the latter's whole life, even retrospectively. It is further illustrated by the fact that in some parts of the United States of America, whose principal harbour is guarded by a gigantic statue of Liberty, an editor risks getting shot if he prints opinions which diverge from those of his group.



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character. The industrial or constructive is easily distinguished from the military type. Instances are agricultural and other co-operative groups which have supplanted the more primitive type under which the labourer had to make his own implements, etc., co-operation in production, distribution, exchange, the groups known as guilds, trade unions, etc. Sufficient illustration of the working of the two types is furnished by the different attitudes adopted by members of communities living under the *régime* of status and those living under the *régime* of contract—in the former the working part of the community exists for the benefit of the fighting part, in the latter the fighting part exists mainly for the benefit of the working part. In these two lies the whole difference between compulsory and voluntary co-operation—between slavery and liberty.

China, in its earliest historical times, was affected by these various forces, which divided it first into feudal groups. Subject later to forces of a centripetal kind, these feudal groups, or states, became welded into one large state, or monarchy, the environing conditions necessitating, however, the sub-division of this into provinces, districts, etc.; but the ideas appropriate to the earlier feudal state survived in innumerable cases, and may be traced through the monarchical period down to the present day.

Feudalism is the child of war. Hence those groups resulting from the feudalistic *régime* bear a character appertaining to predatory, destructive, defensive, or non-progressive phases of human evolution. The survival of feudalistic ideas (which predominated during half the duration of Chinese history: 2357-221 B.C.) into and through the monarchical period explains the character of most of the groups existing in recent and present times. They largely bear a defensive character. However much it may be losing, or in some cases have lost, its original meaning, the group of attendants which gathers round a customer in a Chinese shop is not the result of the herding instinct, but is for purposes of protection and defence.* To this same motive—in some cases more conspicuous, in others less—may be ascribed most of the other groupings or group-ideas commonly seen or manifested, such as "howling the street," feeding ricksha coolies who bring guests to banquets, middlemen and go-betweens, living in clans, punishing a criminal's relatives, policemen, junks,

*In order to avoid misunderstanding it should be added that generally in military communities or in times of warfare the grouping would be egoistical: defensive protection of the group; whilst in industrial communities or in times of peace it would be ego-altruistical: protection of one who may benefit the group.



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etc., parading in pairs, the dread of isolation, etc. This type of group has existed alongside of the industrial type, and has been greater or smaller than it in proportion as the society has been predominantly militant or predominantly industrial. But it does not, of course, follow that because a nation has advanced a long way on the road to civilization all its groupings are of the industrial, constructive order. Anarchists, nihilists, Bolsheviks, irreconcilables, destructionists, belong to the lower type which, as civilization progresses, must die out or be eliminated by the community in self-defence. The reduction of society to its primitive elements in order that it may be rebuilt "nearer to the heart's desire," might—apart from the untenable doctrine that the innocent must suffer with the guilty for the sake of "the cause"—be a proposition worth considering were there any reasonable probability of the ideal society growing out of the ashes—of the new development taking the course its promoters predict.

Before concluding, we must briefly notice the cases in which group-actions and group-ideas survive when the conditions which were their *raison d'être* no longer exist. Why should Chinese bank clerks imply by their conduct—unconsciously perhaps, but still imply—that a man engaged in so industrial or peaceful an act as cashing a cheque is in danger of his life, or why should English lawyers make a like implication when they pass round the "loving-cup" during the unmilitant occupation of dining together? It is not enough (though true) to say that "custom dies hard." To get a satisfactory explanation we may observe the analogies in the physiological world, where such useless things as tail-stumps in man, appendices, little toes (useful now only for the practically obsolete purpose of grasping with the feet), etc., survive though the conditions warranting their existence have ceased to be. Obviously, though superfluous, they are in most cases either harmless or not positively injurious; and in those cases where, as in that of the appendix, they may be, and often are, so dangerous as to imperil the life of the organism, their wholesale removal would entail greater injury than their continued existence: it is better, on the whole, to let evolution deal with them in her slow, but sure, way.*

* Examples of parts which *have* disappeared where no longer required are the two strong cords running along the top of the neck supporting the head in animals which walk on all fours (without which the head would drop onto the knees), extinct in those animals (including man) which walk on their hind legs only, but quite conspicuous in the elephant; the transparent eye-covering which protects (from twigs, etc., in a forest) the eyes of birds in rapid flight, and which enables eagles to gaze at the sun without being dazzled; the gizzard in toothless creatures; the water-bag in the camel; a large proportion of the four thousand muscles of small insects; etc.



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In those societies which are progressing toward complete civilization, the former (militant) type of group-action must, as already stated, tend to die out and be replaced more and more by the latter (industrial) type. In those societies which are decadent we may expect to see increasing reversion to the former type. If all societies eventually reach complete civilization, we may look for the elimination not only of segregation for defensive and destructive purposes, but also for the reduction to a minimum of segregation for mutual aid, as mutual aid becomes less necessary and each individual is able to attain his ends by his own bodily and mental exertions. The latter type will, of course, never die out completely, at least until human societies cease to be, because it is for mutual aid and constructive purposes that it exists, but as societies moving rhythmically along the road to civilization, now up now down, are apt to drift into Socialism, under which form of *régime* there is too much regulation and too much dependence—too much group-action, in fact—so, when they recover from that state and, returning to the great white road of civilization, make progress toward Individualism, will there be more self-reliance and less dependence upon others—less group-action. As in the human body there must be a properly-proportioned adjustment of functions in order that the life may be carried on from moment to moment, any over-tax of an individual organ or group of organs throwing the machine out of balance and, if persisted in, threatening its destruction, so in the ideal civilized state group-action and individual-action will be properly proportioned. But, taken as a whole, those societies will have advanced farthest, and be more likely to become completely civilized, in which individual-action predominates. As compared with individuals, groups do not reason, are mentally inferior, irritable, impulsive, mobile, credulous, ingenuous, apt to exaggerate, intolerant, dictatorial, conservative, immoral.*

The group-action now seen in China is thus the outcome of that Force which permeates all matter acting on certain units in certain conditions. Had the units or the conditions been different, the groupings would either have been different or

* For example, the group which crucified Christ possessed all these qualities. It was the individual, Pilate, not the raucous group, who asked: "Why, what evil hath He done?" Note, also, the group-answer to that question.

[While I am revising this paper for the press my eye falls on the following sentence in *The Lizard God:* "I wanted them to quit their damned foolishness and tried to explain, but it was no use. You can't teach a mob to have sense." Also this, in this morning's paper: "Mob opinion is invariably ill-informed."]



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non-existent. The Westerner who thinks that everyone in the countries he goes to should act as he does, though possessing different ideas and living under different conditions, is, though his ignorance conceals the fact, often doing himself harm and the people among whom he lives no good. The universe does not exist merely in order that traders may make money. It existed long before they came into being, and will exist long after they are dead. The white man who goes to the country of the yellow or black man is generally impatient and often angry because the latter acts and thinks differently from what he does. But his impatience or anger should be curbed by the thought that these seemingly incongruous beings are the agents of that unknown Energy which acts on him as well as on them, but acts differently because their physical, psychological, and sociological environments are different. Had he been autochthonous to those conditions he would have clung as tenaciously as they do to the type of conduct which now repels him. The attitude of the Westerner is all the more unreasonable in view of the fact that, as I will endeavour to demonstrate in another paper, the Western nations are now leading China not toward, but away from, true civilization. In moving about among these people it is the part of wisdom and the duty of the civilized to learn from them how to suppress that impatience and often thoughtless action which has been the cause of so much misunderstanding, blundering injustice. Rather than give vent to his feelings the white man would do well to imitate the Chinese in this respect at least, namely, that the latter was always a gentleman, even in the trying circumstances of feeling the unpleasant effects of the semi-group action of having his queue pulled by the gamins of a London street, though unfortunately he has of late years been losing that admirable quality in proportion as he has come in contact with the more brutal manners of the West. Instead of endeavouring to attain his ends, whether right or wrong, by brute force he should use his superfluous energy in endeavouring to substitute the constructive for the destructive type of group-action as a step towards the promotion of individual as contrasted with group-action, for it is through Individualism, and not through any such groupings as Communism or Socialism, that we may hope for the salvation of mankind.



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# LE PÈRE LAZARE CATTANEO*

## Le Fondateur de la Chrétienté de Chang-haï

De la noble et ancienne famille des Cattaneo, le P. Lazare naquit à Sazzano, près de Gênes. Dès son entrée dans la Compagnie, il sollicita avec ardeur les Missions d'Outre-Mer et les obtint du P. Général en 1588. D'après un catalogue de 1622, il avait étudié les belles-lettres pendant un an, trois ans la philosophie, deux ans la théologie, qu'il acheva en son particulier. Après quelque temps passé à Goa comme ministre du collège, et deux ans sur la côte de la Pêcherie, qu'il gouverna comme supérieur, il fut mandé à Macao, où on l'appliqua à l'étude du chinois.

Le P. de Petris étant mort, et le P. Ricci restant seul à Chao-tcheou, le P. Cattaneo lui fut donné pour compagnon. Il gouverna cette église après le premier départ du P. Mathieu pour Nankin, et eut la douleur de la voir pillée et saccagée par une troupe de furieux. Bientôt son supérieur l'appela près de lui pour l'accompagner à Pèkin, et, pendant la route, il aida le P. Ricci à composer son dictionnaire tonique. Ce fut lui, avec le P. Ricci, et non le P. de Pantoja, comme le dit M. Perny dans sa *Grammaire chinoise*, qui, le premier de tous les Européens, imagina de représenter les cinq tons ordinaires de la langue chinoise par les notations encore en usage aujourd'hui, du moins très

* Né en 1566, entré dans la Compagnie en 1581, arrivé dans la mission en 1594, il meurt le 19 janvier 1640; il est enterré à Hang-tcheou.

*N.B.*—Ouvrages principaux cités dans cette notice: Bartoli, *Cina*, Rome, 1660, p. 450, 1141.—Couplet, *Catalogus patrum L. I... in Sinis*, Dilingen, 1687.—Du Halde, *Description de la Chine*, t. III, Paris, 1745.—Du Jarric, *Histoire des Indes*, Bordeaux, 1608, t. III, chap. LIV.—Semedo, *Histoire de la Chine*, Lyon, 1667, p. 262, 282, 336.—Trigault, *Expédition chrestienne en Chine*, Lyon, 1616, p. 538, 641, 914, 1014.—*Relations* de 1621 et 1622.



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communément. "Ils instituèrent donc cinq virgules ou marques d'accents par lesquels les Nostres peussent entendre comme il falloit prononcer chaque mot : car ils remarquèrent qu'il y avoit autant de diversité d'accents." * De retour à Nankin, il fut envoyé à Macao pour informer les Supérieurs majeurs de ce premier voyage. Il en revint incontinent avec le P. Jacques de Pantoja ; et quand le P. Ricci s'éloigna pour la dernière fois de la capitale du Sud, il laissa le soin de cette chrétienté au P. Lazare, qui surveillait également celles de Nan-tchang et de Chao-tcheou.

En 1604, le P. Lazare se rendit de nouveau à Macao avec le P. Emmanuel Diaz (senior) qui revenait de Pékin ; tous deux étaient appelés par le P. Visiteur Valignani. Il y resta pour rétablir sa santé, et en même temps pour prendre soin des intérêts de la Mission. Le P. Visiteur l'avait déjà choisi pour son socius, mais la mort du P. Valignani empêcha le P. Cattaneo de quitter Macao. Ce fut vers cette époque qu'il visita le Collège et la Mission de Malacca.

Cependant, un orage terrible allait éclater sur sa tête et menacer toute la colonie de Macao. Les Hollandais, jaloux des glorieuses expéditions des Portugais dans les Indes, envoyaient de hardis forbans porter la désolation dans les îles de la Sonde et dans les Moluques. Peu contents de ces riches pillages, ils tentèrent de s'emparer de Formose et jetèrent des yeux de convoitise sur Macao. Les Portugais songeaient à se fortifier, mais les Chinois, toujours soupçonneux, prirent l'alarme. Ils prétendirent que ces étrangers avaient comploté de s'emparer de la Chine ; déjà, disait-on, ils avaient élevé plusieurs citadelles, ramassé dans les provinces des troupes, qui n'attendaient plus que le dernier signal. Le P. Cattaneo était désigné pour être empereur.†

D'autre part, quelques mauvais chrétiens de Macao, pour se venger des Pères qui n'avaient pas voulu, dans une circonstance officielle, prononcer contre la justice en leur faveur, augmentaient encore ces troubles. Des bruits ridicules étaient semés et propagés avec art de tous côtés. La populace s'insurgea et mit le feu à l'église portugaise, qui fut pillée.

Un lettré publia alors un roman plein de fiel et de malice, dans lequel il représenta le P. Cattaneo comme prétendant à la

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* Trigault, p. 577.

† "Le P. Lazare Cattaneo, dit Semedo, était pour lors arrivé de la Chine à Macao, homme bien fait et puissant de corps, actif, de bonne mine, et vénérable avec sa longue barbe, et tel que ceux qui ne le connaissaient pas le jugeaient beaucoup plus propre à porter une pique qu'à lire un bréviaire."



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souveraine autorité ; les Japonais, les Malais étaient ses auxiliaires ; il avait dans l'intérieur un grand nombre de partisans, et il n'attendait pour agir que l'arrivée d'une flotte puissante. Répandu avec profusion, ce livre excita une terreur panique : toute la population chinoise de Macao s'enfuit sur le continent ; à Canton, on arma les jonques de guerre, on organisa les milices, on renforça les patrouilles, on redoubla de vigilance.

Les Portugais étaient dans une situation des plus critiques ; ils étaient menacés de mourir de faim. Les autorités envoyèrent une ambassade pour tenter un rapprochement ; à son tour le Vice-Roi envoya à Macao un mandarin intelligent pour examiner l'état des choses. En arrivant à la colonie, ce magistrat demanda à voir le P. Cattaneo ; il visita avec lui son arsenal, qui n'était autre que la bibliothèque, et "quand il fut entré, le P. Cattaneus lui dict : 'Voilà les armes avec lesquelles j'aspire à l'Empire de Chine.' Et quand il fut venu dans les escholes : 'Voilà, dit-il, les soldats avec lesquels j'attaquerai et dompterai vostre roïaume.' Le capitaine entendit bien par là ce que nos Pères estoient." Il fut bien vite rassuré, et la paix se rétablit.*

Tout ceci se passait en 1606. Cette même année, le P. Lazare retourna dans sa Mission avec le P. de Ursis ; mais, arrivé à Nan-tchang, tandis que son compagnon poursuivait sa route pour Pékin, il reçut ordre de s'arrêter à Nankin. Le célèbre Paul Siu Ko-lao vint l'y trouver en 1608, le priant d'évangéliser son pays natal, la ville de Chang-Haï, où il s'était retiré à la mort de son père. Cette ville etait déjà importante à cause de son commerce.

"Les murailles de la ville, dit le P. Trigault, ont deux milles de circuit ; toutefois il y a autant de maisons aux faubourgs qu'en la ville. C'est pourquoi elle contient environ 40,000 familles... Dans la seule jurisdiction de la ville il y a 300,000 habitants et elle paye tous les ans 150,000 escus d'or au Roy en argent pesé et autant en riz. Ce terroir est très fertile en riz, et principalement en coton dont on faict plusieurs draps..... C'est un peuple subtil de nature et un peu remuant. Il a la réputation de produire de beaux esprits et a beaucoup d'escholiers et de lettrez... L'air est très bon, ce qui est cause que les habitants y vivent plus longtemps qu'autre part : un homme de soixante ans n'est pas réputé parmi les vieillards ; ils vivent quasi ordinairement quatre-vingts ou quatre-vingt-dix ans ; on en trouve aussi plusieurs qui passent cent ans." †

* Trigault, p. 90.

† Trigault p. 1015-1016.



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La famille Siu possédait, dans l'enceinte murée, une résidence princière, qui devint le berceau de la foi dans ces contrées. Le P. Lazare convertit toute la famille, et bientot une riche chapelle, élevée par les soins de Dr. Paul, y attira les Chinois distingués de la ville. Siu Ko-lao d'ailleurs, par sa haute position, et surtout par sa science et sa vertu, avait une si grande influence sur ses concitoyens que la maison devint le centre d'une propagande active et d'une chrétienté florissante.

Notre-Seigneur bénit le ministère de P. Cattaneo. Dans les deux ans qu'il demeura à Chang-Haï, il baptisa 200 païens et prepara le terrain pour la moisson abondante qui suivit son départ. Afin d'affirmer la foi naissante et d'animer le zèle de ces nouveaux chrétiens, il institua une congrégation sous le patronage de la Mère de Dieu, et lui donna les mêmes règles que le P. Ricci avait données à la sienne, à Pékin: il fit même faire aux plus avancés les Exercices de Saint Ignace pendant huit jours. Dieu se plaisait à recompenser la foi des néophytes. Des malades, sur le point de mourir, recouvraient la santé aussitôt qu'ils étaient baptisés, et d'autres, en vénérant une simple croix, au grand étonnement des infidèles. La même croix chassait les démons qui tourmentaient les gentils. Une dame, qui en était molestée, et en recevait mille outrages, fut délivrée par la vertu de la croix, et ensuite baptisée. Ce fut la première chrétienne de Chang-Haï.*

Un bon vieux de quatre-vingt-un ans avait passé toute sa vie à étudier et à pratiquer les diverses sectes de la Chine, sans rencontrer dans aucune ni la paix de l'esprit, ni de solides raisons, ni même l'apparence de la vérité. La première fois qu'il entendit le P. Cattaneo, il fut si heureux qu'il se déclara humblement son disciple, et bientôt l'aida à propager la foi. A peine eut-il reçu le baptême qu'il lui amena une troupe nombreuse d'enfants, de jeunes gens, d'hommes faits de sa parenté qu'il avait instruits, et qu'il présentait au baptême.†

Le nouveau supérieur, le P. Longobardi, envoya Cattaneo de Chang-Haï à Hang-tcheou, capitale du Tché-kiang, pour y fonder une résidence, avec le P. Nicolas Trigault, nouvellement arrivé, et le F. Sébastien Fernandez. En arrivant, ils convertirent un jeune idolâtre, qui vint de lui-même s'offrir à eux; puis, aidés par le Dr. Léon, qui avait reçu le baptême à Pekin, ils amenèrent à la foi le Dr. Michel, autre mandarin d'un rang élevé et très célèbre. Cette conquête en détermina d'autres, et la chrétienté de Hang-tcheou put rivaliser avec celle de Chang-Haï

* *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*—Bartoli *loc. cit.* p. 492.
† Bartoli, p. 492



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pour le nombre, la qualité et la piété des néophytes. Le P. Cattaneo les dirigeait toutes deux avec les mêmes soins.

Pendant la persécution de 1616, il s'abstint de paraître trop ouvertement en public. En 1620, il fondait un troisième centre à Kia-ting, au Kiang-sou, patrie du Dr. Ignace, qu'il avait depuis peu converti. "Il y ouvrit une école, car c'est un lieu fort commode pour apprendre la langue en sa perfection. Le Dr. Ignace y bastit une maison ; la chapelle étoit le lieu le plus dévotieux que l'on peust souhaitter ; les chambres, les offices étoient si bien disposés qu'il sembloit avoir veu nos collèges qui sont en l'Europe. Le jardin mesme n'y manquoit pas, le vivier et le petit bocage. Mais le principal estoit qu'il y avoit un si grand repos par tout le voisinage" qu'il était une retraite autant pour la dévotion que pour les études. Et le P. Ferreira vint y enseigner le chinois "à deux qui estoient venus de nouveau, sçavoir le P. Jean Terentio et le P. François Heurtado. Or encore que l'on eust commandé à nos Pères de vaquer plus tost aux estudes, que non pas à la prédication, néanmoins on en a déjà baptisé soixante."*

En 1622, il y eut à Hang-tcheou 191 adultes baptisés, entre autres plusieurs lettrés et personnes de qualité. "Un de ceux-là étoit natif du Fokien, et prédicateur de la secte des lettrez. Il eut quelque cognoissance de la loy de Dieu, tellement qu'il se résolut de venir icy pour s'en instruire davantage. Il en parla à un des Pères, et en demeura si content qu'il se résolut d'embrasser nostre saincte foy, mais parce qu'il avoit vescu plus de soixante ans en une aultre loy, il s'adonna avec plus grande diligence, pour se faire instruire de nos mystères, et aïant receu le sainct Baptesme, devant que de s'en retourner en son pays, il fit provision d'images, d'agnus Dei, de chapelets et de livres qui traittent de nostre foy, afin, se disoit-il, de se rendre prédicateur de la vérité, comme il l'avoit esté du mensonge, et de réparer les fautes de sa vie passée, par ce peu qui lui restoit." †

En 1627, le Dr. Michel Yang faisait bâtir à Hang-tcheou une église et une résidence. C'est là que le P. Cattaneo passa les dernières années de sa vie. Il était si faible qu'il pouvait à peine se soutenir sur ses jambes et faire quelques pas, appuyé sur le bras d'un compagnon. Mais si vives que fussent ses douleurs, il conserva jusqu'au dernier jour la liberté de la tête pour penser, et la liberté de la main pour écrire, sans jamais cesser de travailler à la conversion des âmes. Et en 1634 et 1635, il avait 148 et 176 baptêmes d'adultes.‡

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* *Relations* de 1621, p. 121. † *Relations* de 1622, p. 212. ‡ Faria y Sonza, suite de *Semedo*, années 1634-1635.



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Deux ans avant sa mort, il ne pouvait plus remuer le corps et restait étendu sur un fauteuil. En le voyant en cet état, le P. Jean Froez, son compagnon, persuadé qu'il n'irait pas loin, prépara un cercueil d'avance pour l'ensevelir ; mais ce fut lui qui mourut le premier, et il fut deposé dans la bière qu'il avait achetée pour un autre. Enfin, âgé de quatre-vingts ans, le P. Cattaneo alla jouir du repos éternel, le 19 janvier 1640, laissant des exemples d'une rare vertu, et surtout d'une patience et d'une résignation admirables : car jamais on ne put saisir dans ses paroles la moindre plainte, ni sur son visage le plus léger signe de mécontentement. Il fut enterré au lieu dit "Fang-tsin," avec une magnificence extraordinaire, par les chrétiens de Hang-tcheou et de Chang-Haï.

Le P. Cattaneo a laissé les ouvrages suivants.

1. 靈性詒主 *Ling sin i tchou.* Introductio animae ad Deum. 1 vol. Conduite des âmes à la connaissance de Dieu.
2. 悔罪要記 *Hoei tsuei iao ki.* 1 vol. De la contrition et de la douleur des péchés.
3. Le P. Couplet dans sa notice sur le P. Cattaneo dit : "Prelum exspectant : De altera vita. 2 vol." Je n'en connais pas d'exemplaire imprimé.
4. Couplet indique encore : "Vocabularium ordine alphabetico Europaeo more concinnatum." C'est le dictionnaire qu'il composa avec le P. Ricci, et dont Kircher dit (*China illustrata* p.118), "Cujus exemplar apud me est quod et libeater publicae darem, si sumptus in eo faciendi suppetereat." (cf. Trigault l.c. 977).
5. Trigault (l.c.) mentionne encore "plusieurs autres traitez par le moïen desquels les Nostres pussent à l'advenir plus facilement apprendre le langage du pays."
6. Un mémoire en chinois pour se justifier devant les mandarins des calomnies, dont il avait été l'objet. Imprimé à Macao en 1606 (Trigault l.c. 912.)
7. Cardoso dans son Agiologio lusitano, tome 3, p.734 le donne comme l'auteur des cartas annuas de Chine pour l'année 1631 ; (cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothéque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* tome 2, col. 896 sqq.)

AL. PFISTER, S.J. (J. DE LA SERVIÈRE, S.J.)



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# "THE WONDER OF THE CAPITAL"

## Roughly Translated

## BY

## A. C. MOULE.

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(*Continued from page 17*)

Besides the localities which will, it is hoped, be dealt with later in a map, there are some points to note in the first chapter (pp. 15-17). Certain words were marked with a query and I am still not perfectly certain of their meaning. The *Mêng liang lu*, whose author incorporated almost the whole of the *Tu ch'êng chi shêng* in his much longer book and simplified some of the difficult places, is invaluable as a commentary. Two examples of *kuan p'o* were quoted from this book on p. 16, but a more important case had escaped me. Under the heading 夜市 or *Night Markets* we find: 大街關撲如糖蜜糕灌藕時新果子像生花果魚鮮豬羊蹄肉及細畫絹扇細色紙扇漏塵扇柄異色影花扇銷金裙段背心段小兒銷金帽兒逍遙巾四時玩具沙戲兒春冬撲賣玉棚小毬燈, etc. etc. (*Mêng liang lu*, c. 13 fol. 7r°). From this it would seem that, in spite of the example from the *Mêng hua lu*, *Kuan p'o* had at Hang-chou some connexion with *p'o mai* and described the sale by some kind of auction or perhaps, lottery of sweets and other delicacies and toys and so forth. See also *Wu lin chiu shih* c. 3 fol. 1r°, 買賣皆無所禁晝楫輕舫旁午如織至於果蔬羹酒關撲宜男戲具．．．謂之湖中土宜. Secondly, *ching chi jên* does not seem in this place to mean a *broker* or *agent* (牙儈), but, as translated, a *merchant* or, perhaps, a *retailer*. The *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 8r°, has 又有經紀人攜．．．架兒, which suggests pedlars. 小經紀人 *Hsiao ching chi jên* seems to have this meaning also, as will be seen by comparing these extracts from the two accounts of the new year festivities: 京尹乘小提轎．．．凡遇小經紀人必犒數千謂之買市 (*Wu lin chiu shih* c. 2, fol. 14 r°.) and 十五夜帥臣出街．．．特犒街坊買賣之人 (*Mêng liang lu*, c. 1, fol. 3 v°). The first of these sentences shows incidentally that 買市 *mai shih* is a technical phrase, so that it is wrongly translated "buyers and sellers" on p. 16, and it may have been this ceremony of giving presents to the street dealers which the emperor liked to see.



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*Mai shih* was one of the sights of the tenth month. *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 10, fol. 12). *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 12-15, gives a list of a 177 *hsiao ching chi* peculiar to Hang-chou, of which the great majority are things or trades which might well be sold or practised in the streets. Thirdly, for 龕客糖果 the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 2 v°, substitutes 泉龕糖蜜 "sweetmeats from Ch'uan chou and Fu chou," so confirming the version given.

II.—"Business Firms.

諸行

市肆謂之行(音杭)者因官府科索而得此名不以其物大小但合充用者皆置爲行雖醫卜亦有職醫剋擇之差占則與市肆當行同也內亦有不當行而借名之者如酒行食飯行是也又有名爲團者如城西之花團泥路之青果團江干之羣團後市街之柑子團是也其他工伎之人或名爲作如篦刀作腰帶作金銀鏤作鈒作是也又有異名者如七寶謂之骨董行浴堂謂之香水行是也大抵都下萬物所聚如官巷之花所聚花朵冠梳釵環領抹極其工巧古所無也都下市肆名家馳譽者如中瓦前早兒水雜賣場前甘豆湯如戈家蜜煎兒官巷口光家羹湯金門瀉肺中瓦前職家羊飯彭家油鐸南瓦宣家台衣張家糰子候潮門顧四笛大瓦子邱家簞簜之類

"The business houses which are called *hang* (the sound is *hang* [and not *hsing*]) obtain this name from their official status without regard to the extent of their stocks; but all those which employ men under government contract are reckoned *hang*. Even the physicians and diviners, if they have an official position, rank then equally with the business houses as *hang*.* Among

*The exact sense of the phrases 官府科索. 但合充用者. 亦有職醫剋擇之差占 has quite eluded me. I am not even sure that my paraphrase is right, but it seems on the whole to be justified by the corresponding passage in the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 2r°. 市肆謂之團行者蓋因官府同買而立此名不以物之大小皆置爲團行雖醫卜工役亦有差使則與當行同也然雖差役如官司和僱支給雇米反勝于民間僱倩工錢而工役之輩則歡樂而往也. The phrases in question thus seem to indicate that the employers of the firms which were called *hang* or *t'uan* were paid out of government loans on a system known in the T'ang dynasty as 和僱 *ho ku* (cf. *ho mai*, p. 16 above), and revived by Wang An-shih under the name of 募役 *mo i* or 僱役 *ku i* as a remedy for the injustice of forced labour. Cf. *Tz'ŭ-yüan* s.v. 和 (以和僱爲稱. 而不償其傭.); 差; 僱 (王安石作僱役法. 令民輸錢於官. 更募人代役.); 募 (募人充官役也. . . . 凡有課役 . . . 各以鄉戶等第差充. 人民苦之. 王安石乃立募役法. 出錢募人充役. 不願充役者輸錢. 謂之助役錢) and 傭 (雇代也).



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the *hang* there are also some which are not *hang* but have borrowed the name, like the wine *hang* or the cooked food *hang*. There are also what are named companies, as are the Flower Company west of the city, the Olive Company on the unpaved road, the Salt Fish Company on the River-side, or the Orange Company in the Hou shih street.* The members of other crafts may be called Makers, as are the Comb Makers, Girdle Makers, Gilt and Silver'd Goods Makers, and Inlay Makers. There are also those with unexpected † names, as one calls jewellers Ku tung (*antiques*) *hang*, or the bath houses one calls Scent *hang*. Speaking generally the capital is the place where everything is brought together, like the flowers, hats, combs [ornamental], hair-pins, rings, collars, head-bands, of extreme ingenuity and modern invention, which are gathered in the flower *hang* in the Kuan lane. The well-known establishments which value their reputation among the business houses of the capital are such as the Chestnut Syrup [shop] in front of the Middle *Wa*, the Sweet Bran Soup [shop] in front of the Miscellaneous Goods Market,‡ or as the Ko family's Honey-jujubes, the Kuang family's Broth at the mouth of the Kuan lane, the fruit [shop] at the Great *Wa-tzŭ*, the cooked meat [shop] in front of the Shou-tz'ŭ Palace, the Five Sisters Sung for Fish Broth outside the Ch'ien-t'ang Gate ; or the Hashed Lights [?] at the Yung-chin Gate ; in front of the Middle *Wa* the Chih family's Mutton Dinners, the P'êng family for Water-proof Boots, at the

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* The positions of these Companies are better defined in the *Lin-an chih*, c. 19, fol. 18, and *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 1: the Flower Company was outside the 錢塘 Ch'ien-t'ang gate, and a second was at the Kuan-hsiang k'ou; the unpaved or earth road was inside the 候潮 Hou-ch'ao gate, and was perhaps the "new road" of the first sentence of I (p. 15); the 'River-side' is defined as at the 渾水閘 Hun shui cha, one of the three sluices (渾水, 清水, and 龍山) then in use for flushing the city canals with water from the river. These sluices have long been out of use, but the masonry was still standing in good order in 1906, and they are shown in the map of Lin-an in Bishop G. E. Moule's *Notes on Hangchow*, 1907, and in the thirteenth century maps in the *Lin-an chih*. The Hou shih street retains its old name and position, west of the Great Street and behind the old mosque. The mosque, which was built A.D. 1281, serves to fix within a few feet the ancient position just there of both the Hou shih and the Great Street. The words *hang* and *t'uan* were interchangeable as is seen from the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 19, fol. 8 ; 青果行獻時果社.

†Or perhaps "undescriptive"; *different* from what the goods sold would lead one to expect the name to be.

‡This Market was east of the 通江 T'ung chiang Bridge. See *Mêng liang lu*, c 7, fol. 2vo.



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South *Wa* the Hsüan family for [? Edible] Moss, and the Chang family's Dumplings; Ku Ssŭ's Flutes, or the Ch'iu family's Pipes at the Great *Wa-tzŭ*.*

VIII.—"Holidays and Gatherings.†

文士則有西湖詩社此社非其他社集之比乃行都士夫寓居及詩人會多出名士隱語則有南北壓齋西齋皆依江右謎法習詩之流萃而爲齋　又有社川弩射弓社　奉佛則有上天竺寺光明會皆城內外富家助備齎襯施利以備本寺一歲之用　又有茶湯會則往彼以茶湯助緣供應會善香花鐙燭齋會此會每遇諸山寺院上天竺寺光明會皆城內外富家助備齎襯施利以備本寺一歲之用　又有茶湯會則往彼以茶湯助緣供應會善香花鐙燭齋會此會每遇諸山寺院職鞠打毬社川弩射弓社　奉佛則有江右謎法習詩之流萃而爲齋　又有名士隱語則有南北壓齋西齋皆依之比乃行都士夫寓居及詩人會多出文士則有西湖詩社此社非其他社集

社會

經會　各有方所日分每歲行都神祠誕夜西湖每歲四月放生會其餘諸寺入寺諷經聽法歲終則建藥師會七晝月十七日則集男士十八日則集女人城中太平興國傳法寺淨業會每辰迎獻則有酒行　錦體社八仙社漁父習閒社神鬼社小女童像生叫聲社過雲社奇巧飲食社花果社七寶考古社皆中外奇珍異貨馬社豪貴緋綠清樂此社風流最勝

*The above noted houses (市肆名家有名者) are given identically the same in the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 13, fol. 3v°. except that 元子 Yüan tzŭ is substituted for 糰子 t'uan tzŭ. No dictionary at my disposal tells me the meaning of 灌肺 *Kuan fei* or of 台衣 *t'ai i*. I have supposed that they may have some connexion with 灌腸 *Kuan ch'ang* "minced tripe" and 苔衣 *t'ai i* "moss" respectively, but I may be quite wrong. *Kuan fei* looks also as if it might have some connexion with 水肺 *shui fei*, which the *Tz'ŭ yüan* gives as a synonym for 海參 *Hai ts'an*, the sea-slug 香藥灌肺 and 灌腸 are the third and fourth in the list of eatables (市食) *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 7; and the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 7 records a 灌肺嶺 Kuan fei ling bridge (fol. 3v°.) and lane (fol. 10v°.) Ku ssŭ meant perhaps "the fourth brother Ku." Many of the performers who are immortalized in *Wu lin chiu shih* c. 6, fol. 19, are thus numbered, 沈二, 葛四, 耿四, etc. The *ti* at that time was probably a vertical flute like that which is now commonly called *hsiao*, though the horizontal flute was not unknown. The *pi-li*, of which the descriptions are very vague, was perhaps a straight bamboo pipe with a double reed. Both instruments are mentioned again on fol. 8, 9. Cf. *Journal N.C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 84, 151-155. The author in his Preface (p. 14 above) apologizes for not having chosen his words; but in fact he chose so many strange words, names of eatables, wines, etc., etc., that I have not been able to get the next instalment ready in time and so give a rough version of the easier passages with which the book ends, hoping to fill up the five missing chapters later.

†社 *Shê* is no doubt, as the *Tz'ŭ Yüan* says, an abbreviation of 社日 *Shê jih*, "a day on which one makes offerings to the God of the Earth." But *shê hui*, like *holiday*, seems very largely to have lost its religious meaning, though the days, as in England, kept the memory of their religious origin at least in their dates. *Shê*, *hui* and *chi*, have also the meaning of a *Fair*, or *Market*, as in 時果社 note p. above.



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"For scholars there is the Poetry Festival on the West Lake. This festival is unlike the other festival gatherings. And the scholars of the temporary capital and sojourners and poets have in the past produced many famous literary men.*

"For riddles and allegory there are the South and North *Hou* Schools and the West School, all modelled on the enigma methods of West of the River. Those who write verses gather together and form a School.†

"There are also Football and Polo Holidays, and Water-cross-bow and Archery Holidays.‡

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* This apparently awkward sentence simply means, I suppose, that the literary fame of Hang-chou is great, and depends largely on poets like Po Chü-i and Su Tung-p'o who were not natives of the place.

† 齋 *Chai* or 齋舍 *Chai shê* is a hall attached to a college or temple for meditation or literary gatherings. Here the word is used for the festival gatherings held in such halls. *School* is not a good rendering, but will perhaps serve. Of the six *chai shê* rebuilt in the twelfth century the third was called 享厚齋 Tun hou chai (*Linan chih*, c. 56, fol. 3r°), but beyond this I have found no trace of the *chai* mentioned here. *Chiang yu* normally means the right or, as the Chinese characteristically say, west bank of the River, "looking at it from the north." Couvreur (1904) s.v. 右, explains 右 *yu*, perhaps by accident, as "le côté oriental," but usually *yu* is west and 左 *tso* is east. Possibly, however, when the court was at Hang-chou, they "looked at it from the South," and one might guess that the author, who was himself on the right bank of the River and constantly refers to the customs of the old capital, intended the east or north side of the River. But I know no authority for such a meaning of *Chiang yu*, and among the experts in enigma (廋謎) in *Wu liu chiu shih*, c. 6, fol. 22v°, it is significant that we find 周月巖 (江西人) "Chou Yüeh-yen, a *Chiang hsi* man."

‡ For Football and Polo as played in China see Professor Giles, *Adversaria Sinica* I, p. 87-98: and *Tz'ŭ yüan* s.v. 蹴. Football seems to have consisted kicking a ball through a small hole in an ornamental framework between two uprights, and beyond the general likeness of the goal and the fact there were two opposing teams of sixteen men each, it was quite unlike our game. Polo, on the other hand, seems to have been the game that is still played. At Hang-chou it was played in front of the 羣仙繪幅樓 Ch'ün hsien hui fu lou in the second month. See *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 10, fol. 9r°. Cf. c. 4, fol. 24, where the names of 12 foot-ball players 築毬 are given, and c. 6, fol. 26. 川弩 Ch'uan nu was a water-crossbow (whatever that may be), as is seen from the *Mêng liang lu*, c. 19, fol. 7vo. 更有蹴踘打毬射水弩社. The same book, c. 1, fol. 2, shows that archery was practised at the new year festival. The *Tz'ŭ yüan*, it is fair to add, gives no explanation of 水弩 *shui nu* except that it is the name of an insect (蟲名); and our author himself has written 穿弩子 ch'uan nu tzŭ for 川弩 ch'uan nu on fol. 11r° above.



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"If one is a Buddhist then there is the Kuang-ming Gathering at the Upper T'ien-chu monastery,* when all the wealthy families inside and outside the city help to prepare incense and flowers, lanterns and candles, giving gifts and spending money to provide for the needs of this monastery for the whole year.

"There are also Tea and Soup Gatherings. For these Gatherings whenever anyone of all the monasteries and convents on the hills holds a Gathering† then people go there with tea and soup to help and minister to the pious at the Gathering.

"At the Ching-yeh (? Moral cleansing) Gatherings at the T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo preaching monastery in the city, men meet on the 17th day and women on the 18th day of every month. They go to the monastery to chant prayers and listen to a sermon. At the end of the year the Medicine Master's Festival is kept up for seven days and nights.‡

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*It is hard to be sure in this place whether 會 *hui* is plural or singular. *Kuan-ming* or Radiance, which seems to have been an attribute of 如來 Ju-lai (*Fa yüan chu lin* 如來有六種光明) and of Kuan-yin, and also an indication of the presence of a relic or treasure (Nan shih, c. 78, fol. 4vo., 放光明由是定知必有舍利) has here perhaps reference to the fact that the site of the monastery was pointed out by a miraculous light. But light and radiance fill so large a space in Buddhist lore that no such explanation is really required. The first building at Upper T'ien-chu, in a densely wooded valley shut in by high hills, seems to have been done A.D. 939 by the monk 道翊 Tao-i, who found a wooden image of Kuan-yin by the help of a miraculous light. Ten years later a monk came from Lo-yang with a relic of Buddha which also gave out a light (晝放白光), and the feudal prince Ch'ien founded in consequence the 天竺觀音看經院 T'ien chu kuan yin k'an ching yüan. In the twelfth century the wealth of the monastery is said to have rivalled that of the palace. In 1171 the title was changed from *yüan* to 寺 *ssŭ*. The monastery was burnt in 1266, and rebuilt in 1268 as 天竺教寺 T'ien chu chiao ssŭ. See *Mêng liang lu*, c. 19, fol. 8vo. (which adds that these festivals lasted for three days: 三日作大福田); 西湖遊覽志 *Hsi hu yu lan chih*, c. 11, fol. 10, 11; 臨安志, *Lin-an chih*, c. 80, fol. 14-22.

† Perhaps a *Fast*; for 作齋會 *Mêng liang lu* reads 設齋. The same book adds a note of another Buddhist gathering which the ladies used as an opportunity for the display of jewelry till it was nicknamed 鬪寶會 Tou pao hui or the Jewelry Competition Festival. On Buddha's birthday (8th of the 4th month) there was also a children's festival called 朝塔會 Ch'ao t'a hui at the 六和塔 Lu ho t'a.

‡ 藥師 Yo shih stands, I suppose, for 藥王 Yo wang, that is to say either 韓琦 Han ch'i (Giles *B.D.* 610) of the 11th century, or the Taoist 章善俊 Chang Shan-chün of the 7th century, deified. See *Tz'ŭ Yüan* s.v. 藥王, and Eitel, who gives a rather different story. The *Mêng liang lu*, c.19, fol. 9, written only forty years later, says that this festival had long ceased to be observed (今廢之久矣).



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"On the West Lake the Fang-shêng Festival is held every year in the fourth month.* The rest, religious gatherings at all the monasteries, all have their proper places and dates. Whenever people go to pay their respects and make offerings on the birthdays [of the gods] in the temples of the temporary capital, there are always wine parties.†

"The Chin-t'i fair, Pa-hsien fair, Yü-fu, hsi-hsien fair, Shên-kuei fair, Hsiao-nü-t'ung, hsiang shêng chiao shêng fair, ch'i ch'iao yin shih fair, Hua kuo fair, Ch'i pao k'ao ku fair, at all these rare jewels and curiosities native and foreign [are to be found],—the horse fair, Hao-kuei, Fei-lü, Ch'ing-yo fairs. These fairs reach the highest pitch of gaiety."‡

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* This festival, beautiful in idea though not always so in practice, of setting living creatures (tortoises, frogs, snakes, fishes, birds, and more rarely domestic animals) at liberty was held on the 8th day of the 4th month. The *Mêng liang lu*, ibid., speaks of the great crowds which took part in it (此會所集數萬人). A great trade was done in living things, very many of which were set free and caught again several times and must have thought the day anything but a happy festival. For the foundation of the festival in the reign of Chên Tsung, see p. 312 above.

† 酒行 does not seem to mean wine shops here, and I have translated it with reference to 行酒 *hsing chiu*, "to pass round the wine," which Couvreur quotes from the *Shih chi;* but it seems to be possible that it means drunkenness, with allusion to *Shu ching* (酒誥; Legge, Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 401): 酒惟行. On the other hand the phrase 酒三行且起 in a preface by Han Yü and his lines 去去事方急 酒行可以起 seem rather to favour the more temperate version. Thus in this small pamphlet 酒行 *chiu hang* (and *hsing*) occurs in two senses which are not mentioned in Couvreur, Giles, or the *Tz'ŭ yüan*.

‡ The translation and explanation of this last list of nam esof fairs or meetings is beyond my powers. Meetings for football matches, theatricals, etc. etc., were known by various fancy names. The *Tz'ŭ yüan*, s.v. 緋, says that the *Red and Green*, so named from the colour of the clothes which it was the fashion to wear (就其所衣而名), was the occasion for variety shows (雜劇), and that the football meetings were called 齊雲社 Ch'i-yün shê. The whole series evidently provided fashionable holidays for every class and rank of society. The *Wu lin chiu shih*, c. 3, fol. 4v°, gives the following list with brief explanations:—

緋綠社(雜劇)齊雲社(蹴毬)遏雲社(唱賺)同文社(耍詞)
角觝社(相撲)清音社(清樂)錦標社(射弩)錦體社(花繡)
英略社(使棒)雄辯社(小說)翠錦社(行院)繪革社(影戲)
淨髮社(梳剃)律華社(吟叫)雲機社(撮弄)而七寶滙焉
二會爲最. 習閒 *hsi hsien* is given below as an alternative name apparently for makers of mat sheds (專爲棚頭又謂之習閒), the parallel passage in the *Mêng liang lu* substituting 閒漢 *hsien han* for *hsi hsien*. Neither phrase is in the *Tz'ŭ yüan*.



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X.—"Boats.

行便料五十運遊畢不富中可亦有苦
都而約百餘平玩備勞宝浙觀然弄爲
左西長料客稱人但餘出惟者中明江有惟潮奇
舟江湖五約皆如貨早力造秋金浙者觀
船右舟十長奇坐假出惟者中明江持天
湖船餘三巧平舟登支又皆池自旗下
河大二丈打地中舟費特有之孟執獨
運小中十造無厥而錢精龍遣秋竿此
通不可丈雕檐須飲耳級舟風至狎有
等流容可棚四器暮耳爭而中戲之
舟有百容畫時物則有西標東秋波
船一餘三棟常一徑貴湖輕浦閒海
最千客五行有一歸府寨遮河則中

"The temporary capital has the river on the east and the lake on the west and is traversed by artificial water ways so that it is admirably suited for boats. But the boats on the West Lake are of different sizes. There are some of 1000 *liao*, about 500 feet or more in length, which will carry more than a hundred passengers; and some of 500 *liao*, perhaps 300 or 200 feet long, carrying from thirty to fifty or more passengers; all cunningly built with carved rails and painted beams, and travelling as smoothly and steadily as if [one was] sitting on terra firma. All the year round they are constantly hired by pleasure parties. The utensils and things needed on the boats are all provided, and one has only to come out in the morning and go on board and drink and go home in the evening, without any other exertion than the spending of money. The private boats of those who have



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palaces or luxurious houses are specially well and finely built. Both on the West Lake in the spring and on the river in the autumn there are dragon boats racing for prizes, beautifully light and rapid in movement. This is the traditional custom of the Chin-ming lake, and it is the same with the river Tung-p'u. Only on the river Chê from the beginning to the middle of autumn there are the players with the tide, who holding a flag and a staff make sport among the waves. It is an extremely curious sight, and this the only place in the world where it may be seen.*

The parallel passage in the *Mêng liang lu*, c.12, fol. 12-16, is so much more interesting that it seems worth while to translate some extracts :—

"Hang-chou with the river on the east and the lake on the west is specially remarkable. There are not less than many hundreds of boats of different sizes on the lake. There are some of 1000 *liao* perhaps 200 feet or more in length, which will carry a hundred persons; of 500 *liao* perhaps 100 feet or more in length and carrying thirty to fifty persons; all cunningly built with carved rails and painted capitals, and moving as if [on] solid ground. They all have proper names :—*Hundred Flowers, Ten Embroideries, Jewels* . . . The names are very many so I mention one or two. There is also the carriage boat of Chia Ch'iu-ho's palace. On the deck above the cabin (船棚上) there are no men poling, but it travels by means of wheels worked by a tread-mill, and the speed is like flying. There is also the Emperor's boat moored to the bank (水次) in the 小湖園 Hsiao hu yüan. This boat is all curiously carved and constructed, and is built of sandal wood; and it was only once used by the

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* 料 *liao* is evidently a unit of measurement for the tonnage of boats or ships, but I have not been able to discover its capacity. From *Chau Ju-kua* p. 34, it seems that 嶺外代答 *Ling wai tai ta*, A.D. 1178, uses 斛 *hu* in the same sense. "500 feet" we might charitably suppose to be a misprint for "200 feet," but the exaggeration, as it very probably must be, immediately repeated in "300 or 200 feet long" for the boats of 500 *liao*. The translation seems to offer no difficulties except in the words 輕捷可觀 ch'ing chieh k'o kuan. The examples in the *P'ei wên yün fu* seem to show that ch'ing chieh means "light and rapid;" but I do not feel quite sure whether k'o kuan ends the sentence meaning "beautiful" (as 可愛 k'o ai means "lovely"), or begins the next sentence meaning "It may be seen." The Chin-ming lake was outside the 順天 Shun-t'ien gate of Pien (K'ai-fêng.)



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Princess of Chou and Han for a picnic.* At the quay in front of the 靈芝 Ling-chih monastery lies the lake barge built by Chao Chieh-chai called the *Black Dragon*. Every time that it is poled out there is a great storm and the guests are frightened, so that they are generally afraid to move it out." Here follows an account of the various boats and punts used on the lake for fishing, or the sale of eatables, fruit, sweets, tortoises to be set free, etc. etc.: including small foot-boats (小脚船 now rarely seen on the lake) used by singing girls, musicians and pilgrims. "All the year round the large and small pleasure boats for hire have no holiday. If there is a great fall of snow there are the boats of the rich families having snow picnics. And if it is the 8th day of the 2nd month, 寒食 Han shih or 清明 Ch'ing ming, one must give his order to the boatmen and hire a boat definitely before-hand. On this day a punt or boat cannot be hired for less than 200 or 300 cash (券, the sound at Hang-chou being the same as that of 餐), and on the day itself not even a small foot-boat is disengaged. . . . High officers and chamberlains generally have 採蓮 Ts'ai lien boats with blue cotton awnings, propelled by poles, and seating one or two passengers, and decorated with special splendour.

"River and Sea Boats and Ships.†

"The river Chê is a connecting way between the river and the ocean crossing. And as to the ocean merchant ships they are of different sizes. The large ones of 5,000 *liao* will carry 500 or 600 men; the second class of from 2,000 to 1,000 *liao* will also carry 200 or 300 men, the rest are called 鑽風 Tsuan-fêng, large and small having eight oars or six oars, and each boat can

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*周漢國公主 Chou han kuo kung chu, the only and much-loved child of the Emperor Li Tsung (1225-1264), died at the age of 22 years in July, 1263. See *Sung shih*, c.248, fol. 7ro. For her sandal-wood boat 香楠木 see *Wu lin chiu shih*, c.3 fol.3 理宗時亦嘗製一舟悉用香楠木搶金爲之亦極華侈然終於不用至景定閒周漢國公主得旨偕駙馬都尉楊鎮汎湖一時文物亦盛髣髴承平之舊傾城縱觀都人爲之罷市然是時先朝龍舫久已沈沒獨有小舟號小烏龍者 . . . . 或傳此舟每出必有風雨余嘗屢乘初無此異也. Just above the author has said 離宮別館不復增修 "The deserted palaces and halls are not built up again." Marco Polo, who visited Hang-chou about this time (c. 1280), gives the same account of the rapid ruin of the disused palace buildings.

† The first sentence makes it clear that 艦 *hsien* does not here mean a warship.



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carry more than 100 men. These are fishing boats. There are also what are named 三板 San-pan boats. We will not speak of this class of boat, but of the merchant ships. As soon as they enter the gates of the ocean there is the vast expanse of the sea without a shore, strong and very dangerous, the abode of mysterious dragons and marvellous serpents. At times of storm and darkness they travel trusting to the compass alone, and the captain steering dares not make the smallest error since the lives of all in the ship depend on him. I have often seen great merchants who have told me all this in detail. If one wishes to sail to foreign countries to trade then it is from Ch'üan chou that he sets out to sea. As he travels past the 七洲洋 Ch'i chou sea, if those on board take soundings the water is roughly more than 700 feet deep. If one passes the Kun-lun sand-flats, the serpents, dragons, porpoises and such mysterious sea creatures often cause rain there.* Above a mass of clouds will begin to gather, and then one sees a dragon showing its whole body, its eyes flashing like lightning, its claws and horns twisting about, and only its tail invisible, and in an instant the rain pours down in a torrent, the wind and the waves are lifted up to the sky, and it is extremely terrible. The water of the ocean is shallow near islands and reefs. If a reef is struck the ship is sure to be lost. It depends entirely on the compass, and if there is a small error you will be buried in the belly of a shark. Sailors have an ancient saying, 'Going beware of Ch'i chou; beware of Kun-lun returning.' The water here too (Kun-lun) is more than 500 feet deep. They tell us also that the sailors know the weather by looking at the sunrise and sunset at sea, and know the nature of the wind, fair or contrary, with the greatest accuracy by inspecting the clouds or mists. If they see breakers in the distance, they know that the wind will come from that direction; if they see great waves breaking on the beach, they know that the next day a south wind will get up; if they see lightning, they say 'the summer wind faces the lightning,' and so on without the least mistake. By considering whether the water is clear or muddy they know their distance from land. Out at sea the water is blue and dark like indigo; the water among islands is greenish blue; and close to land it is muddy and light coloured. Where fish are plentiful there are sure to be many reefs, because sea-weed, on which the fish depend, is plentiful on rocks. The 14th and

* Compare 海天昏黑龍行雨樓閣青紅蜃吐雲 quoted in *P'ei wên yün fu* s.v. 雨.



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28th of every month are called great days (? 大等日分). If there is no wind or rain on these two days they know that there will be many storms within the next ten days. Whenever they take soundings they must examine the bottom. By knowing what kind of sand or mud it is composed of they know whether there is a river in the land they are near.

"Merchants, who only go to 台 T'ai, 溫 Wên, 泉 Ch'üan, or 福 Fu to trade, never cross the seas of Ch'i-chou or Kun-lun. Those who go to sea sail from the river's mouth at Ch'üan chou (泉州港口) to the 岱嶼門 Tai yü Strait, and then go out to sea, cross the ocean and travel to foreign lands.* The boats on the river Chê and even the sea-going ships generally have rules for going and coming. The boats from 嚴 Yen, 婺 Wu (金華 Chin-hua), 衢 Chü, and 徽 Hui generally take part in the coming and going of the through trade, and are called long boats (長艚) and so forth [carrying], for example the firewood, timber, oranges and dry or fresh fruit of Hang city, which are mostly produced in these regions. Sea fish, fresh or dried, and crabs and such like from 明 Ming (Ning-po), 越 Yüeh (Shao-hsing), 溫 Wên, or 台 T'ai also come up to the flats and penetrate 江浙 Chiang-chê. Only the boats coming to and from the regions of Yen, Wu, Chü and Hui come down stream easily, but go up with difficulty, because of the steepness of the rapids and the resistance of the water. The number of boats at the river-side (江岸) is very great, nor are they all of one kind. Great sea-going merchant ships, large and small fishing boats, public and private boats for the Chê-chiang and 漁浦 Yü-p'u ferries, cargo and passenger boats, all anchor at the river-side. For the city of Hang is a populous and large place, where merchants in immense numbers and officials as they go and come all meet."

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* If there were still any doubt as to the identity of Zaitun and 泉州 Ch'üan chou, this repeated statement of the position of Ch'üan chou with relation to foreign trade, published within a year of Marco Polo's arrival in China, would be enough to remove it. The Tai yü, 50 li S.E. of Ch'üan chou, was notorious for its shifting sand-flats (厦舊商船患). *Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih*, c. 264, fol. 13.

*(To be continued).*



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# CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,
H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED).

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(*Continued from page 272*)

若要富蒸酒磨豆腐　　第一窮趕狗入邊壠

In order to become rich one should ferment spirits and make bean-curd. The very poorest are those who drive dogs to the foothills.

[In Mei Hsien, Kuangtung, fermenting spirits and making bean-curd are the most lucrative businesses. Driving dogs to the foothills (lit., grassy hills) refers to the hunting, there chiefly done by poor men, who live by selling the flesh and skin of the prey.]

---

食着摩打罵有　　算來前世係摩修

I receive neither food nor clothes, only beatings and cursings. This is because I sinned in a former existence.

[This ditty originated in the alleged notorious ill-treatment of wives in Mei Hsien.]

---

轉外家害自家　　飯盖上塵菜打花

A wife by returning to her mother's home injures her own. There will be dust on the rice-bowl lid and the vegetables will be flowery (unfit for food).

[Being detained too long in her mother's home she neglects her own. This and the following four songs are current in Mei Hsien.]



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牛耕田馬食穀　　亞婦種子大婆享福

The ox ploughs the field, but the horse eats the grain. The concubine rears a son, but the great mother enjoys his services.

[The "great mother" is the chief (first) wife of his father. When a man has no son he may take a concubine. By the custom of the Mei Hsien district the concubine's son must serve his "great mother" until her death.]

---

柑花開吳王來　　柑結子吳王死

When the orange tree blooms King Wu comes. When the orange tree seeds King Wu dies.

["King Wu" is Sun Hao 孫皓, the last emperor (A.D. 264-80) of the Wu Kingdom. The reference is explained as meaning that he succeeded to the throne in the spring and was deposed in the autumn.]

---

十斑九梟一斑不梟雷打火燒　十鬍九富一鬍不富惟孤老墓

Of ten turtle doves nine are owls. The one which is not an owl will be destroyed by thunder and burned by fire. Of ten bearded men nine are rich. The one who is not rich will lie in an eccentric's grave.

[孤老 literally, solitary and old grave; here, by transferred epithet, an eccentric man.]

---

耕車田住茅屋年年破壞補不足

I plough a poor field and live in a thatched hut. Year after year I patch up the broken parts.

---

瘦馬拉搭腳糠飯糙子活

A bony horse draws a shaky car, and men who live on rice-husks work badly.

[Lê T'ing, Chihli, landowners often go out and trade beyond the frontier, leaving their agriculture to be performed by their employees. This is a hint to the landowners that they should not treat the labourers harshly. By giving them bad food they will only get bad work in return.]



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春鰣秋鯖白眼制穀

[We eat] cod in the spring, roach in the autumn, and "white-eye" at the rice harvest.

[Lê T'ing is a seaside fishing town. The fish named are at their best in the three seasons mentioned. "White-eye," a colloquialism, perhaps refers to the sturgeon. It is otherwise stated to be the 銀魚, whitebait, or the 黃魚, *acipenser manchuricus*, Basil. Though the song is current in parts of this province, the Pekingese fishmongers cannot identify the fish.]

---

不剔辮子沒法混　剔了辮子怕張順

If one does not shave off the queue one cannot mix with the people ; if one shaves it off one fears Chang Hsün.

[This is a modern song which has come into being since Chang Hsün's futile attempt to restore the monarchy in 1917. 順 for 動 ; 剔 has here the rhyme value of 戳.]

---

作了單衣水上氷　作了棉衣楊柳青

By the time one's summer clothes are made ice has formed on the water ; by the time one's winter clothes are made the leaves of the willow are green.

[This song, commonly heard in Peking, refers to the time wasted by slothful workers.]

---

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 有 | 不 | 車 | 頭 | 我 | 人 | 我 | 人 |
| 餘 | 足 | 漢 | 看 | 騎 | 家 | 也 | 家 |
| | 比 | 比 | 見 | 驢 | 騎 | 趕 | 趕 |
| | 下 | 上 | 推 | 回 | 馬 | 集 | 集 |

He goes to market, and I do so too ; but he rides a horse, and I a donkey. When I look back I see following me a man drawing a cart. [Now I know that] I am not good enough to be compared with the former, but too good to be compared with the latter.

[Current in Ku-an, Chihli.]

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| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 小 | 小 | 子 | 作 | | | | | |
| 門 | 墩 | 哭 | 哭 | | | | | |
| 涕 | 涕 | 要 | 打 | | | | | |
| 媳 | 婦 | 要 | 媳 | | | | | |
| 婦 | 幹 | 麻 | 作 | | | | | |
| 鞋 | 作 | 襪 | 點 | | | | | |
| 燈 | 說 | 話 | | | | | | |



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A little boy sits on the door-step weeping because he has no wife. "Why do you want a wife ?" [they ask him.] "A wife would make shoes and socks for me," [he replies] "wait on me and talk to me."

[This is a common song of the little boys of Chiang-pei. 作 for 坐.]

---

兩柳夾一槐老猿還得來　兩槐夾一柳太后還得走

When there is a *huai* tree between two willows old Yüan will come ; when there is one willow between two *huai's* the empress will go.

[This song belongs to the second and third years of the emperor Hsüan T'ung of the late Ch'ing dynasty. During that time *huai* (*Sophora Japonica*) and willow trees were planted alternately by the road-sides. Yüan is Yüan Shih-k'ai, the first President of the Republic.]

---

這時不算苦二四加一五　滿天紅燈照那時才叫苦

The present cannot be considered the worst time. To two fours add one five. When red lanterns illuminate the whole sky, that will be the worst time.

[This song was made after the " Boxer year " (1900). " Two fours " are the Eight Banners of the Manchu *régime*. " One five " is the five-coloured flag of the Republic, in which each of the five nations under the Chinese Government is represented by a coloured stripe. " Red lanterns " are a sign of revolution.]

---

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 啦 | 霍 | 啦 | 霍 | 打 | 小 | 娘 | 爹 | 黃 | 月 |
| 兩 | 啦 | 兩 | 啦 | 籠 | 妮 | 紡 | 織 | 吧 | 奶 |
| 三 | 啦 | 三 | 啦 | 蕾 | 來 | 花 | 布 | 吧 | 奶 |

When the moon goddess begins to shed her light father sews cloth and mother reels thread, and the girl comes and spins *lung-fu*. She spins two or three pieces to the sound *holalala, holalala*.

[*Lung-fu* in olden times was the rush tube put on the shuttle before drawing the thread through with the teeth. *Holalala*, or *hurarara*, is the sound made by the shuttle as it spins round. 三 here has the sound 沙. 娘 may be either a relative or non-relative. This ditty comes from Wei-hui, Honan.



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斑竹呀苦竹呀對門對戶打親家親家兒子會跑馬親家女子會繡花大姐繡的蘆芝草二姐繡的牡丹花惟有三姐不會繡鴛起子東子紡棉花一天紡得十二斤拿給哥哥做手巾一天紡得十二條拿給哥哥接嫂嫂接個嫂嫂心不平嫁到高山苦竹林要柴燒柴又高要水喫水又深打濕羅裙不打緊打濕花鞋萬千針

Mottled bamboo ! bitter bamboo ! He contracts a marriage with his neighbour whose house is opposite to his own. The son of his neighbour can ride and his daughter can embroider. His eldest daughter embroiders designs of *ling-chih* grass ; the second embroiders figures of peonies ; but the third cannot embroider at all. But she can spin on the spinning-wheel. In one day she spins twelve catties and gives it to her elder brother to make a handkerchief. In one day she spins twelve strips and gives it to her elder brother so that he may marry a wife. But her new sister-in-law is narrow-minded. As soon as she is married she goes up the high mountains covered with bitter bamboos. She wants to get fuel to burn, but it is in high (unattainable) places. She wants water to drink, but the well is very deep. Wetting her apron does not matter, but wetting her embroidered shoes involves the work of a myriad needles (infinite amount of labour).

[Youngsters of three and upwards in Ch'êng-tu, Ssŭch'uan, sing this song. *Ling-chih*, the plant of longevity, a species of agaric.]

---

月光光通通明
撐把傘看丈人
丈人掀開門簾看
見家家在他小姐
桃花小姐金蓮寶
一拉抓等得來頂
年輕娶到家一頂
花轎娶親好一頂

The moon shines brightly over all. I take my umbrella and go to visit my [future] father-in-law. Father- and mother-in-law are not at home. I lift the door-screen and catch sight of her [my future bride]. Her face in its fresh ruddiness rivals the peach-flower. Her tiny " golden lilies " [feet] are so small that a touch would make her fall. If next year's harvest is good, I will take her to my home in an embroidered sedan-chair.

[Current in Fêng-ch'êng Hsien, Kiangsi.]



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敢 个 又 又 來 饑 爾 吃 我
進 賤 歪 深 莊 不 爹 媽 娃
來 人 那 狗 子 回 要 奶 乖

My infant is at my breast. His father is away dunning a creditor, and does not come back. But our house stands far back, and our dog is fierce; so no disreputable person will dare to approach.

[Current in Hsi-an, Shensi. 歪 is a colloquialism for 兇.]

---

人行時時又胖又白走到人家就說是一個客
「借錢五十」（行時人借）
「就是一百」（人家答應）
「下個月還你」（行時人說）
「好說好說」（人家答）

人倒霉時又瘦又黑走到人家就說是一個賊
「借錢五十」
「一個都沒得」
「下個月還你」
「胡說胡說」

A man in luck is fat and white. When he goes to another's home, they describe him as a guest.

"Lend me fifty cash," he says.
"Here are a hundred," they reply.
"I will repay you next month," he says.
"Very good, very good," they reply.

A man down in his luck is thin and black. When he goes to another's house, they describe him as a thief.

"Lend me fifty cash," he says.
"We don't possess a single one," they reply.
"I will repay you next month," he says.
"Nonsense, nonsense," they reply.

[Current in Kiukiang, Kiangsi.]



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手　有　己　趕　錢　親　哥
隔　有　不　有　如　有
一　丈　上　娘　沒　嫂
隻　夫　自　有　有　有

Elder brother has money, sister-in-law has money, but I myself have as good as nothing. Father has money, mother has money, but I myself do not attain to the possession of any. My husband has money, but none of it reaches his wife's hand.

[This is also from Kiukiang. It is supposed to advocate the economic independence of married women.]

---

家　時　湯　流　裳　上　黃　黃　黃
鄉　到　湯　水　黃　洗　河　利　利
我　幾　鳴　河　衣　岸　黃　黃

"*Huang li huang, Huang li huang!*" I wash clothes on the bank of the Yellow River. The water of the Yellow River flows babbling by;—when shall I too return to my home?

["*Huang li huang*" is the name of the song. It was composed in the last year of Chia Ching of the Ming dynasty by Lu Jan of Hsün Hsien, Honan, and printed in the *Mieh méng chi*, "Collection by a Small Fly." Although not now heard in the district, it is preserved in the literary encyclopædias.]

---

我　攘　个　咬　狗　抓　猫　麼　的　垛　上　小
攘　花　我　睡　我　睡　過　孩　沒　柴　白
攘　花　娶　狗　跟　猫　跟　怎　娘　禾　鷄

A small white hen flies up on to the pile of firewood. Without a mother, how can a child live? If I sleep with the cat, the cat will scratch me; if I sleep with the dog, the dog will bite me. I must take a young and beautiful step-mother to look after me.

[Current in Ch'ing-ho, Chihli, and Lin-ch'ing, Shantung. By "taking a step-mother," the youngster indicates his wish for his father's re-marriage.]

---

小　老　鼠
上　燈　台
偷　油　吃
下　不　來
知　道　下
不　來　不
該　上　燈
台　上　去
不　該　不
下　來



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A little mouse goes up on to the lamp-frame in order to eat the oil, but cannot get down again. If he had known that he could not get down, he would not have gone up. But, having gone up, he ought to come down again.

[This song which, like most of these ditties has several variations, is current in the same districts as the preceding one. The Chinese text here omits the usual ending: "Fetch the cat to help her down."]

---

打 一 一 老 的 花 的 歷 死 打 喝 一 我 你
成 鍋 鍋 婆 娶 婆 娶 過 老 老 喝 壺 是 是
鑼 放 拉 吃 個 沒 個 有 婆 婆 酵 咱 哥 兄
屁 拉 吃 爛 錢 花 錢 怎 打 了 倆 打 弟

You are my younger brother; I am your elder brother: let us have a kettle of wine together. When we are drunk, we beat our wives; but, if they die from our beatings, how shall we get our living? If we have money, we will marry beautiful ones; if we are poor, we will marry ugly ones. Drink! drink a jug! Bring! bring a jug! Give a belch, and strike the gong!

[Current in Lin-ch'ing, this song is a hit at the dissipated habits of the Shantungese. The phrases 吃吃一鍋. 拉拉一鍋 taken together mean beginning another thing before finishing the previous one, here referring to the hypothetical re-marriages.]

*(To be continued).*



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# "THE LUTE GIRL'S SONG"

Mr. WALEY's reply to Prof. GILES (*See p.* 281).

The Editor has kindly enabled me to reply to Prof. Giles' rejoinder.

(1) Prof. Giles finds it difficult to reconcile the poet's description of himself ("fever-stricken I reached this spot," etc.) with the comfortable situation which Po held at Kiukiang.

Surely such hyperbole is the commonplace of Chinese poetry! Po Chü-i uses such language repeatedly in the poems he wrote during his exile; so does Su Tung-p'o (with better reason) at Hui-chou.

(2) Prof. Giles says the character 行 is 'not associated with song except as derived from this famous poem.'

Has he never read the 短歌行 by the Emperor Wu of the Wei dynasty and the imitation of it under the same title by Li Po? What of the ancient (certainly pre-T'ang) 君子行, 從軍行, 秋胡行, 東門行, 孤兒行? What of Li Po's 猛虎行, his 胡無人行, his 怨歌行? Of Tu Fu's innumerable 行?

(3) and (4) need no comment.

(5) I gladly accept Prof. Giles' account of how 攘 comes to mean 'trim.'

(9) I agree that 心 means the centre of the lute.

(14) I think 曲 means a 'piece of music' with or without words. I know that many readers of Prof. Giles' translation have got the impression that the girl *sang*; and I still think that such expressions 'sing to us yet again' were strangely chosen if Prof. Giles realized all the while that the girl was *not* singing.

With regard to the *Great Summons* and the interpretation of 青春受謝, Prof. Giles must surely know that distinguished educationalists in China (as elsewhere) are not necessarily experts in the byeways of ancient literature. I see no reason for ac-



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cepting a judgement made off-hand, and possibly out of politeness. How can 受 mean 'come'? 謝, in the sense of giving up one's post is seen in the Book of Rites* 大夫七十而致事. 若不得謝必賜之几杖: Cf. also in the 公羊傳: 謝國乎季子 'He resigned in favour of Chi-tzŭ'. I therefore take 受謝 to mean 'to take on a job that some one else has vacated.' This is at any rate an attempt to reach the meaning by the proper route. Any one who says that 受 means 'to come' must quote other passages to prove it. I know of no usage of the word which does not roughly correspond to 'receive' or 'contain.'

As to the 詩品, Prof. Giles must think very ill of his own translation if he resents the suggestion that it should be compared with the original. I had indeed intended to print a study of this poem, but I have recently learnt that the matter is in hands far more experienced and competent than mine.

Finally I will deal with the line 冠帶自相索. 'Of course,' says Prof. Giles, 'the word has here its original meaning of rope.'

Now, this sort of thing will not do. When Prof. Giles wishes to emend my versions, unless they are palpably and obviously wrong, he must support his emendations by philological authority of some kind. No doubt the readers of the *Cambridge Review* all believed that Prof. Giles was right and I was wrong. It would surprise them to learn that I have on my side such authority as absolutely clinches the question. Prince Chao-ming, the compiler (in the 6th century) of the *Wên Hsüan* says: 索求也. 言冠帶之人自相追求也 "*So* means 'to seek'; the poet says that the high officials follow and seek one another." I had this commentary before me when I made my translation. Prof. Giles must surely be aware that it exists; yet he flatly tells the world that I do not know Chinese, without taking the trouble to ascertain whether his own guess was right or wrong. If he disagrees with the *Wên Hsüan*, the earliest existing commentary on the poem, he must state his reasons; and these reasons must be cogent indeed if Prof. Giles is to find any one to agree with him. For my part, I regard the mere pitting of one assertion against another as a complete waste of time. It is certainly a game which, were I Professor Giles, I should be ashamed to play: the advantage is too heavily on his side. For his prestige is world-wide; whereas mine is non-existent.

* Couvreur, *Li Ki*, p. 9.



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# A T'ANG MANUSCRIPT OF THE *SOU SHÊN CHI*

BY

LIONEL GILES

Dr. W. Perceval Yetts' note on the 搜神記 *Sou shên chi* * reminds me that some time ago, among the Chinese MSS. in the Stein collection at the British Museum, I discovered a roll bearing that title (now catalogued as S. 525). Although it is only a comparatively short fragment, it will be worth while, perhaps, to examine the contents, in the hope that it may shed even a feeble ray of light on the vexed questions surrounding the work of 干寶 Yü Pao † as it has come down to us. In the first place, however, I propose to clear the ground by a survey of the information, hitherto available and as yet untranslated, concerning the author and his book. The following is the biography given in the *Chin shu*, chüan 82, f. 9 v° ‡ :—

"Kan Pao (T. 令升 Ling-shêng) was a native of 新蔡 Hsin-ts'ai. § His grandfather 統 T'ung was a gallant general

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*N. C. R., Vol. III, p. 65.

† It will be observed that I adopt the alternative form of this name which has hitherto found least favour with Chinese bibliographers. Ch'ien Lung's catalogue of the Imperial Library prefers the form 干 Kan; so do the two recensions of the work itself which I have consulted, as well as the *T'u shu chi ch'êng* and other encyclopædias, and also the modern editions of the *Chin* and *T'ang shu*, while both forms are found in the *Sui shu*. This evidence, however, counts for very little if we consider how easily the two characters could be confused by a careless scribe or block-cutter; and in weighing probabilities, it must be remembered that 干 is a much commoner surname than 干. No author's name appears on the present roll, but in another MS. from Tunhuang (S. 1086)—model answers to examination questions, dating from the 7th or 8th century—we find, among numerous works quoted, 干寶晉紀總論 "*Chin chi tsung lun* by Yü Pao." The surname here is very clearly written.

‡ The edition of the Dynastic Histories which I use is that issued in 1878 by the 金陵書局印行.

§ Near Kiukiang in the modern Kiangsi.



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of the Kingdom of Wu, and 都亭侯 Marquis of the Pavilions of the capital.*

His father 瑩 Ying was 丞 deputy-governor (?) of 丹陽 Tan-yang. †

As a boy, Pao was diligent in study and a great reader of historical documents. His abilities gained for him the appointment of 著作郎 *Chu-tso-lang*.‡ Having done good service in the suppression of 杜弢 Tu Tao's rebellion,§ he was rewarded with the dignity of Marquis of 關內 Kuan-nei. In the early days of the revival of the Empire [i.e., the establishment of the Eastern Chin dynasty in 317], before the office of historiography had been created, the President of the Privy Council 王導 Wang Tao presented the following memorial . . . [advising the institution of a separate department for the compilation of State history]. Kan Pao and others had been steadily working at the compilation of the Imperial records, and Yüan Ti was graciously pleased to accept them. It was now that Pao received his appointment as State historian. Owing to family poverty, however, he sought and obtained the magistracy of 山陰 Shan-yin [Shaohsing in Chekiang], whence he was promoted to be governor of 始安 Shih-an [Kweilin in Kwangsi]. Wang Tao invited him to become Junior Chang-shih of the Board of Civil Office (司徒右長史), and finally he was promoted to the rank of 散騎常侍

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*i.e., Nanking. The great noblemen under the Han dynasty received 縣 district cities as their fiefs, while to the lesser nobles was allotted the revenue derived from 鄉 villages and 亭 the pavilions or rest-houses which, according to the regulations of the time, were to be found at a distance of every 10 *li* along the highways. There also appears to have been a number of them in all the great cities: thus, there was a rest-house in each of the twenty main thoroughfares, and by each of the twelve city gates of Loyang. The institution began with the appointment of Ts'ao Ts'ao as 費亭侯 Marquis of the Pavilions of Pi towards the close of the 2nd century A.D., but after the Chin dynasty no more is heard of these *t'ing-hou*.

†I do not know what town is meant, unless it be 丹陽 Tan-yang in Chinkiang Fu.

‡Compiler of records. In the Han dynasty, state history was compiled in the 東觀 Library of National Archives, but the task was assigned to no special official until the reign of Ming Ti of the Wei dynasty (227-240), when the post of *chu-tso-lang* was first created. Under the Chin dynasty this became a regular department (曹), which in the Sung period took the name 史館.

§See *Chin shu*, ch. 100, ff. 9 seq. This rebellion broke out in the beginning of 311, and was not finally suppressed by 陶侃 T'ao K'an until the autumn of 315.



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*San-ch'i-ch'ang-shih.** He wrote the 晉紀 "Annals of the [Western] Chin dynasty," from 宣帝 Hsüan Ti† to 愍帝 Min Ti, a period of 53 years,‡ in 30 chüan,§ which was duly laid before the throne. This work is terse and compendious, straightforward and yet tactful. The author was universally acclaimed as a good historian. Temperamentally inclined to the arts of magic and divination, he used to ponder over the lives of 京房 Ching Fang (77-37 B.C.), 夏侯勝 Hsia Hou-shêng,¶ and others.

Pao's father had in former days had a favourite handmaid, of whom his mother was so bitterly jealous that when the father died she forced the girl into the same tomb, there to be buried alive. Pao and his brother were quite young at the time and remained ignorant of this fact until, more than ten years later, the tomb was opened again for their mother's funeral, and the handmaid was found lying prone on the coffin as though there were still life in her. She was carried back to the house, and the next day she revived. She told them that the father had supplied her regularly with food and drink, showing the same tenderness and affection as in his lifetime, and had also kept her informed as to the fortunes of the family, whether good or bad. Upon investigation, all that she had thus learned was found to be quite true.℘ She said, moreover, that she had felt no sensation

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* Ch'in Shih Huang established the *san-ch'i* and also the 中常侍 *chung-ch'ang-shih*. Both these classes of officials were originally personal attendants of the Emperor, and were recruited amongst the gentry: the former rode beside the Imperial carriage, the latter escorted his Majesty when entering or leaving the Palace. Under the Western Han, these duties were combined with other official functions, but during the Eastern Han dynasty a special department of *san-ch'i* was created, while the duties of *chung-ch'ang-shih* were performed by eunuchs. Under the Wei and Chin dynasties, the two offices were united under the name of *san-ch'i-ch'ang-shih*, the holders being again selected from the ranks of the gentry. It was regarded as a post of high distinction.

† This is Ssŭ-ma I, the famous opponent of Chu-ko Liang; he received canonisation when his grandson Yen founded the Western Chin dynasty.

‡ Ssŭ-ma I died in 251, and Min Ti came to the throne in 313, so that 53 would seem to be a mistake for 63. But if the reign of Min Ti is included, as one would certainly expect, the period would be four years longer.

§ The *Sui shu* (ch. 33) mentions the *Chin chi* by Yü Pao, in 23 chüan. The *Chiu t'ang shu* (ch. 46) and the *Hsin t'ang shu* (ch. 58) both give it 22 chüan, and the latter calls the work *Chin* 書 *shu*.

¶ For Ching Fang, see Giles, Biog. Dict. 398. Hsia Hou-shêng, an earlier contemporary, was also a seer of great repute, who became Grand Tutor to the Heir Apparent. See *Han shu*, ch. 75, f. 1-7; 88, f. 8.

℘ Professor de Groot, who quotes the anecdote in "The Religious System of China," vol. IV, p. 126, has wrongly translated this passage: "In the house she foretold now and then happy and unhappy events, and those predictions were all fulfilled."



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of horror at being underground. Later on, she was given in marriage and had children.

On another occasion, Pao's elder brother was taken ill, and his breathing stopped, yet after several days had elapsed his body was not cold. By and by he came to life again and said that he had been a spectator in the world of spirits between heaven and earth. It had seemed to him like a dream, and he was not conscious of being dead.*

These events led Pao to make a compilation of marvellous tales, ancient and modern, dealing with the spirits of heaven and earth and the metamorphoses of men and things, which he entitled *Sou shên chi* ("A record of researches in the spirit world"). It comprised 30 chüan. When he showed the work to 劉惔 Liu T'an, the latter exclaimed: "My dear Sir, you may be styled the 董狐 Tung Hu of ghosts!" †

Since Pao made his selection from a great variety of sources, his book contains a mixture of truth and fiction, and therefore he wrote a preface in which his feeling on the subject is set forth . . . [The preface is given in full. Yü Pao will not answer for the truth

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* The story is told with more detail in the 繪圖歷代神仙傳 *Hui t'u li tai shên hsien chuan*, ch. 7: "About that time, 于慶 Yü Ch'ing, district magistrate of 武寧 Wu ning, died, and after three days had not yet been put into his coffin 吳猛. Wu Mêng went to make lamentation, but subsequently declared: "This man was not fated to die so soon; I must lay a complaint before God." Thereupon he stretched himself out beside the corpse [and his spirit departed]. A few days later, the spirits of both men returned together. The weather happened to be excessively hot, and Yü Ch'ing's body had begun to putrefy, so that his spirit was disgusted and unwilling to re-enter it. Wu Mêng, however, pushed it in by main force, and they both came to life again."

† According to the *Chin shu*, ch. 75, Liu T'an (T. 眞長) was a physiognomist of the principality of 沛 P'ei in the modern Kiangsu. Highly esteemed by Wang Tao, and an intimate friend of the calligraphist Wang Hsi-chih, he himself was a great admirer of 桓溫 Huan Wên, whose brilliant successes he foretold. He died at the early age of 36, and 孫綽 Sun Ch'o composed the following epitaph (誄) on him, which I offer as a nice little conundrum to the readers of the N.C.R.:—

居官無官官之事
處事無事事之心

Tung Hu was an official historian of the Chin State. In 606 B.C., Ling Kung made several attempts to assassinate his Prime Minister 趙盾 Chao Tun, who, however, managed to escape. Soon after, Ling Kung was slain by Chao Tun's cousin Chao 穿 Ch'uan, whereupon Tun returned, but took no steps to punish the crime. Tung Hu made the following entry: "Chao Tung slew his prince." The latter denied the truth of this statement, but Tung Hu replied: "Sir, you are the Prime Minister. You fled, but did not cross the frontier. On your return, you did not punish the assassin. If it was not you who slew the prince, who was it?"—Confucius' comment was: "Tung Hu was a good historian of old. He made it a rule not to conceal the truth." See *Tso chuan*, 宣公 II, § 4. In Ku-liang's commentary he is called 史狐 "Historian Hu."



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of all the stories in his book, which was pieced together from defective materials and does not claim to represent the personal experience, aural or ocular, of any individual witness (蓋非一耳一目之所親聞覩也). Even in the compilation of State history, the difficulty of obtaining reliable first-hand evidence is very great; how much greater when the events narrated go back a thousand years into the past and lie quite outside ordinary experience 況仰述千載之前記殊俗之表). On the whole, however, he thinks that what he has selected out of the mass of documents available is sufficient to prove that it is not the way of spiritual beings to delude us. (亦足以明神道之不誣也).]

Other works of Kan Pao are 春秋左氏義外傳 *Ch'un ch'iu tso shih i wai chuan*, and commentaries on the 周易 *Chou i* and 周官 *Chou kuan*,* comprising altogether several tens of volumes.† His miscellaneous writings have also been collected and published."

The next passage to be translated is the notice in the 四庫全書總目 *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*, ch. 142, f. 12 seq.:—

"*Sou shên chi* in 20 chüan: Library of the Imperial Palace. The old text has the ascription: 'Written by Kan Pao of the Chin dynasty.' Pao's style was Ling-shêng, and he was a native of Hsin-ts'ai. In the time of the Emperor Yüan [317-323], when acting as *Chu-tso-lang*, he received the appointment of State historiographer, and was afterwards promoted to the post of *San ch'i ch'ang shih*. The details of his official career are given in his biography in the *Chin shu*, where it is related that Pao was moved to write this book by the restoration to life of his father's concubine. It is a collection of marvellous tales, ancient and modern, dealing with the spirits of heaven and earth and the metamorphoses of men and things. The whole of his own preface to the work is also contained in this biography. It is stated in the bibliographical section of the Sui history, as well as in those of the

* These three works are all mentioned in the bibliographical sections of the Sui and the two T'ang histories. The *Chou i* was in 10 chüan, he *Chou kuan* 禮 *li* in 12. The third work is called in the *Sui shu* "春秋左氏函傳義 *Ch'un ch'in tso shih han chuan i* in 15 chüan, by Yü Pao," while in the T'ang histories it figures as "春秋義函傳 *Ch'un ch'iu i han chuan* in 16 chüan, by Kan Pao". A companion work, 春秋序論 *Ch'un ch'iu hsü lun*, in 2 chüan, is also noted.

† The word is 篇, here evidently equivalent to 卷. The term "several tens" (數十) occurs so frequently in Chinese that it may be worth while to note that it stands here for something between 30 and 40.



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Old and New T'ang histories, that the book comprises 30 *chüan*,* whereas the Sung bibliography has "*Sou shên* 搜神 記 *tsung chi* in 10 *chüan*." It also names Pao as the author. The 崇文 總目 *Ch'ung wên tsung mu* † has "*Sou shên tsung chi* in 10 *chüan*, but gives no author's name, and adds that the attribution to Kan Pao is mistaken. [For this passage, see 玉海 *Yü hai*, ch. 57, f. 32 v°.]

The present text was cut on blocks by 胡震亨 Hu Chên-hêng‡ for inclusion in his 秘册彙函 *Pi ts'e hui han*, and later on the blocks came into the possession of 毛晉 Mao Chin who incorporated the work in his 津逮秘書 *Ching tai pi shu*. The quotations in the 太平廣記 *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* § agree word for word with this edition . . .

The *Ssŭ k'u* goes on to indicate a number of tales or episodes quoted as from the S.S.C. in various works of antiquity, beginning with the 三國志註 *San kuo chih chu* of 裴松 P'ei Sung. The majority of these are still to be found in the S.S.C. as we know it to-day, e.g., the story of 于吉 Yü Chi, which is given in the biography of 孫策 Sun Ts'ê in the 吳志 *Wu-chih*. ¶ On the other hand, certain discrepancies are noted ⁂, as well as a few tales which have disappeared from the present text.]

Turning now to the 6th and 7th *chüan*, we find that these have been simply copied from the sections on Elementary In-

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* *Sui shu*, ch. 33, f. 13 v° ; *Chiu t'ang shu*, ch. 46, f. 30 v° ; *Hsin t'ang shu*, ch. 59, f. 12 v°. We may also observe that, whereas the first two place the work under the 史 division (sub-section 雜傳 in the *T'ang shu*), in the *Hsin t'ang shu* it is classed under 小說 of the 子 division, as it is in the *Ssŭ k'u ch'uan shu*.

† Compiled in 1034 by 王堯臣 Wang Yao-ch'ên and others.

‡ Of the early 17th century. Correct Wylie's "Notes," *p.* 241, which has 享 for 亨.

§ A huge collection of extracts, compiled in 977 A.D., from no fewer than 345 different works, mostly dealing with the marvellous and the supernatural. It is divided into 55 categories, and comprises 500 *chüan*. Several stories from the S.S.C. will be found in ch. 359.

¶ See *San kuo chih*, ch. 46, f. 9r,° comm., and S.S.C. I, §22. The wording is almost exactly the same. Yü Chi was a Taoist adept of 琅琊 Lang-yeh who used to make 符水 magic water to cure diseases. His name is given as 干 Kan Chi in the S.S.C., and it seems very probable that he was an ancestral relative of Yü Pao. The *Wu chih* also quotes an account of his disgrace and execution from the 江表傳 *Chiang piao chuan*, which differs in many particulars from that in the S.S.C.

⁂ E.g., 太平寰宇記 *T'ai p'ing huan yü chi* makes 韓憑 Han P'ing and his wife turn into butterflies, not into mandarin ducks as in S.S.C. XI, § 32.



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fluences in the two Han histories.* Now, although Ssŭ-ma Piao lived earlier than Pao, who was therefore bound to have seen his *Hsü han shu*, yet the way the existence of this author is ignored, paragraph after paragraph being copied without the alteration of a single word, is a highly suspicious circumstance. Nevertheless, the composition of the book shows much of the elegance of antiquity, and the dissertations contained in it could not have been penned by any one not belonging to the 'Six Dynasties' period [220-587]. In this respect it is unlike other spurious works; and we may surmise that it consists of such fragmentary portions [of the original S.S.C. by Yü Pao] as were quoted in other works, carefully pieced together and transmitted in different words, somewhat after the fashion of the 博物志 *Po wu chih* and the 述異記 *Shu i chi*. The compilers of those two books, however, were persons of narrow outlook and small culture (耳目陰陋), whose deficiencies showed themselves at every turn, whereas the man responsible for the present work had a wide acquaintance with ancient literature and a considerable mastery of style, so that his writings are polished and pleasant to read, and without close scrutiny cannot be detected as a forgery.

The story of 謝尚 Hsieh Shang who had no son,† which appears in the book, is quoted in the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, chüan 322, with the note that it is taken from 誌怪錄 *Chih kuai lu*. Here we have clear evidence that the work is a mere compilation [from previously existing books].‡ Hu Chêng-hêng in his postface only says of Hsieh Shang that he was made 鎮西將軍 'General Protector of the West§ in the *Yung-ho* period of the reign of Mu Ti [345-57 A.D.] But Pao showed this book to Liu

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* *Han shu*, ch. 27; *Hou han shu*, ch. 13-18. 全錄兩漢書五行志 cannot mean "are complete copies of," etc., as there is a great deal in these chapters that does not appear in the S.S.C. On the other hand, it seems doubtful whether the whole of the two *chüan* is made up of extracts from the Histories. I have identified a few passages, but owing to the lack of any order the task is an extremely laborious one. Be that as it may, the abridged version of Ch'ien Lung's catalogue (*Ssŭ k'u ch'uan shu chien ming mu lu*, ch. 14, f. 30 v°), followed by Wylie, "Notes," p. 192, is wrong in stating that "the 6th and 7th books are extracted *verbatim* from the supplement to the Han history." The missing 志 of the *Hou han shu* were supplied, as is well known, by those of the 續漢書 *Hsü han shu* of 司馬彪 *Ssü-ma Piao* (240-305 A.D.), and these were certainly utilised by the author of the S.S.C.; but he also drew upon the 志 of the *Han shu*, and in neither case are the quotations strictly literal.

† S.S.C. II, § 17.

‡ 是則掇拾之明證. Further proof is found in the British Museum manuscript, where, as we shall see, the sources of many of the stories are indicated.

§ As he is styled in the S.S.C.



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T'an, who died in the *T'ai-ning* period of the reign of Ming Ti [323-6], so that the book must have been in existence more than twenty years before Shang was invested with the title of General Protector of the West. One would suspect that this anecdote was added by a later hand, though it is not yet established that it did not form part of the original work.*

胡應麟 Hu Ying-lin† in his 甲乙剩言、*Chia i shêng yen* says: "姚叔祥 Yao Shu-hsiang, when looking at the catalogue of my private library, saw the entry of Kan Pao's *Sou shên chi*. Much astonished, he exclaimed: 'Does this book really exist then?'—I replied in the affirmative, but when he saw it he said: 'What you have here is nothing more than a number of extracts copied out of various works such as the 法苑 [珠林] *Fa yüan* [*chu lin*], the [太平] 御覽 [*T'ai p'ing*] *Yü lan*, the 藝文 *I wên*, and manuals for young students. There is no question of its having been preserved in a metal coffer or a stone cupboard,‡ or having been unearthed from some cave in the recesses of a mountain. Generally speaking, all the later books of marvels are of this type'. These words are just."

(*To be continued*).

* A much more serious anachronism, which appears to have escaped the notice of Chinese critics, occurs in S.S.C. I, §8: 前周募由蜀羌人也周成王時 . . . "Ko Yu of the Former Chou dynasty was a man of the Ch'iang tribe in the country' of Shu; in the time of Ch'êng Wang "[1115-1078 B.C.], etc.—'Former Chou' implies of course that at the time of writing there had been a 後周 'Later Chou.' Now, there were two later dynasties of this name, the one more generally known as Northern Chou (557-581), and the other the Posterior Chou of 951-960. Thus, even if the latter is ruled out, we are carried down more tha two centuries later than Yü Pao and very near to the end of the 'Six Dynasties' period.

† A prolific poet who failed for the second degree in 1576. There is a brief mention of him in the biography of 王世貞 Wang Shih-chêng, *Ming shih*, ch. 287, f. 14.

‡ That is to say, it has not been treasured up as a genuine relic of antiquity. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (*Shih chi*, ch. 130) speaks of 石室金匱之書; and again, towards the end of the same chapter: 秦燔去古文,焚滅詩書,故明堂石室金匱王版圖藏散. "Ch'in [Shih Huang] got rid of the ancient literature and destroyed by fire the Canons of Poetry and History; thus the jade (inscribod) tablets, and the maps and books from the stone chambers and metal presses of the Imperial Museum were scattered in all directions."



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# A NOTE ON THREE CHINESE GOLD COINS.

By

Sir J. STEWART LOCKHART, K.C.M.G.

Certain gold coins have come into my possession, a description of which may be of interest to students of Chinese Numismatics. As is well known, gold coins have never previously formed a part of the currency of China, a fact which makes their appearance at the present time especially interesting.

The first of the coins to which reference has been made was issued by Yuan Shih-k'ai and was offered for a price to Mr. A. B. Lowson, Manager of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank at Tientsin, who kindly secured it for me. It was minted in the early part of 1916 by the mint at Tientsin and it is said that only 2,000 specimens were issued. These were all sent to Yuan Shih-k'ai who is supposed to have distributed them to members of his own family, to a few of his friends and to officials high in authority as souvenirs of his accession to the Imperial throne of China.

The obverse has an image of Yüan Shih-k'ai in military uniform. The reverse has in the centre a flying dragon: at the top 中華帝國 *Chung Hua Ti Kuo*, The Empire of China, at the bottom 洪憲紀元 *Hung Hsien Chi Yüan*, first year of the reign of Hung Hsien, and to the right and left 拾圓 *Shih Yüan*—Ten dollars.

The coin is well minted and weighs 2 *ch'ien* 1 *fên* and 8 *li*.*

The three remaining gold coins in my possession were issued in the province of Yünnan by T'ang Chi-yao and were kindly obtained for me by Mr. A. G. Washbrook of the Chinese Postal Service †

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*This coin is described and figured in a paper by Dr. Giuseppe Ros, in the N.C.B.R.A.S. Journal, 1917, p. 143. (Editor).

†The T'ang Chi-yao gold coins were written on by Mr. Tracy Woodwar in the June number of this *Review* (p. 229) with a plate. This supplementary note with its additional information will be welcome to numismatists.(Editor).



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Two of these coins, worth ten dollars each, are different in colour, one of them being marked 1 whilst the other has no number. The third coin, which is worth five dollars, is marked 2.

The obverse of the coins has an image of T'ang Chi-yao with *Chün Wu Yüan Fu Chün Chang T'ang* (軍務院撫軍長唐) and the reverse *Yung Hu Kung Ho Chi Nien Chin Pi* (擁護共和紀念金幣); *Tang Yin Pi Shih Yüan* (當銀幣拾圓).

When the coins were first placed on the market, the Chinese regarded them as brass and refused to accept them, but after having been warned that those who refused them at their face value would be well punished, they accepted them and the coins became current in the towns but not in the country, where silver is invariably demanded.

The following extract from the Mengtsz Trade Report for 1919* by Mr. Albert Pichon, Acting Commissioner of Customs, gives full and interesting information regarding these coins :—

Extract from

MENGTSZ TRADE REPORT FOR 1919

by

ALBERT PICHON,

Acting Commissioner of Customs.

Dated 24th March, 1920.

Para. 1°, page 1328.

"To make up for the stringency of the money market . . . "the provincial Mint issued gold. Something had to be done "to prevent a rush on the local government official *Futien* Bank, "whose notes were becoming practically the only currency, so "the authorities imported gold bars, gold leaves, British sove- "reigns, and American gold dollars, and these were turned into "a $10 gold coin, which has been put on the market to relieve "the uneasiness that was growing. These came out towards the "end of October. As the value of silver had reached an excep- "tionally high price, gold as coins was cheaper, and by issuing "them the Mint Authorities hoped that it would remain in "the province because the melting of these coins to take out "the pure gold would not be a profitable operation. Assays "of these $10 gold coins have been made and their value comes "to about 8 silver dollars. The coin is reported officially to "contain 25 cents of a K'up'ing tael weight of pure gold.

*See Returns of Trade and Trade Reports, 51st issue 1919, Part II, Port Trade Statistics & Reports, Vol V, Lungchou to Tengyueh, page 1328.



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" In all it is said that $9,000,000 worth of these coins have been
" placed in the market but they have not as yet been accepted
" by the peasants, who believe them to be of brass, and they
" therefore would for choice rather take a bank-note. This
" prejudice will certainly not last when they have realized that
" the coins really contain gold and that they are worth nearly
" as much as the silver piece. Other gold coins of the value of
" $5, weighing 12½ cents of the K'up'ing tael weight, have been
" promised but have not yet put in an appearance. These bank-
" notes and gold coins have now been accepted by all at their
" full face value, including the two French banks, the Banque
" de l'Indo-Chine and the Banque Industrielle, with no market
" fluctuations, and this with the promise of the provincial govern-
" ment to guarantee all the notes and gold coins placed on the
" market."



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# ON THE ORIGIN OF THE IDEO-PHONETIC CHARACTERS.

BY

LÉOPOLD DE SAUSSURE

It is known that the ideo-phonetic characters 形聲字 *hsing-shêng-tzŭ* (one part indicating the sound and another part the nature of the object) form the most numerous category of the Chinese characters. In the 說文 they are already 21,810 out of a total of 24,235 characters; and since the beginning of our era their number has been continually increasing, for it is the ideo-phonetic principle which is used in the composition of the neologisms and technical terms.

Several authors have pointed out that, in a certain number of these characters, the phonetic part possesses also a semantic meaning. All the sinologues, however, do not agree on this point. * And, on the other hand, those who admit this semantic meaning seem to suppose that, amongst the disposable phonetics, a choice has been intentionally made in order to get a phonetic fortuitously convenient for indicating together the sound and the idea. Thus, in the Introduction of his dictionary Wells Williams writes (p. lviii):

> This combination of a *radical* and a *primitive* to form the great mass of the Chinese characters, whether the latter half is used as a mere phonetic as in [illegible], or *to aid the sense* of the derivative †, as in [illegible], is an important part of the language.

Pelliot, in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, rejected this explanation:

"When, in a Chinese character, the part joined to the radical answers exactly to its phonetic role—and it is here the case—I

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* In the *T'oung Pao* 1913 (p. 493) the R. P. Vanhée, S.J., writes:
In his *Chinese Art*, Bushell had said:
"Copper, however, was not often used alone, but alloyed with tin (*hsi*) in various proportions to make bronze. Bronze has been known in China from prehistoric times under the name of *t'ung* [illegible], a compound character which seems originally to have meant 'mixed metal.'"

† *Primitive* and *derivative* are used by Williams in a special sense. For him [illegible] is a *primitive* composed of two *derivatives*.



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do not think that a semantic destination may be, simultaneously, attributed to it."

Owing to this authority, Bushell has slightly modified his text. The second edition reads: "Bronze has been known in China since the prehistoric times, under the name of *t'ung* 同, which seems, at the origin, to have meant *mixed metal;* the radical 金 *kin* of the modern combined character having been added later."

In answer to the Note of Father Vanhée I have recalled (in the same volume, p. 808) that, in the *T'oung Pao* 1910 (p. 244), I had expressed a general explanation of this kind of characters.

The explanation that I have given in several notes of my *Origines de l'astronomie chinoise* is quite different. It is precisely the use of the Wells Williams' Dictionary which led me to it; for, since thirty years, in running over this Syllabic Dictionary, I have been struck by the groups of homonym and homophon words where the so-called phonetic represents manifestly the original word, to which various radicals have been later added in order to discriminate, one from another, the different senses derived from this genuine word. Thus, for instance, one reads, at page 564 of Williams' Dictionary :

侖 LUN. Composed of 亼 or 會 to *collect* and 冊 *archives*; it is chiefly used in combination as a phonetic.
To think, to arrange, to unify.
倫 Constant, regular, . . . to choose.
圇 Finished, complete, entire.
崙 The long range of the Koulkoun Mountains.
掄 To choose, to select, to come in turn.
淪 An eddy, a whirl in the water, chaotic . . . 混 淪 chaos.
綸 To compare, to classify . . .
輪 . . . To take in turn, to roll around.
稐 To bind grain in sheaves [to classify].
論 . . . To reason, to think over.

The meaning of these words (to choose, to class, to arrange, to think) is evidently derived from the general meaning *to arrange* of the primitive genuine word 侖, the ideogram of which means *to collect*. Therefore, the sign 侖 does not figure, in these words, as a phonetic but rather as the genuine hieroglyph, to which a classifying radical has been later added in order to distinguish, one from the other, the various shades of meaning considered, since an epoch probably very ancient, as autonom words.

For one of these derivatives, 崙, we can documentarily fix under the Chou dynasty the epoch when it was erected into an autonom word. At first sight it seems that, in the name 崑 崙



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*K'un lun* of the range of mountains lying on the north of Tibet, 昆侖 is merely the phonetic transcription of a foreign toponymic term, joined to the radical 山 according to the normal rule of the ideo-phonetic characters. But it is not so. In the 竹書紀年 and in the 穆天子傳, these mountains are called 昆侖邱 and I have shown that this name (probably abbreviated from 昆侖圖邱) seems to have meant : The world's end heights, whose confines are the canopy of the sky.* In the 爾雅 this name is already written 崑崙; later on, several countries† (then considered as the world's end) have been called 崑崙. But the expression 昆侖 has still conserved the meaning of *the canopy of the sky* (See *K'ang hsi's* and Williams' Dictionaries).

崙 is therefore, as well as 侖 or 稐, a character belonging to the category in question, where the so-called phonetic represents the genuine form of the word. It is the same with 崑; and also with 混 and 淪, for it is not fortuitously that the expression 混淪 means the chaos (See *K'ang hsi* and Williams); it means the liquid chaos of the four seas, at the world's end.

Numerous similar cases could be quoted, for instance, the character 圜 mentioned above : 睘 *kiüng* means *to gaze at*; and 圜 *hwan* means *what is gazed at* (the canopy of the sky), the deformation of *kiüng* into *hwan* being regular.

A typical example of this category of derivative words is 均, for in French and in English it has followed the same evolution as in Chinese, the uniform dress of the soldiers 兵勻衣 having given birth, by abbreviation, to the substantive "the uniform 均." Originally, 勻 (an *envelope* containing *two*) meant *equally divided*, wherefrom the derived sense of equal, alike, uniform. Therefore it is evident that, in the character 均, 勻 has not been *chosen* as a phonetic, but represents the genuine word *uniform*, of which the general sense has been applied to the particular case of the military uniform, wherefrom the autonom word "the uniform 均" arose. It is to be noted that the ancient pronunciation has been better conserved in this word, for it is evidently *yun* which proceeds from *kiün* and not *kiün* from *yun*.

The original term 勻 *equal, to equalize*, has also given rise to two other autonom forms : 均 and 鈞 *a lathe* for *moulding pottery*, because the lathe has, in effect, to regulate and to equalize the fabrication of the pottery.‡ These derivative terms have

* See L'étymologie de *K'ouen louen* in the *T'oung Pao* of October, 1921.

† Java, Madagascar, etc. See : G. Ferrand. *Le* K'ouen louen *et les navigations interocéaniques*, in the *Journal asiatique* 1919.

‡ For this reason the circumpolar heaven is named 鈞天 *the Regulating heaven*, the pole being thus compared to the lathe's axis (Cf. *Les origines de l'astronomie chinoise* in the *T'oung Pao* 1910, p. 244.)



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also conserved the original pronunciation (*kiŭn*) as well as the general sense *to equalize*, as it is shown in Williams' Dictionary, p. 418 :

> 𩵦 A soldier's dress or uniform.
> 均 A lathe for moulding pottery; equal, just. 均勻 uniform.
> 鈞 To equalize; a potter's lathe.

It is singular that Wells Williams, before so many conspicuous examples, has not understood their etymological origin and could believe that "the latter part is used to aid the sense, as in 𩵦."

This last example, otherwise, is excellent, for its etymological *raison d'être* is manifest. At the origin, a team of *four* horses was called "*a four*" (as in English a *four-in-hand*); later, in order to discriminate this special sense of *quadrige* from the general sense of *four*, it was natural to add the radical 馬 *horse* as a classifier of the word.

This class of characters, formed by the specialization of different meanings derived from a single word, is very ancient, as is shown by several examples.* It has not received a name, for its existence has not been hitherto pointed out; but it must be distinguished from the 形聲字 class to which it has later given birth.

It is, indeed, easy to understand how the formation of ideo-phonetic characters has been suggested. Let us consider a primitive ideogram A, having acquired several meanings *A*, *A*, *A*, to which semantic radicals *b*, *c*, *d*, were joined in order to distinguish them one from another :

*bA*, *cA*, *dA*.

When, later, the etymological origin of the common part *A*, *A*, *A*, was forgotten, its phonetic value only subsisted; one was then led to believe that this common part had been intentionally placed in order to indicate the sound. Thus, unconsciously and automatically, the ideo-phonetic principle constituted itself.*

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* It occurred exceptionally that, in order to distinguish two meanings of the same character, instead of choosing a classifier (as in 𩵦), a symbol forming a combined idea 𠂇 意 has been added, as is the case for 仁.

It is clear, indeed, that the word 仁 *jên* (humanity) is merely a special meaning of the word 人 *jên* (man). Though deprived of accurate views on the etymological evolution, the Chinese scholars point out this phonetic identity in saying : 仁者人也. *Humanity is man*, as Père Vanhée recalls it in the note above quoted. If, in order to distinguish *Humanity* from *Man*, the Chinese had proceeded as with 𩵦 they would have added the radical 心 (*heart*) which is the classifier of characters connected with feelings, and they would have obtained 𢘑 *human, humanity*.



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# NOTES AND QUERIES

The Editor ventures thus early to ask the friends of the *Review* to do their best for it in the coming year. It can never be as popular as the *Strand Magazine* or *Scribner's*, and it can only be kept going by two changes—first, the circulation should be greater ; there are no doubt many people in China who would take the magazine in if they knew about it : readers are therefore asked to recommend it to their friends. If it is to the credit of Shanghai to produce such a respectable journal, and if there is any public spirit there, it may even be hoped that some wealthy citizens will order not only the one copy for their own library but a dozen more for distribution and for the encouragement of a useful publication.

The other desirable improvement is to increase the number of advertisements. Though Banks and Insurance Offices may hardly increase their business at all by such advertising it may be argued that they cannot afford to have their names absent from a high-class publication, and that it is even a public duty to support such a creditable local product.

The magazine has been an undoubted success for three years, and all readers are earnestly asked to help to make the fourth volume still better.

* * *

Our next number will contain an important study of Mexican Dollars by Mr. Woodward, papers by de Saussure (The Lunar Zodiac), Prof. E. H. Parker (Hsün Tzŭ 荀子), R. P. J. de la Servière (Une nouvelle Histoire de la Chine), Prof. H. A. Giles, etc., etc.

* * *

Special attention is called to the advertisement of "Chinese Life on the Tibetan Foothills," now obtainable in book form at the Far Eastern Geographical Establishment.



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## Note by A. C. Moule.

Having occasion to fix the day in the Chinese Calendar of certain European dates I looked at the chronological tables at the end of Giles' Dictionary (1912); and having found what I wanted, I ungratefully went on to look at tables (*G*) and (*H*) and at the explanation thereof on p. 33. The Chinese dates which I wanted differed widely, as given in these tables, from those which I had found in P. Hoang's *Concordance*. After a little thought it occurred to me that the tables made no allowance for the correction of the European Calendar. In 1582, as is well known, the day following October 4 was October 15, and a corresponding change in all subsequent years must be made in the dates of table (*H*). This will be made clear by comparing Giles' equivalents for the 1st day of the 1st moon with those given by P. Hoang in five of the years specified in table (*G*):

| Year | Giles | Hoang | New Moon (approx.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1121 | Jan. 23 | Jan. 21 | |
| 1577 | Jan. 23 | Jan. 19 | |
| 1596 | Jan. 23 | Jan. 29 | |
| 1900 | Jan. 23 | Jan. 31 | Jan. 30 (21h.) |
| 1919 | Jan. 23 | Feb. 1 | Jan. 31 (19h.) |

P. Hoang is no doubt not infallible, but the small errors which have been found (in a book which provides 692 opportunities for error on each page) do not seriously affect his authority for the present purpose; and it will be noticed (1) that the first year of each lunar cycle of 19 years does not begin on the *same* solar date, (2) that the lunar year may begin before January 21—in 1580 P. Hoang makes it begin on January 16; (3) that in these five years Giles' date does not once correspond exactly with Hoang's. And in the 19th year of (*H*) one wonders how three consecutive Chinese moons can begin on January 5, February 5 and March 5, respectively, or two on August 28 and September 29. The table is in fact not only less reliable in method than one might wish, but it is not quite accurately printed. To end with a practical suggestion, it will be found, I think, that from the year 1633 onwards tables (*G*) and (*H*) will be approximately correct if one of two changes is made. *Either* deduct 2 from the years in (*G*), reading 1651, 1670, 1689, 1708, ecc.; *or* re-number the years in (*H*), reading 18, 19, 1, 2 . . . 17, in place of 1, 2, 3, 4 . . . 19. The Chinese year does begin on or about January 23 in 1651, 1670, etc., and on or about January 31 in 1653, 1672, etc. But owing to a change in the position of the



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intercalary moon, the year in 1632 began not on January 23, but on February 20. Before 1582 the tables may be used as they stand with a general error, compared with Hoang, of 2-4 days and an occasional error of a month; but they will of course need correction again in periods when the Chinese year began on quite abnormal dates. In 628 B.C., for example, with which table (*G*) begins, the *second* moon ended on January 17, and table (*H*) would give an error of about 9 weeks.

Tables (*I*), (*J*), (*K*), (*L*) seem to work more exactly then (*G*) and (*H*); but they too break down after 1582.

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## Notes by L. C. Arlington.

### *The Mystery of the Great State-Seal.*

Considerable confusion exists in Chinese history as to the origin and ultimate fate of a seal apparently endowed—from a Chinese point of view—with supernatural powers. Discarding all the legendary nonsense about the Emperors Yao and Shun meeting with a yellow dragon and phoenix with an impression of the Yellow Emperor's royal seal stamped on their backs; or that of a swallow dropping the seal in a lady's workbasket, and her becoming an empress in consequence; or that of the woodcutter finding it in a bird's nest; we will begin the investigation of our seal from the 8th century B.C. Chinese authentic history goes back to about 750 B.C. Fairly clear tradition carries us some 350 years further, to the arrival of the Chous. Prior to that period, myth and tradition are so intermixed, that there is a difficulty in separating the two. Events that are dealt with like unstrung beads—broken that is, from the relation that threads them—may have some fragmentary, anecdotal interest in themselves, but they get us nowhere in the end. And such unstrung beads, unfortunately, we find in the investigation of the royal seal. According to Wei Hung (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2277), the first state seals were made of silver, gold or copper. But he does not give the date of their introduction. When it comes to the jade seal, we are, however, on firmer ground, although not out of the woods as will be seen in the sequel. For the more we study the subject, the more unexpected hares are started in every direction.

The original jade seal is said to have been made out of the famous jewel found by Pien Ho (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1650) at Ching shan (荆山) in the Ch'u (楚) state. The jewel was first presented to a Prince who declared it to be false, and Pien Ho was sentenced



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as an impostor to have his left foot cut off. When the next Prince came to the throne, Pien again presented the jewel, and with similar result, this time losing his right foot. But when the next Prince ascended the throne, Pien again submitted the stone, weeping tears of blood because a genuine stone had been declared false, and a loyal subject an impostor. It was again tested and found to be a valuable jade. Hence, it became known as the Ho family jewel (和氏之璧). This was the same stone that Lin Hsiang-ju sent back to his master Hui Wên when the Ch'in State pretended to offer several cities for it. The jewel is said to have remained in its original condition and shape without any inscription on it—although it is said to have been stolen, and mysteriously disappears and as mysteriously appears again and again,—until it comes into the possession of the First Emperor, Ch'in Shih Huang, who ordered Li Ssŭ, his Prime Minister, to engrave in the Lesser Seal characters—of which he was the inventor—the following inscription on it: 受命於天既壽永昌 "By the grace of God; may the reign be long and prosperous." It was two inches square and had five dragons beautifully carved on it to serve as a grip for the hand when used in sealing. During the troublous times of the Hans which divided the Empire for some forty years, the seal became lost. This is said to have occurred at the time the eunuchs assassinated Ho Chin, which ultimately brought about their own destruction at the hands of Yüan Shao. After Tung Cho's flight with the young Emperor, the seal was found by Sun Chien in a well at Loyang. To emphasize the supernatural powers of the seal, one authority says that Sun Chien saw a light shining in the well and upon dragging found the body of a beautiful woman in a perfect state of preservation. Round the neck of the body was a string to which was attached a casket, which upon opening was found to contain the royal seal. Sun Chien concealed it and finally handed it to his son Sun Ch'üan when he proclaimed himself Emperor of Eastern Wu. The seal when found in the well had one of the corners broken off, and was subsequently restored to its original shape by being patched with gold; hence, it became known as the "gold mounted jade seal" (金鎮玉璽). The chronological order of our seal's story from now on becomes more confusing than ever. Through all the successive dynasties it is recorded as being stolen, secretly hidden, it disappears and re-appears again and again, until it passes into the hands of the Sungs, when its history becomes more interesting. It is recorded that when Bayan, the Mongol General was marching to Hangchow, the capital, the traitor minister, Ch'ên I-chung (陳宜中) sent him the seal of the Empire. On



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top of this we have the statement that when the Empress-mother escaped with the two young Princes to Canton, she took the state seal with her. After the death of the elder Prince off Yai shan at Canton, the younger Prince was taken on board of a war junk by a general Liu Hsiu-fu, who, when attacked and defeated by the Mongol fleet, off Yai shan (崖山), plunged into the sea with the Prince on his back, the seal disappearing with him. In order to repair the apparent anachronism, the chronologists will have it that Ch'ên I-chung sent Bayan a false seal, and that the original disappeared with the last of the Sungs. It is likewise recorded that the Mongols dragged for the Prince's body, and in doing so, recovered the seal, but not the body.

Another version has it that the first Mongol Emperor had no seal for 16 years and then, omitting all the intervening Emperors, it was not till the 31st year of Chih Chêng that the seal was found. As the Emperor Hui Tsung only reigned for 27 years under the title Chih Chêng the chronologists are again at fault. Yet another version is that on the downfall of the Mongols, the state seal was sent to Mongolia by the last of the Mongols and concealed there. There would appear to be a grain of truth in this statement, since it is recorded that the subjugation of the Chahar Mongols was followed in 1635 by the submission of all the remaining tribes south of the Gobi, whose Chief Eje handed to T'ai Tsung the great state seal of China which had formerly been that of the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty. It is generally believed among the Chinese that the original jade seal found by Pien Ho in the 8th century B.C. and first used as the great state seal by Ch'in Shih Huang, is now in the possession of the ex-Emperor Hsüan T'ung; probably owing to its being known as the "Gold mounted jade seal." It is of course possible, but not probable, that the traitor Ch'en I-chung sent Bayan a false seal and that the genuine one disappeared with the last of the Sungs off Yaishan.

But if this is so, what about the Mings, were they without the so-called state seal? There are said to have been eight kinds of seals in use for the Emperors and their Consorts. One seal is said to have been unearthed by the workmen when repairing the dykes at K'aifêng in Honan in the 3rd moon of the 3rd year of the T'ang Emperor T'ung Kuang (A.D. 926), which on examination was found to be of the purest jade. It was two inches square, with the following characters engraven on it: 皇帝行寶. It was sent for inspection to all the scholars of the Empire but no trace of its origin could be discovered. Such are the bald facts regarding the seal, and nothing is mentioned as to its ultimate disposal.



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A Chinese proverb says "If one wishes to be acquainted with the past and present, he must read five cartloads of books." We do not profess to have read the five cartloads of books; but if there were only *one* book in which any important event was accurately noted in its order, the connection between events clearly shown, and the whole presented in a compendious manner, it would be the greatest assistance in contributing to the historical knowledge of China.

As it is at present. one has to read the whole of the five cartloads of books and be no wiser in the end than when he started.

The true facts probably are that each dynasty had its own state seal, and that the Pien Ho jewel and Ch'in Shih Huang's great state seal are pure myths. We are, of course, open to correction, and if anyone will gather together the unstrung beads and restring them in some sort of chronological order, he will undoubtedly earn the grateful thanks of all those who are interested in the subject.

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## A FEW CORRIGENDA

In Vol. II, p. 238, Mr. Werner translated 石路 as "side-walk." He now writes to say it should have been translated "Foochow Road."

This is one of the Editor's unaccountable oversights: for in the Shanghai pronunciation of the characters Shekloo or Shakloo is a well-known local road. As may now be read in the *History of Shanghai* (p. 450), the road received its foreign name in 1862, but it was the Fokien not the Foochow Road.

* * *

To come to the current year's issue, on p. 215, line 6, the character 骨 should be added after 皮.

A more important mistake is on p. 219, line 4, where the C of Cayton has been printed without the cedilla. Wadding prints 'Cayton'; Yule says the MS probably had 'Cayton' (with the cedilla); Mr. Moule's remark is in corroboration of Yule's guess.

This and other faults of a similar kind are due to the lack of special type in the printing office, and the difficulty and delay in getting such lack supplied from home. It is stated, however, that the long-expected types have at last arrived, and the romanized characters will be in correct form in future.



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The *International Review of Missions*, not knowing how few are the missionaries in China who read such a serious magazine as ours, asks us to pass on the following request, which we do with pleasure.

Missionaries are asked to send in a brief statement of the three (or more) problems which have given them most perplexity during the last few years with, if possible, the circumstances in which they have arisen, any clue which may lead to the solution, etc. Separate sheets should be used for each problem if notes are added, and the missionary's name, station, length of service, etc., should be given. The communications are to be addressed to the office of that Review, 2 Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, London, S.W.1.



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# RECENT LITERATURE

*Le Zodiaque lunaire asiatique : Le système astronomique des chinois.*—Léopold de Saussure in Archives des Sciences Physiques et Naturelles, March-October, 1919. Geneva.

M. de Saussure has here developed in a most interesting series of papers a thesis as to the origin of Chinese astronomical technique which appears to be considerably more reliable than anything which has gone before it. He shows that, as the traditions indicate, the main object of the primitive observers was to produce a calendar and that this was done by noticing the relation of the seasons to the position of the *full* moon among the constellations. Since the full moon is in opposition to the sun this method gives a comparatively simple and accurate method of determining the position of the sun itself, especially if conjoined with a known opposition of certain *pairs* of stars. De Saussure endeavours to show that these star couples were the origin of the Hsü (宿) of which the number became 28, by association of ideas with the moon's daily path. Their inequality of width is then due to the more important requirement of exact opposition and not to primitive error or arbitrary variation. (The position of the sun among the stars can only be *directly* obtained, and then only with difficulty, by observation of the stars visible at dawn and twilight near to the rising or setting sun.) De Saussure shows that the stars chosen as references for the moon's position were carefully located and by means of a meridian projection through the zenith and the pole were very nicely paired across the celestial vault. He also draws attention to the five celestial "palaces" consisting of the central palace (The northern circumpolar region) and the four truncated sectors of the celestial sphere, between the two circumpolar regions, whose central meridians are the solstices and equ oxes. From these he rationally deduces the celestial correspondences of the five elements. A further comparison of



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the dodecanary subdivisions and the 28 hsü indicates a much higher degree of consistency and symmetry than has previously been noticed.

The basis of all Chinese astronomy was of course divinatory. The paramount influence of the seasons with its real relation to the sun and its apparent relation to the moon (arising from the fact that the positions of the quadratures and syzygies are indirect indicators of the sun's position) served as a basis for an elaborate system of presumed correspondence between heaven and earth.

De Saussure makes practically no mention of the five planets. Beyond occasional references to the planets as being located in such and such soli-lunar section of the sky and therefore having such and such a significance and correlating them with the five elements, the Chinese do not seem to have taken much stock of them. In this respect they have proved to-be wiser than the West since although the planets may have a minute influence on the sun and so on the earth, their effects are so insignificant compared with the sun's own proper fluctuations and the changes due to the earth's irregularities and motions, that they can be wholly neglected except in secular matters such as glacial periods, etc., when they may have cumulative effect on the earth's orbit. One logical reason for correlating them to man lay in the fact that of all cosmic phenomena they alone have periods which can be compared with those which occur in man's career.

The early Chinese seem to have wisely confined their astronomical science principally to the question of climate. The two modern applications of astronomy to navigation and cosmic physics could scarcely have been anticipated and on the whole (disregarding late Taoist superstitions) their ideas from a modern point of view compare very favourably with those of the early west.

M. de Saussure freely adopts the theory of the antiquity of the Yin and Yang idea. Is this antiquity quite certain? The two characters certainly occur on the Stone Drums but not in their philosophical connection and it is perhaps questionable whether the Pa Kua were analysed into Yin and Yang as such before the time of Wên Wang. Perhaps the bone relics will enable this point to be settled eventually.

These essays were awarded the Giles prize by the *Académie des Inscriptions* in March 1921.

HERBERT CHATLEY.



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*Chinese Family and Commercial Law.* By G. Jamieson, M.A., C.M.G. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd. 1921.

Most reading people know Maine's *Ancient Law*, and are able to air their knowledge of the fact that in China as among the Romans the family is the social unit, and that the *patris potestas* obtains here as it did there. This is easy, and this is generally all ; they get out of their depth if asked to discuss the results of that difference from the modern individualism of the West. To all such readers, if they are really interested in the civilization around them here, this book by a Barrister-at-Law, formerly a well-known resident and H.B.M. Consul-General, will be of considerable value, though of course it is of more special use to law students.

It is well known that commercial law as such is not recognized in China : all offences are criminal. There is no general rule to guide in cases of bankruptcy, partnership, etc. Mr. Jamieson has, however, taken advantage of the fact that the Mixed Court since its institution sixty years ago has distinguished civil from criminal cases, and by studying the incomplete records he has been able to produce what he terms "this pioneer treatise on Civil Law as it now prevails."

The plan of the work is to give first the translation of a section of the code and follow it with a commentary. The subjects thus treated are the law of Succession and Inheritance, Marriage Laws, Village organization, Land Tenure and Taxation, and Commercial Law ; and there are two appendices, in which are given some translations of Chinese reports of criminal cases throwing light on civil rights, and also a collection of cases decided in the Mixed Court. Those who need for practical reasons to know about the liability of guarantors, or of partners in a bankrupt firm, or about the negotiability of promissory notes, or *shéng ko* land, or native banks, will here find judgements that have been given ; but apart from any business usefulness the whole book is good reading for any intelligent student of Chinese civilization.

---

*China, Captive or Free? A Study of China's Entanglements.*—By Rev. Gilbert Reid, A.M., D.D. New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1921.

This Review does not deal with modern missions : there are enough periodicals devoted to that special object ; nor with current politics—Heaven knows there are more than enough journals dealing with them. Every petty or potty journalist screeches a plan to save the State, the Empire or the Republic ; and still the world is not saved.



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We have therefore but little to say about such a very political work as Dr. Reid's: other journals, if they notice it, will probably be glad to tear it to pieces. Our remarks are general, not touching the matter of the book.

It is hardly likely we can discuss a work which teaches the Chinese that "between these two Allies [Great Britain and Japan] —upper and nether millstones—China is being ground."

The author is well known in China. Founder and Director of the International Institute he had a fine opportunity of standing aloof from all that was merely national, but he chose to take up a strong pro-German position, resulting in the alienation of friends and the wreck of the Institute. He humorously speaks of himself as having been persecuted for righteousness' sake, is quite impenitent, and fails to see that if French, British, Japanese and even American "great diplomats" found him obnoxious there may have been something in it.

The value of the book will not be to the reading public, but to the author himself; for the Chinese will by it be led to consider him as China's one, best friend, and will rally round him.

It is one of the books which are not books—it is mere political journalism, with a binding. Instead of digesting the subject, then writing on it from inward intimate knowledge with a flowing and a glowing pen, the author seems rather to have written round a collection of clippings from innumerable sources authoritative or obscure. A fifth of the whole seems to us to be quotations. The journalistic and unliterary nature of the work is seen for instance in "The Allies . . . would have had no *raison d'être* to intrigue," etc.; while we think the reminiscence of the Foolish Virgins—by a missionary,—is a gem of journalism: "The U.S. Constitution, like the Sermon on the Mount, both slumbered and slept."

While entirely disagreeing with so much of the book we can honour the writer for the grit with which he sticks to his mistakes and returns to face a situation he has himself made difficult; and so far as the book may help him to secure a ground for doing useful work for the Chinese we need not grudge him any success, and may even wish him God-speed.

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*Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LII—1921. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh.

As with former volumes so with this we have to regret that it contains too large a proportion of what may be called amateurish work. That amateurs should be encouraged goes without



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saying, for otherwise how could they "come on" to be the great authorities of the future ? Much of their work is valuable in itself, too, and of great interest ; our only complaint is that the Journal does not have a larger proportion of papers of permanent and authoritative value. Such papers are those by Skvortzow on the Agriculture etc., of China ; by Mr. Wilkinson on Exogamy in China ; and one or two more. All scraps of information about aborigines are eagerly welcomed by students of Anthropology, but it is obvious that six weeks visit to a tribe in Hainan or a pleasure trip through Kweichow province can hardly supply much really reliable data to scientists

Morse suggests a locality for the island of Lampaçao, which for centuries has been as lost as Atlantis itself. It is queer that Favier in his *Peking* gives a crude picture of the island, but does refer to it in the text.

Mrs. Ayscough introduces us to new ideas about translating Chinese poetry. We have long been convinced that no one person is equal to the task, but it seems strange to have a poem "Translated by F. Ayscough, Rendering, Any Lowell." Of another it is said "The translation is based on the analysis of the character." We think that neither Burns nor Shakespeare paused to consider the etymology of the words they used, and if the Chinese poets did not simply use the words they knew in the common significance they had at the time, their poetry was more artificial than we suspected, and the subject to-day, instead of being one of the most difficult of studies becomes almost impossible—and not worth while.

There is room for further improvement in the proof-reading. "Any" Lowell, being presumably American, might be rightly so named ; but it looks like a printer's error. *Sum* (for *sun*), *emblemn, prefectly ressemble,* all within a few lines, show carelessness, and so does the irregularity of diacritic marks in romanized words. *Jejunenesse* is a remarkable word, and it is honoured by being put among the very small—far too small—list of *errata* : we are told to read *jejeuness* ; but we still refuse.

On p. 206 there is a curious blunder—an incorrect correction, making confusion worse confounded. It is said a certain book is 'not by Giles but by Gyle.' As every one knows the popular writer or compiler is named Geil.

The Journal cannot be neglected by any who care for Chinese studies, and the present number will give them a good deal of interesting and useful reading.



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# THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

VOL. III. DECEMBER, 1921 No. 6

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THE NEW
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VOL. III. DECEMBER, 1921. No. 6.

# KWAN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

(*Continued from page 11*)

## IV. THE THEORY OF WAR

One of Kwan-tsz's most striking theories is that of war, and the Japanese commentator-editors justly point out that the military work known as *Sun-tsz* (recently translated by Dr. Lionel Giles with a preface by Lord Roberts) largely owes its inspiration to Kwan-tsz, who antedated him as he also antedated Confucius by 150 years: Sun-tsz, indeed, was a native of Kwan-tsz's own vassal state, though he did most of his fighting as a mercenary abroad. The government of a state, then, should have command of effective force if needful, but should act with benevolence otherwise: no individual can be indifferent to his country's danger. Stress is laid upon the importance of protecting cultivators, whose good or weal must always be the best asset against external enemies: unless a fair share of their own produce be left to the cultivators, they will not avail much against hostile intrusion. It is the cultivator who produces grain, grain that sustains the men, the men who form the troops, the troops that hold the citadels, and the citadels that maintain the State fabric. A minister of state, if at the same time a military man, must not be too disposed either to over-taxation or to leaving lands untilled; on the other hand, pacifists at any price are shameless creatures.



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First, said Kwan-tsz to the Duke, place in order your own domain before you proceed to raise fighting armies to influence the Empire : one of the sub-chapters is entitled "the seven ways of doing," and then the philosopher goes on to urge every man to exert himself for his own state, and to show the advantages to be gained for it by pre-eminence and conquest. There should always be in readiness a store of well-tempered arms, and effort should be made to have ready for action the very best of commanders ; but at the same time courtesy and justice (*li-i*) are indispensable in order to conquer men's hearts as well as their persons. An accumulation of treasure is the first essential in military affairs. Plans should be matured before the expedition sets out ; get the best and surest intelligence ; have superiority both in numbers and *moral*, which all means in effect that in this way you have, comparatively, a mere rabble to face you. The way to advance victoriously is to have your army and stores all in perfect order. Rewards should be bestowed with scrupulous fairness. Plans of the ground should be carefully studied, and get the best sub-officers you can : in this way you need not be afraid of advancing too far or too quickly ; lightning attacks may be safely risked ; and you can protect your hearths and homes with unity of spirit. Pounce suddenly on the enemy ; devastate his land ; establish spies all over the place ; maintain discipline ; and, above all, get rid of irresponsible chatterers. In this way you will have no need of temporary alliances and you govern a united state of your own. But your discipline must be fair as well as strict, or else there will be trouble, for you cannot run up against universal indignation : hence you must be cautious in giving offence, and careful to reward merit. Estimate both your man and your object. Spend your resources liberally, and let the people have full supplies : the lazy should be forced, however, to work. There can be no victory for the troops if the people are so short of grain that they have to borrow parcels from each other ; hence you must allow for scant years in calculating for army requirements. You must remember, too, that impulsiveness is not necessarily bravery.

People will go through fire and water for good rulers, and thus all, soldiers and people alike, will keep their heads securely on their shoulders in times of peace. But remember there is nothing that impoverishes the people and dissipates wealth so quickly as war ; nothing so dangerous to the state and so saddening to the ruler of it. These four evils are plain to all, and yet wars have continually gone on, and will always go on. Consider, for instance, a daily expenditure of one thousand (pounds of) gold for an army of 100,000 men, with no guarantee for victory at that,



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and even then at the cost of a great loss of life. Arms then are an evil, but are a necessity for the maintenance of order, for assisting the King above us all, and for establishing a Protectorate (*pa*) below. But the present generation of men have lost the true principles which ought to govern such matters: there are wasteful and impoverishing wars about nothing, always with uncertainty of success, which in any case is disproportionate to the enormous expenditure; whilst the state is ruined, even though the accession of territory in dispute be really secured. A Protector may be defined as the man who clearly establishes his superiority in military strategy (a commentator at this point explains that his *de facto* power must not be confused with the *de jure* power of the King or Emperor). Kwan-tsz here alludes to an older work on tactics, which like several other extinct "books" mentioned in the course of his periodical "sermons" to the Duke, have perished milleniums ago: however, another Chinese commentator here remarks that since the days of General Wu K'i (B.C.400, another distinguished fighter who gave his services to foreign states) there has been no such thorough discussion on military power as is here given, and in any case Kwan-tsz's treatise is superior to those of Sun* and Wu. To return now to the actual text of Kwan-tsz: he says, citing the "old book" above referred to,—and after repeating that stores must be ample, weapons of the best quality, rewards and punishments clear,—that there are definite ways (1) of avoiding risks of scarcity when war is declared, (2) of securing victory when the march has commenced, (3) of minimising the loss of life during this victorious process, and (4) of obtaining accessions of territory without injuring your own state prospects; and he proceeds to show how wise economy, careful strategy, effective weapons, in each case following the lines of least popular resistance will secure these objects. In the field advance is regulated by the drum, halt or retirement by the gong, and choice of attacking weapons by flag-waving: these are called the 三官 or three "senses"; the five instructions" on the other hand regulate the colour of the flags, the movements of the body, sit or rise, advance or retire, the use of long or short weapons, always bearing in mind the proper distribution of rewards and punishments. Then the nine "aspects" must be considered, whether it is night or day, whether you have to deal with water, forest, hill, marsh, rolling ground, mountain, or supply-communications, in each case the main object being to confound the enemy. In some way not quite apparent, the above considerations are

* Sun's was translated by Dr. Lionel Giles a few years ago.



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made to conform to the philosophical principles of *tao* (the right way) and *têh* (the result of *tao*) in the general sense of the "will to conquer" ; but even if so, then Kwan-tsz distinctly objects tc anything in the shape of trickery or treachery when the enemy is once defeated, though in strategy and tactics he allows himself a free hand. There is a great deal more in this style, to a quite complete comprehension of which some military knowledge and much wrestling with philosophy is necessary. It is interesting, however, to read of *tao* and *têh* nearly two centuries before Lao-tsz elaborated his *Tao-têh* Classic. In the next chapter, however, Kwan-tsz declares that it was not part of the *tao* of the good old ancient Kings to strive for military predominance. Then follows a discussion between Kwan-tsz and the Duke which has a decidedly Machiavellian, not to say Prussian flavour about it. It is explained how under certain circumstances it pays well politically to devote two-thirds of the revenues to diplomatic activity with a view to conquest in the limited sense above explained ; in order to obtain troops, the criminal classes might be reprieved, and a system of fines in weapons be instituted, but before marching abroad into other territories the chief aim should be to secure popularity at home, and the petty states around should be ingratiated with small cessions of territory. Military forces should be trained in secret, so as to prevent other powerful vassal states from making similar preparations; moreover the internal administration should be based upon army principles. There should be three army corps raised in this way, styled respectively the Duke's corps, the Country's or Heir's corps, and the Commander-in-Chief's (*Kao-tsz*)* corps, all based upon civil subdivisions, beginning with five families, then 50, 200, 2,000 and up to 6,000. There should be spring and autumn hunting expeditions, accustoming the men to outdoor exercise ; and there should be no unnecessary shifting of commands, so that all, civil and military, will feel a sense of mutual protection. In this way an army of 30,000 men could easily overrun the Empire (*t'ien-hia*) and fix the royal house of Chou so solidly that none of the great vassals (each one surrounded by petty sub-lieges) could set up pretentions of independence. At the new year the heads of each civil hamlet, parish, hundred, county, and so on, should present themselves at the (duke's) court for cross-examination as to the condition of the territory under their civil rule, and then fines of weapons, shields and other war equipments should be imposed upon the

*The frequence of these terms in history leaves it doubtful whether *Kwoh* and *Kao* were not rather distinguished families holding hereditary military commands.



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lax. Sea-coast barbarian should be utilised against sea-coast barbarian when occasion requires, and high diplomacy in general should be employed according to our ancient King's methods. But a general must always have good charts or maps showing the available roads and the places liable to flood in order that there may be no obstacle to his march, and that supplies may be duly brought in : a competent staff is needed, and a general should not hesitate to expend even his private fortune when occasion requires; prince, statesman, and general should all collaborate, but it is the military power that really rules the state : you demonstrate, you deploy, you fight ; one day's fight may consume a whole year's savings, the cost of one battle whole generations of labour: hence the need of forming clear plans before starting out, and hence the reason why using inferior weapons practically means no weapons at all, whilst again short-reaching arms pitted against long-reaching arms simply means slaughter, and poorly made arms practically means handing over the troops to the enemy ; and so onwards ; poor troops means handing over the generals to the enemy ; poor generals means handing over the prince to the enemy, and an ineffectual prince means handing over the State to the enemy. Hence rank, honour, and pay must not be administered with a sparing hand to the deserving. Movements must be secret, sudden, circumspect. The great thing is to take the enemy by surprise and not to be surprised oneself ; for instance if crows are observed perching on tents, itis evident that the enemy has really abandoned them. In a word, the true policy of good ministers is to enrich the state and strengthen the army : successful arms follow suitable policy as inevitably as good results follow correct behaviour. Smash the enemy's preparations ; scatter his stores ; stop his food ; he thus becomes defenceless ; but when conquered, treat him courteously and generously. Offer him the highest prices for real talent, and pay even triple ordinary rates for his labour. Bribe spies to betray his secrets ; carefully scrutinise his charts and documents : tactics consist in artful trickery.

It is incidentally mentioned that a rule forbade any youth under eight years of age from even entering a military camp, but it is recorded of the heir's corps or gentlemen's corps that they once knocked out their deciduous teeth in order to get in with result that a battle was won; and there are a few more anecdotes which the commentators suspect of later interpolation after the Yangtze valley states had become rivals of true Old China. But more savouring of true Kwan-tsz are the military considerations indispensable in choosing a site for new capitals or central cities.



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It is as necessary to keep up horses though they may not be always running, just as it is needful to keep up an army though it may not always be fighting,* and here it may be observed that no mention is yet made of *riding* horses ; their function in battle was to draw chariots in which the man-of-arms stood, assisted by his squire and his driver † A "10,000 chariot" state meant an army of 720,000 men, for 72 foot soldiers (later 50) were supposed to be allowed to each war chariot of four horses.

A ruler should not listen to proposals for disarmament or "general love all round ;" it is true that *I* can refrain from attack, but there is no certainty that others will not attack *me*, in which case my hastily collected levies will be no match for their disciplined troops. It is best to follow natural laws, civil and military dispositions being complementary to each other, just as heat and cold alternate in nature, and military prestige thus saves the necessity of reiterating law and command, which may be disposed, as it were, in three forms, instruments, or phases ; to wit, the utterance of command, the ax, and the reward. If a man benefit by breaking the law, then one of these three must be ineffective, for good soldiers are produced in vain if the prince himself is bad. A good prince tests his military for bravery or cowardice just as he tests his civilians for capability or incompetence ; on the other hand a bad prince too often appoints on recommendation without any test. It is good service rendered that makes the prince safe and people prosperous, and on the military side a general should succeed in doing this good service. Bad economy is as bad as civil war ; on the other hand a state that wars for war's sake wastes its revenues and breeds up a proletariat. It is highly desirable that free burials should be accorded to those parents who have lost their sons in war, and the families of those killed and wounded should receive rewards. The joy of battle lies, however, in a full belly and the prospect of reward, not in any desperate desire to avenge parents ; as at Court so in the field, the prospect of reward is the main incentive after all : thus Kwan-tsz. There is an anecdote of Kwan-tsz (at the outset of his master's conquests) having advised the grant of a whole year's revenue (42,000 pounds of gold, over £2,000,000) to the army, which was accordingly summoned to headquarters in order to receive the necessary stimulation on the above principles in advance : the whole sum was distributed in one morning, and Kwan-tsz said to the somewhat sceptical Duke :—"Do not fear, my liege, the money is well

* There is a modern Chinese proverb to this effect.

† The similarity of these chariots to the Babylonian fighting cars is striking.



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invested ; when we have conquered the enemies' countries we shall recover all this gold and more of it ; the great thing is to secure eagerness to serve and a desire for fame at the outset."

Another "Prussian" scheme of Kwan-tsz was to buy up at high prices all the warlike arms of a state he wished to crush, re-selling them cheap to neighbouring semi-Tartar states : other powerful vassals, hearing of this, would compete : result, the ill-fated state abandons its cultivation of grain with a view to making money by growing wood for arms. Then Kwan-tsz so manipulates the rice-market that every state around eagerly sends its grain to him ; but he then suddenly closes the frontier, and the victim, possessing neither arms nor grain, has thus to surrender unconditionally. Apparently it is this bane of trickery in Kwan-tsz's policy that has decided the successive rulers of China to give him educationally a wide berth.

## V. Opinions of Kwan-Tsz's Later Preface-Writers

Naturally the first preface in a Japanese edition is by a Japanese, who gives four more prefaces by Chinese scholars of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), and who probably himself published his edition 200 or 300 years ago. He considers Kwan-tsz superior as a political philosopher to Mencius (4th cent. B. C.) and as a military writer to Sun-tsz* 孫子 (6th cent. B.C.) ; moreover his own immense services to China consist in his having at least for a time resuscitated the fortunes or at all events the moral principles of the decadent Chou dynasty, and (however imperfectly this moral recension was done so far as the Chinese vassal kingdoms were concerned) in his having by his military reforms for ever kept off the overwhelming of China by the two main groups of Tartars. † Even in Kwan-tsz's and Confucius' time, as Confucius himself has left on record, the last archives of the two preceding dynasties (2200 to 1100 B.C.) had disappeared, and if the Tartars had once broken in we should now have had no archives subsequent to 1100 B.C , and thus no history of China at all. Kwan-tsz, in short, saved civilization and left us a vivid summary of Chinese antiquity ; Mencius was wrong, therefore, to sneer at him (says the Japanese editor) ; moreover Confucius' own teachings and the success of his administration in his own small native state (immediately south of Kwan-tsz's more considerable state) owe much to Kwan-tsz (of whom Confucius prudently speaks with respect and toleration). Later rulers, con-

* Not to be confused with Sün-tsz (4th cent. B. C.)

† Then, as now, what may be roughly described as Turks and Tunguses



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sciously or unconsciously, similarly owe much to Kwan-tsz. Lao-tsz's book of 5,000 words on *Tao* largely paraphrases Kwan-tsz, and Sun-tsz's thirteen military chapters copy his ideas : the same may be said of the *sing-li* 性理 philosophers in later times (*i.e.* the Chu-tsz group of Confucian renaissance celebrity, 12th cent. A.D.)

The first Chinese preface says that Chou Kung (B.C. 1100, one of the effective founders of the Chou dynasty and also of Confucius' state), Kwan-tsz, and Confucius were all three more successful in their creative work than the more ambitious Mencius : what a pity, says he, there was no second Kwan-tsz in 1100 A.D. to save the Sung dynasty (Marco Polo's "Manzi") from the successive inroads of Tartar rulers (Cathayans, Early Manchus, Mongols).

The second Chinese preface says that Kwan-tsz gave full stomachs and warm clothing precedence over rites and ranks. He was superior to Sün-tsz* 荀子 (Mencius' chief adversary, who it is usually said maintained that human nature was evil), or Yang-tsz (a later compromise between Mencius and Sün-tsz), or to the earliest philosophers of the so-called Taoist school ; not to mention the later ones such as Chwang-tsz, Lü Puh-wei 呂不韋, etc. In a word, Kwan-tsz, opines he, is the best of all the school-men.

The next preface in order says that Kwan-tsz's general plan is half based on the "Ceremonial Books" or principles of administration and life generally introduced by the Chou dynasty in 1100 B.C., except that he modifies from top to bottom the practical application thereof.

The last Chinese preface observes that there were originally 389 sections, but the Han dynasty's literary scion (Liu Hiang, 1st cent. B.C.), who busied himself in recovering the remains of the "destroyed literature," reconstituted these 389 into 86, of which 10 are now hopelessly lost. He adds that the best reformer of Chou Kung's original schemes† was undoubtedly Kwan-tsz. Amongst other things he established a regular currency in gold and cloths, giving his attention in addition to the fisheries, salt, needles, and general iron implement industries. His guiding principle was "be strong for war, if needful ; otherwise be benevolent" ; this was not exactly Chou Kung's principle, nor will Su Tung-po (the great poet-statesman of 1100 A.D.) allow that

* Not to be confused with Sun-tsz the military strategist.

† The records of previous dynasties having been lost, there is nothing to show how Chou Kung's ancestors came to develop the old Chinese religious statecraft into organized formalism.



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it was inferior to the original, whose foundations were admittedly built upon by Kwan-tsz : the benevolence underlying the latter's political philosophy (says this critic) contrasts favourably with the harshness of Han Fei (3rd cent. B.C.), adviser of the monarch * who ultimately destroyed literature.

Each of the 76 now surviving chapters of the book called *Kwan-tsz* is separately commented on almost sentence by sentence by this or that modern Chinese critic ; but, taken as a body, they have little to add beyond the considerations we have already submitted : the general judgement seems to be that, however superior in abstract virtue Confucius may have been, he lacked the creative, active, administrative force of Kwan-tsz.

* Han Fei had studied under Sün-tsz, who also was adviser to the destroyer's great-grandfather.



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# ON MEXICAN DOLLARS

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

It is seldom that foreign residents in China, much less the Chinese, stop to reflect upon the influence which that very convenient commodity, the Mexican Dollar, has had upon the truly remarkable development of Shanghai, not to mention China Fewer still are those who have tarried somewhat in their chase after it to question its origin, study its peculiarities and eventually form a specialized collection of those coins.

The common term, Mexican Dollar, should not be understood as meaning only that one coin with a blaze of sun on its reverse, that the present China residents are accustomed to, but also its predecessor, popularly known in earlier days and usually described by writers on finance and economics, as the Carolus, or 'Pillar' dollar, so named from the Pillars of Hercules in its design. It does not enter into the realm of numismatics to encroach upon the very able notes of Morse, Wagel, Spalding and other writers who have devoted much attention to both the Carolus and Eagle dollars from economic and financial standpoints. It suffices to mention that the Carolus dollar, very often denoted the Spanish dollar, was not really produced in Spain, but in her most wealthy then existing colony of Mexico, a fact which I do not remember to have read in any treatise on Chinese currency and finances, and which induces me to claim the title to this article as strictly correct. Most of the silver the world produced at the close of the eighteenth century came from the Mexican mines, and the mint which then existed in the City of Mexico was extensively availed of to convert into coin shape that mass of silver. Certainly, much of it was exported to Spain, but much more to India and the Philippines, whence the natural channels of commerce brought the flow of the coin on to China. For many years at the close of the eighteenth, and somewhat into the nineteenth century, the Carolus dollar was the only foreign coin which the Chinese people accepted ; in some provinces the tenacity of the people in favour of the coin was more marked than in other localities, and a writer during August 1916 in the *North-China Herald* mentioned that in certain parts of Anhui province the coin was then still to be seen, and was even treasured ; nevertheless, it may well



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to-day be classed as *passé*. As with the Eagle dollar, there does not seem to have been any regularity in its size, but actual measurements of a goodly number of pieces indicate that 38.75 mm. is a fair average ; the weight, ascertained by scaling fifty pieces, being 26.537 grammes average. On the obverse, it bears on a bare field the Spanish kings' bust, the head being wreathed with laurel ; around : CAROLUS. III. DEI. GRATIA. ; the year is placed underneath the bust. On the reverse is found an escutcheon of the arms of Castille and Leon with three fleurs-de-lys at the heart point, the whole surmounted by a Royal crown ; a Pillar of Hercules at the dexter and sinister, united by a scroll bearing the inscription PLUS ULTRA ; the inscription around this whole reads : HISPAN. ET IND. REX. M. 8 R.F.M. Usual milling with reeding -0-0-0-0-. A curious peculiarity of the 1772 piece is noticeable in the mint mark, which is inverted, thus giving a strange effect to the inscription which reads : HISPAN. ET IND. REX. M. 8 R. .M F.

To the Carolus dollar there appeared in China, *circa* 1854 a formidable rival in the Eagle or commonly known Mexican dollar, although its common description is really a paradox, since both coins were from the same origin. In losing her rich colony by its obtaining its independence, Spain lost her wealthy source of the white metal, and the issue of the Eagle dollar caused the discontinuance of production of the Carolus coins ; it was then only a matter of time before the effective ousting of the latter by the former in China took place. Nevertheless, the Eagle dollar has had its tribulations, but it eventually succeeded in defeating all attempts of strong competitors such as the Peruvian, Chilian, American Trade dollars and Japanese Yen, ever retaining its sway as the most highly appreciated currency in China. Even Chinese Dragon dollars have failed to accomplish their mission of driving the foreign intruder from the native money market, and, although the times seem propitious to effect the radical change, it still retains its prestige and privileged position, maintaining its hold upon the confidence of the Chinese people, notwithstanding the slow but steady progress of the Yüan Shih-k'ai dollar.

From a numismatic as well as historical aspect, as viewed by the China resident, the Mexican dollar is quite an interesting coin, especially if we peer into the future and consider that time and circumstances may so alter conditions that the coming generations may have to ask, what was the Mexican dollar ? One authority gives its weight as 417.79 grains, or 27.07 grammes, 97.27 per cent. being of pure silver ; I have before me a piece



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weighing 27.01 grammes which measures 40mm. in diameter, as well as another weighing 27.08 grammes and measuring only 37.5mm. ; but this abnormality in size is not frequent, although a standard does not seem to have been adopted. The term 'dollar' by which it is generally known, is a misnomer ; strictly speaking it is an eight Reales piece, and yet was sometimes called "un duro" in common Spanish parlance. It was first coined in 1824 during the first Mexican Republic, but when Maximilian ruled the country under an imperial banner from 1864 to 1867, he continued to employ the original legend of REPUBLICA MEXICANA during the years of 1865 and 1866, but only small quantities were issued, and pieces bearing such year dates are comparatively rare. After the restoration of the Republic, especially in 1868, larger quantities were minted until 1897, after which year, the legend on the reverse heretofore reading "✱ 8 R.M̊. 1897. A.M. 10 D$^{s}$ 20 G$^{s}$." was altered into "✱ UN PESO. M$^{o}$ 1898. A.M. 902.7." The two letters immediately following the year date, were the initials of the governor of that mint at the time, and occasionally two initials appeared during the same year, due to a change of governors.

The first mint was established in the City of Mexico in 1535. This was the only one until the reign of Ferdinand VII (1808-21), when mints were founded at Chihuahua, Durango, Guanaxuato, San Louis Potosi and Zacatecas. Other mints were established later. The various mints and their marks are :—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Alamos | mark | A | or | A$^{a}$ |
| Chihuahua | ,, | C, C$^{a}$ | ,, | C$^{h}$ |
| Culiacan | ,, | C | ,, | C$^{N}$ |
| Durango | ,, | D | ,, | D$^{o}$ |
| Guadalaxara | ,, | G$^{A}$ | | |
| Guanaxuato | ,, | G$^{P}$, ⓖ | ,, | G$^{O}$ |
| Guadeloupe y Calvo | ,, | G. C. | | |
| Hermosillo | ,, | H$^{O}$ | ,, | H̊ |
| City of Mexico | ,, | M, M$^{O}$ | ,, | M̊ |
| Oaxaca | ,, | O$^{a}$ | | |
| San Louis Potosi | ,, | P$^{I}$ | ,, | S.L.P. |
| Zacatecas | ,, | Z | ,, | Z$^{S}$ |

Although the Guadeloupe y Calvo and Oaxaca mints are included in this list, they did not produce China type silver dollars, but confined their operations to other coins of the realm.

As a matter of record, it may be observed that the obverse represents an eagle standing on a cactus, with outstretched wings, holding a snake in its beak and right claws ; below, a bough of oak



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at the dexter, and a sprig of laurel at the sinister; above, the legend REPUBLICA MEXICANA. The reverse consists of the Cap of Liberty with 'LIBERTAD' across it encircled by thirty-two rays; below, the value, mint mark and year date as above described.

The following tables of year dates and mint marks seen by me may call forth additional particulars from numismatists. There is certainly no known reason why all the mints should not have turned out the coin during each year: —

TABLE FOR CAROLUS DOLLARS

| *Year* | *Reign* | *Mintmark* | *Year* | *Reign* | *Mintmark* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1772 | Carolus III | M̊.F.M. | 1794 | Carolus IIII | M̊.F.M. |
| 1773 | do. | do. | 1794 | do. | M̊.I.J. |
| 1774 | do. | do. | 1795 | do. | M̊.F.M. |
| 1775 | do. | do. | 1796 | do. | do. |
| 1776 | do. | do. | 1797 | do. | do. |
| 1777 | do. | do. | 1798 | do. | do. |
| 1777 | do. | M̊.F.F. | 1799 | do. | do. |
| 1778 | do. | do. | 1799 | do. | SP.P.P. |
| 1779 | do. | do. | 1800 | do. | M̊.F.M. |
| 1780 | do. | do. | 1801 | do. | do. |
| 1781 | do. | do. | 1802 | do. | M̊.F.T. |
| 1782 | do. | do. | 1803 | do. | do. |
| 1783 | do. | do. | 1804 | do. | M̊.T.H. |
| 1784 | do. | do. | 1805 | do. | do. |
| 1784 | do. | M̊.F.M. | 1805 | do. | M.J.P. |
| 1785 | do. | do. | 1806 | do. | do. |
| 1786 | do. | do. | 1806 | do. | M̊.T.H. |
| 1787 | do. | do. | 1807 | do. | do. |
| 1788 | do. | do. | 1808 | do. | do. |
| 1789 | Carolus IV | do. | 1809 | Ferdin. VII | do. |
| 1790 | Carolus IIII | do. | 1810 | do. | M̊.H.I. |
| 1791 | do. | do. | 1811 | do. | do. |
| 1792 | do. | do. | 1840 (?) | Carolus IIII | M̊.F.M. |
| 1793 | do. | do. | | | |



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## Table for Eagle Dollars

| Year | Value \ Mint | Alamos | Chihuahua | Culiacan | Durango | Guadalaxara | Guanaxuato | Hermosillo | Mexico | San Louis Potosi | Zacatecas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1828 | 8 R. | | | | | | | | | | Z$^{s}$ A.O. |
| 1829 | ,, | | | | | | G.M.J. | | | | |
| 1830 | ,, | | | | | | G.M J. | | | | |
| 1833 | ,, | | | | | | G.M.J. | | | | |
| 1839 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.M.L. | | |
| 1841 | ,, | | | | | | | | | | Z$^{s}$ O.M. |
| 1850 | ,, | | | | | | G.P.F. | | | | |
| 1851 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.G.C. | | |
| 1854 | ,, | | | | | | G.P.F. | | | P$^{l}$ M.C. | |
| 1855 | ,, | | | | | | G.P.F. | | M.G.F. | | |
| 1857 | ,, | | | | | | G.P.F. | | M.G.F. | | Z$^{s}$ M.O. |
| 1858 | ,, | | | | | | G.P.F. | | M.F.H. | | Z$^{s}$ M.O. |
| 1859 | ,, | | C.C.E. | | | | G.P.F. | | M.F.H. | | Z$^{s}$ M.O. |
| 1860 | ,, | | | | | | G.P.F. | | M.T.H. | | Z$^{s}$ M.O. |
| 1860 | ,, | | | | | | | | | | Z$^{s}$ V.L. |
| 1861 | ,, | | | | | | G.P.F. | | | | Z$^{s}$ V.L. |



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## TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued*

| YEAR \ MINT / VALUE | | Alamos | Chihuahua | Culiacan | Durango | Guadalaxara | Guanaxuato | Hermosillo | Mexico | San Louis Potosi | Zacatecas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1862 | 8 R. | | | | | | G.Y.F. | | M.C.H. | | Z^S V.L. |
| 1862 | ,, | | | | | | G.Y.E. | | | | |
| 1863 | ,, | | | | | | G.Y.F. | | M.T.H. | | Z^S V.L. |
| 1863 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.C.H. | | Z^S M.O. |
| 1864 | ,, | | | | | | | | | | Z^S M.O. |
| 1867 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.C.H. | P^I P.S. | |
| 1868 | ,, | A.D.L. | C.C.E. | | | | G.Y.F. | | M.C.H. | P^I P.S. | Z^S J.S. |
| 1868 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.P.H. | | |
| 1869 | ,, | | C^A M.M. | | | | | H.P.R. | M.C.H. | P^I P.S. | Z^S Y.H. |
| 1870 | ,, | A.D.L. | C.C.E. | | | G^A I.C. | G.F.R. | H.P.R. | | | |
| 1871 | ,, | A.D.L. | C^A M.M. | | | | | H.P.R. | | | |
| 1872 | ,, | A.A.M. | | | | | | H.P.R. | | | |
| 1873 | ,, | A.A.M. | | | D^O C.M. | | G^O F.R. | H.P.R. | M.M.H. | P^I M.H. | Z^S Y.H. |
| 1874 | ,, | | | | | | G^O F.R. | | M.M.H. | P^I M.H. | Z^S Y.H. |
| 1874 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.B.H. | | Z^S J.A. |
| 1875 | ,, | A.D.L. | C^A M.M. | | D^O C.M. | | G^O F.R. | | M.B.H. | P^I M.H. | Z^S J.A. |

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TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued*

| YEAR \ MINT / VALUE | | Alamos | Chihuahua | Culiacan | Durango | Guadalaxara | Guanaxuato | Hermosillo | Mexico | San Louis Potosi | Zacatecas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1876 | 8 R. | As D.L. | | Cn G.P. | Do C.M. | Ga I.C. | Go F.R. | | M.B.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.A. |
| 1876 | ,, | | | Cn C.G. | | | | | | | Zs J.S. |
| 1877 | ,, | As D.L. | | | Do C.P. | Ga J.A. | Go F.R. | | M.M.H. | | Zs J.S. |
| 1878 | ,, | | | Cn J.D. | Do P.E. | | Go F.R. | H.J.A. | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1878 | ,, | | | | Do T.B. | | | | | | |
| 1879 | ,, | | | | Do T.B. | Ga J.A. | Go S.M. | | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1879 | ,, | | | | | | | | | Pi B.E. | |
| 1880 | ,, | As M.L. | Ca M.M. | Cn J.D. | Do J.P. | Ga J.A. | Go S.B. | | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1881 | ,, | | Ca M.G. | C.J.D. | Do J.P. | Ga F.S. | Go S.B. | H.J.A. | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1882 | ,, | As M.L. | Ca M.G. | Cn A.M. | Do J.P. | Ga F.S. | Go S.B. | | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1882 | ,, | | | | Do M.C. | | | | | | |
| 1883 | ,, | | | | Do M.C. | Ga T.B. | | Ho F.M. | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1884 | ,, | As M.L. | Ca M.M. | | Do M.C. | | Go B.R. | | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1884 | ,, | | | | | | Go R.R. | | | | |
| 1885 | ,, | As M.L. | Ca M.M. | Gn A.M. | Do M.C. | Ga A.H. | Go R.R. | Ho F.M. | M.M.H. | Pi M.H. | Zs J.S. |
| 1886 | ,, | As M.L. | Ca M.M. | Cn A.M. | Do M.C. | Ga J.S. | Go R.R. | | M.M.H. | Pi M.R. | Zs J.S. |



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TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued.*

| YEAR | VALUE | MINT: Alamos | Chihuahua | Culiacan | Durango | Guadalaxara | Guanaxuato | Hermosillo | Mexico | San Louis Potosi | Zacatecas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1886 | 8 R. | | | | | | | | | P$^{I}$. L.C. | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1887 | ,, | A$^{S}$. M.L. | C$^{A}$. M.M. | | D$^{O}$. M.C. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.R | | M.M.H. | P$^{I}$. M.R. | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1888 | ,, | | C$^{A}$. M.M. | C$^{N}$. A.M. | D$^{O}$. M.C. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.R. | | M.M.H. | P$^{I}$. M.R. | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1889 | ,, | | C$^{A}$. M.M. | C$^{N}$. A.M. | D$^{O}$. M.C. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.R. | | M.M.H. | P$^{I}$. M.R. | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1890 | ,, | A$^{S}$. M.L. | C$^{A}$. M.M. | C$^{N}$. A.M. | D$^{O}$. M.C. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.R. | H$^{O}$. F.G. | M.M.H. | P$^{I}$. M.R. | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1890 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.A.M. | | |
| 1891 | ,, | A$^{S}$. M.L. | C$^{A}$. M.M. | | | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.S. | | M.A.M. | P$^{I}$. M.R. | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1892 | ,, | | C$^{A}$. M.M. | C$^{N}$. A.M. | D$^{O}$. J.P. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.S. | H$^{O}$. F.G. | M.A.M. | P$^{I}$. M.R. | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1893 | ,, | A$^{S}$. M.L. | C$^{A}$. M.M. | C$^{N}$. A.M. | D$^{O}$. N.D. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.S. | H$^{O}$. F.G. | M.A.M. | | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1894 | ,, | A$^{S}$. M.L. | C$^{A}$. M.M. | C$^{N}$. A.M. | D$^{O}$. N.D. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.S. | H$^{O}$. F.G. | M.A.M. | | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1895 | ,, | A$^{S}$. M.L. | C$^{A}$. M.M. | C$^{N}$. A.M. | D$^{O}$. N.D. | G$^{A}$. J.S. | G$^{O}$. R.S. | H$^{O}$. F.G. | M.A.M. | | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1895 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.A.B. | | |
| 1896 | ,, | | | C$^{N}$. A.M. | | | G$^{O}$. R.S. | | M.A.B. | | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1896 | ,, | | | | | | | | M.A.M. | | |
| 1897 | ,, | | | C$^{N}$. A.M. | | | G$^{O}$. R.S. | | M.A.M. | | Z$^{S}$. F.Z. |
| 1898 | UN PESO | | | | | | G$^{O}$. R.S. | | M.A.M. | | |

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## TABLE FOR EAGLE DOLLARS.—*Continued*

| YEAR | VALUE / MINT | Alamos | Chihuahua | Culiacan | Durango | Guadalaxara | Guanaxuato | Hermosillo | Mexico | San Louis Potosi | Zacatecas |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1899 | UN PESO | | | | | | | | Mo A.M. | | |
| 1900 | ,, | | | | | | | | Mo A.M. | | Zs F.Z. |
| 1901 | ,, | | | CN J.Q. | | | | | Mo A.M. | | |
| 1902 | ,, | | | CN J.Q. | | | | | Mo A.M. | | |
| 1903 | ,, | | | CN F.V. | | | | | Mo A.M. | | |
| 1904 | ,, | | | | | | | | Mo A.M. | | |

[In the above tables the reader must make some allowance for the difficulty of getting the more peculiar types correctly cut. For example, in the Guanaxuato column the specially cut type is meant for an ordinary G with a small circle enclosed in it. *Editor.*]

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# THE CHARACTER 汐 *HSI*.

BY

PROFESSOR H. A. GILES, LL.D.

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This character stands in my Dictionary, No. 4111, defined by "Night tides, as opposed to 潮 519," which means morning tides. For the former, Mr. A. C. Moule has recently suggested "ebb tides," with the further opinion that 汐 is not necessarily a "suggestive compound," but that the 夕 may be a phonetic used to indicate merely the sound, *hsi*, of a word which was already in vogue, meaning "ebb tide," and was chosen as a contrast with 潮 *chao* morning which appears in No. 519 above. I have come to the conclusion that "ebb tide" should be added as a second but later definition of 汐, which I consider to have been undoubtedly constructed as a suggestive compound, indicating by its parts "the evening water, or tide." It has further occurred to me that my notes, made while looking into the question, may be of interest to others who, from the vantage-ground of China, may be able to supply additions to, or corrections of, the various statements which follow.

*Dr. Williams* in his Dictionary, 1874, has

汐. The evening tide ; night tide.

潮汐逐波浪 the ebb and flood beat off the waves (altered by me to "morning and night the tides roll up in waves." The ebb could scarcely be a subject to 逐).

*De Guignes* in his Dictionary, 1853, has Flux maris vespertinus.

*W. H. Medhurst* in his Dictionary, 1842, has

The name of a stream ; the evening tide, ebb tide.

*Gonçalves* in his Dictionary, 1833, has

Mare da noite.



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*Dr. Morrison* in his Dictionary, 1818, has

> The tide rising in the evening; the evening tide, in contradistinction from *chaou* (*sic*) 朝 which denotes the morning tide but is used generally.

So far, only one foreign lexicographer, W. H. Medhurst, a great scholar in his day, has suggested the object of our search, the ebb tide, as a definition of *hsi*. I have not Couvreur's Dictionary at hand; my recollection is that he does not mention the ebb.

Turning now to K'ang Hsi, where no attempt is made to define the character 汐, we find that the earliest Chinese dictionary there quoted for the sound of the word is the 廣韻 *Kuang yün*, known to us only from 1080 A.D., but said to be originally a work of the T'ang dynasty. [The edition in the Cambridge Library is dated 1704.] The earliest work from which a text containing the character is quoted, is the 類篇 *Lei p'ien* of Ssŭ-ma Kuang (*d.* 1086 A.D.). After stating that it is the name of a river, the writer adds that 海潮早曰朝夕曰汐 the waves of the sea are called, for the morning, *ch'ao*, and for the evening *hsi*. The following quotation, which seems to have been read by Medhurst alone, explains how the earth swells up in the ocean, causing its waters to run up rivers and by a reverse process back again, and states the point we are driving at, as follows: 地下則滄海之水入於江謂之潮 when the earth sinks (in a kind of breathing process), the water of the ocean runs up rivers and is called *ch'ao*; 地上則江湖之水歸之滄海謂之汐 when the earth rises, the water of rivers and lakes goes back to the ocean and is called *hsi*. Unfortunately, I am unable to identify the author, who dubs himself 東海漁翁海潮論 the Old Fisherman of the Eastern Sea discussing ocean tides. [Probably, some student in China will be able to do that, and so furnish the date.]

From the above we can only conclude that the writer regarded *ch'ao* as flood tide and *hsi* as ebb tide, and that he was later than the 11th century. Even he speaks in his heading of a discussion on *ch'ao*, in which he evidently included all tides.

The fact is that there was originally only one word, *ch'ao*, for tide, and also that the Chinese recognized only two tides a day, the early and the late flood. This is quite what one would expect in pre-historic times. The rolling up of the flood tide would always be a noticeable phenomenon, even on the calmest days; whereas the ebb tide would slip away without attracting the same attention.



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Before passing on to consider the character 潮 *ch'ao*, it remains to look at the quotations in the *P'ei wên yün fu* where the character 汐 appears. The first is from a poem by 張纘 Chang Tsuan, a strange being but a good scholar, who flourished as an official in the 6th century A.D. The character may thus have actually been given in the first edition of the *Kuang Yün*, usually attributed to the T'ang dynasty. The words are 拄汐引潮; and as the first character is explained as a synonym of the third, the meaning can only be "leading up the evening tide and bringing up the morning tide," both being flood tides.

Mei Yao-ch'ên of the 10th century (see *Biogr. Dict.*) has the following line: 姚江千里海汐應 "the Yao river meets the sea tide a thousand *li* up," which again suggests a flood tide in the evening, especially as *ch'ao* is mentioned in the next line.

A poet, named 吳子孝 Wu Tzŭ-hsiao, who graduated as late as 1529, has 海汐魚龍夜 "the sea tide (brings) fishes and dragons at night"

Another half crazy poet, named 葛長庚 Ko Ch'ang-kêng (13th cent.), who spent nine years in attaining Tao and then finally disappeared, has the following line: 晝潮夜汐大江東, which can only refer to "the flood tides of morning and evening, east of the Great River."

An official and poet, named 馬祖常 Ma Tsu-ch'ang, who died 1344 A.D., speaks of 鑿石通歸汐 "bore the rock to admit the returning night-flood."

Another poet, 戴長 Tai Ch'ang, of whom I can find no record, has 乘風遲來潮, 倚月候歸汐 "Influenced by the wind, late comes the morning flood; relying on the moon, we await the return of the evening flood." The term 歸汐 looks as if it might mean "the return (to the sea) of the ebbing tide," which would not make sense in the preceding quotation, and is certainly disposed of by the following line from the poet, 王逢 Wang Fêng, who was an official under the last Emperor of the Yüan dynasty but refused to serve under the Mings: 暮汐蠔開甲 "with the evening flood, the mussel opens its shell," the reverse of which it does with the ebb.

The last quotation given in the *P'ei wên yün fu* is from 管子 Kuan Tzŭ; that is, from the work which passes with the credulous under the name of the statesman, 管仲 Kuan Chung, of the 7th cent. B.C. It refers to floods and rain which come from mountain streams and the sky and are beneficial in the production of good crops. It runs thus: 天地湊汐, and seems to mean "which heaven and earth bring together as *hsi* (? here the name of the river);" but I really can make nothing out of it, either for or



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against any meaning of *hsi*. I have said already that *hsi* is not found in the *Shuo wên*. This fact cannot be taken to prove anything in regard to date of usage, as other early characters are equally not to be found there; but it is worth noting.

The character 潮 *ch'ao* offers perhaps a more interesting field for investigation, for it is undoubtedly a very ancient word and occurs in the earliest documents which have come down to us, though this latter fact seems to have escaped the notice of all scholars, including the editors of K'ang Hsi. The *Shuo wên* gives it under Radical 410 as "淖 a contraction of 潮"; upon which 徐鉉 Hsü Hsüan remarks that in the 隸 *li* script the contraction is not made. It seems as if 朝 or 卓 *chŏ* may have once been used with the meanings of "morning" and "tide," and that "water" and "moon" were afterwards added to distinguish the tide, the latter when the Chinese had begun to notice the influence of the moon; but why "moon" should have been added to "morning," as a complement, is not quite so reasonable. [After writing this, and on the day of its dispatch (27th July), I received a card from my expert friend, L. C. Hopkins, in which he says "卓 *cho* is a very obscure character," and draws attention to its more ancient form, as given in the *Shuo wên*, which I, not being an expert, had failed to note.]

Further, the *Shuo wên* has the following important sentence: 朝宗於海; important, because it is found in the Canon of History and also in the Odes. In the Tribute of Yü we read 江漢朝宗于海, and Dr. Legge, on the authority of the commentator, Ts'ai, translates as follows: "The Këang and the Han pursued their common course to the sea, as if they were hastening to court." K'ung An-kuo and others (see *Legge's Classics*, III, p.113) suggest "with the reverence for the sea that is seen in court for the sovereign." Again, in the Odes (p. 295), speaking of flowing waters, Dr. Legge translates the last four words of the above by "Go to the court of the sea." Now, as a general guide it may be said that when a rendering is nonsensical, it may at once be written off as wrong. It is difficult to conceive a more fantastic picture than that of the Yangtze and the Han rivers hurrying forth to go to the court of the ocean. The fact that great Chinese commentators have declared that this is the meaning need not give us pause. These venerable scholars believed that the earth was square and that the belly was the seat of memory; and while fully recognizing the great value of their work, without which much of the Canon would have been unintelligible to us, they must not be regarded as infallible.



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In like manner, Chinese archæologists, to whom we owe so much, bungled badly over 刀 筆, which they explained, with an illustration, as a knife-pen, to be used for cutting characters on tablets of wood or bamboo, instead of as a knife *and* a pen (brush), the latter for writing on the tablet and the former for scratching out. But if 刀 筆 meant a knife-pen, it must have been to distinguish it from some other kind of pre-existing pen; if from the pen (brush) itself, then cutting characters with a knife or style must post-date the use of the brush, "which," as an old friend of ours used to say, "is absurd."

I think I may claim to have given another bad example of Chinese commentators' wrong-headedness in *Adversaria Sinica*, I, p.21, referring to the famous answer of Confucius to the question, "What is filial piety." The sage replied briefly 色 難; and for centuries the accepted meaning of those two words has been "The difficulty is with the countenance," whereas the real meaning beyond doubt is, "To define it is difficult,"—a thoroughly intelligible answer.

To return to the sentence in the *Shuo wên*: 朝 宗 於 海, which gives the key to the meaning of the similar passages in the Canon of History and in the Odes, I have no hesitation in saying that its correct interpretation is, "The tides originate in the sea," a rendering which disposes of each character without any strain and offers a reasonable sense into the bargain.

I think that there is also no doubt that *ch'ao* meant the two flood tides of each twenty-four hours, such terms as 漲 潮 or 盈 潮 and 落 潮 or 虛 潮 being later on used, respectively, to distinguish the flood from the ebb. That 汐 has been used in more recent times for the ebb tide, say from the Sung dynasty onwards, is beyond question; it will be found with that sense in various topographies and elsewhere. At the same time, there are numerous instances of recent date to the contrary; *e.g.*, 何 喬 新 Ho Ch'iao-hsin, 1407-1502, says that at 錢 塘 Ch'ien-t'ang 潮 汐 三 日 不 至; and as the ebb-tide can hardly be said to arrive, this can only mean "for three days there arrived no morning or evening flood-tides." Neither does 盧 肇 Lu Chao, who graduated as first *chin shih* in 845, in his long 海 潮 賦 poetical essay on the tides, make any use of the character 汐, though he speaks of the 濤 waves which come regularly 朝 夕 morning and evening, evidently meaning the two flood tides of the day.

The topographies of the empire give examples of both the senses of 汐. In the 浙 江 通 志 we have 潮 汐 往 來 崩 漲 不 一 "the tides go and come, ebb and flow, not alike." In the 寧 波 府 志, on the other hand, we have 海 潮 晝 夜 凡 再



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至朝曰潮夕曰汐 "The sea tide comes up morning and night, twice in all. That of the morning is called *ch'ao*; that of the evening is called *hsi*."

In the 武進縣續志 there is a quotation from a Memorial by Su Tung-p'o, in which the following words occur: 海日兩潮 "The sea has two tides daily," both of which must have been flood tides, whatever the name of each.

I don't think that any of these topographies can be dated further back than, even if so far back as the Sung dynasty; and it is notorious that they have frequently been written up and edited by scholars of the day.

The remaining entries under 潮 in K'ang Hsi confirm the view that it meant either all the tides or the morning flood tides, and that 汐 was specially used to denote the evening tide.



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# UNE NOUVELLE HISTOIRE DE LA CHINE *

Le nom de M. Henri Cordier est déjà bien connu, non seulement des sinologues, mais de tous ceux qui s'intéressent à l'action de la France en Extrême-Orient. Sa Bibliotheca sinica, indosinica, japonica, est un instrument de travail indispensable à quiconque veut s'initier aux mystères du monde jaune. Ses ouvrages sur la fondation des établissements français à Changhai et Ning-po, sur les expéditions anglo-françaises de 1858 et 1860, sur les relations de la Chine avec les puissances occidentales; ses chapitres consacrés à l'Extrême-Orient dans l'Histoire générale de Lavisse et Rambaud; de nombreux articles concernant la Chine dans la Grande Encyclopédie ou la Catholic Encyclopaedia américaine, l'ont fait connaitre du grand public.

Le docte membre de l'Institut vient de rendre un nouveau service à tous les amis des études sinologiques en leur donnant, en quatre volumes de justes dimensions, élégamment imprimés, et dont les manchettes multipliées, les sous-titres nombreux, les références précises facilitent à souhait l'activité personnelle du lecteur, une Histoire générale de la Chine depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la révolution de 1911. Aucun travail aussi complet, aussi consciencieux n'existe encore dans aucune langue, et nous aurons sans doute la fierté d'en saluer bientôt des traductions étrangères.

Jusqu'ici les sinologues prenaient pour base de leurs études sur l'histoire de Chine le T'oung Kien Kang Mou † (Histoire géné-

* H. Cordier. *Histoire général de la Chine*, et de ses relations avec les pays étrangers, depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à la chute de la dynastie Mandchoue. Paris, Geuthner, 3 tomes in 8° 1920. Le quatrième est annoncé. [It has since been published. *Ed. N.C.R.*] Dépôt à Changhai chez M.M. Kelly and Walsh.

† Je préviens les lecteurs de ce compte-rendu que M. Cordier use de la romanisation que le ministère des affaires étrangères français et l'Ecole des langues orientales ont adoptée.



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rale de la Chine) adapté en français par le P. de Maillá, S.J., et publié, de 1777 à 1780, par Grosier en 11 volumes in 4°. Cet important ouvrage a été tiré, sous la direction du célèbre philosophe Tchou-Hi (1130-1220) du Tseu Tche T'oung Kien (Miroir universel à l'usage des gouvernants) de l'historien Se-ma Kouang, puis continué par divers historiens jusqu'à la dynastie mongole, des Youen (1206-1367). Mailla complète cette compilation par des emprunts faits à des historiens chinois postérieurs, et les conduit jusqu'à la quarantième année de K'ang Hi (1702).

C'est l'ouvrage du Père de Mailla qui fait le fond de la nouvelle histoire de la Chine ; elle se borne souvent pour la politique intérieure, a le résumer et à lui emprunter des extraits. Certains sinologues regrettent que M. Cordier n'ait pas suivi de plus près l'original chinois, et ne l'ait pas traduit littéralement dans les passages caractéristiques. L'œuvre du P. de Mailla n'est pas, en effet, une traduction ; c'est une adaptation en style noble, comme on les aimait au 18° siècle ; et une version littérale du texte chinois serait souvent bien plus savoureuse, bien plus représentative du génie de la race. M. Cordier a enrichi l'œuvre du P. de Mailla de tout l'apport que les travaux du dix-neuvième siècle lui fournissaient.

## I. L'HISTOIRE POLITIQUE.

### *Histoire intérieure. Relations avec les pays étrangers.*

Une analyse des trois volumes de M. Cordier serait fastidieuse pour nos lecteurs ; nous croyons leur donner un plus juste aperçu des trésors qu'ils contiennent en rattachant nos remarques à quelques idées générales.

L'histoire politique intérieure de la Chine tient naturellement la plus grande place dans le récit de M. Cordier. Avec un vrai courage il s'efforce, à la suite du P. de Mailla, de donner la substance des annales des dix-neuf premières dynasties. Après avoir exposé les diverses théories sur l'origine des Chinois (Egypte, Assyrie, Annam) et reconnu loyalement qu'aucune n'est satisfaisante, il reproduit les légendes, si populaires encore aujourd'hui, sur les trois immortels et les cinq empereurs ; pères de la civilisation chinoise. Puis c'est la succession, d'une monotonie rebutante, des drames de palais, des conspirations, des guerres civiles et des guerres contre les barbares des frontières. La nécessité de condenser en quelques pages l'histoire de chaque dynastie oblige l'auteur à supprimer les épisodes charactéristiques de chaque époque qui, dans le texte chinois reposent le lecteur et lui ménagent de vraies jouissances. Aussi la lecture du pre



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mier volume est-elle pénible; cet inconvénient était inévitable étant données les limites que l'auteur s'était prescrites. Du moins l'exposé est clair et précis, et on peut suivre facilement à l'aide d'un bon atlas la naissance, les progrès, la décadence parfois bien prompte, des diverses dynasties.

Pour un lecteur européen, la question intéressante entre toutes est celle des premières relations de la Chine avec notre Occident. M. Cordier l'a magistralement traitée et cet exposé repose le lecteur du rude labeur qu'il a dû s'imposer pour suivre les vicissitudes de l'Empire et des principautés féodales. Depuis la marche victorieuse d'Alexandre aux Indes (326) deux états gouvernés par des princes grecs, la Bactriane et la Sogdiane, se sont maintenus, malgré bien des vicissitudes, au nord de l'Hindoustan actuel. Or, au premier siècle avant notre ère, les chinois cherchent la route des Indes. Un hardi explorateur, Tchang K'ien, envoyé par l'empereur Wou Ti (141-87), dans un voyage de treize années, parcourt les peuplades des frontjères occidentales de la Chine, cherchant à conclure des alliances contre l'ennemi commun, les terribles Hiong Nou, les Huns, plus tard tristement célèbrès dans notre Occident. Il ne réussit guère, mais quand il rentre à la cour de son maitre vers 128, il rapporte un trésor d'observations et de documents sur les peuples de l'Occident. A la suite de ces explorations, plusieurs expéditions militaires sont faites dans l'Ouest et le sud-ouest, à la recherche de la route de l'Inde, des colonies militaires installées. Un effort analogue est tenté par mer—"Il parait certain que, dès les premières années du premier siècle avant Jésus-Christ, des produits de l'Asie antérieure empruntaient la voie maritime, pour arriver de proche en proche jusqu'en Chine, et que tout au début de notre ère, sur l'ordre de la cour, une mission chinoise parcourut tout l'Océan Indien" (p.237).

Pendant le premier siècle de notre ère, un des plus grands hommes de guerre que nous présente l'histoire chinoise, Pan Tch'ao, gouverneur général de tous les territoires de l'Ouest, rend tributaires plusieurs peuples de l'Asie centrale. A sa cour, établie à Kou Tcha, les ambassadeurs de ces peuples se pressent ; parmi eux des Grecs venus de Sogdiane et de Bactriane. Ce qu'ils racontent de la civilisation occidentale décide Pan Tch'ao à envoyer un ambassadeur qui parcourra ces merveilleuses contrées et s'efforcera d'établir avec elles des relations commerciales. Il députe Kan Ying en mission au pays du Ta Ts'in (partie orientale de l'empire romain). Celui-ci parvient jusqu'au golfe Persique. Mais là, les marins syriens, qui transportaient les marchandises entre la Perse et l'Egypte, et réalisaient des gains fabuleux, s'effraient de cette ambassade qui établirait des relations directes



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entre la Chine et les ports égyptiens ; ils font à Kan Ying une si terrible description des fatigues et des dangers du voyage que le prudent ambassadeur renonce à son entreprise.

Après ce que nous venons de dire sur les relations de la Chine avec les états grecs de l'Asie centrale et les pays riverains de l'Océan indien, rien d'étonnant à ce que les écrivains grecs et romains aient eu des notions assez précises sur les peuples établis à l'est de la péninsule indienne. Ptolémée connait les Sinae, à l'est de l'Inde, et les nations de la Sérique qui leur sont limitrophes ; d'autres auteurs grecs mentionnent les Thinae ou Sinae, au nord et nord-ouest desquels les Séres sont établis. Virgile, Horace, Strabon, Pomponius Méla, mentionnent les Séres ; Pline l'ancien et Ammien Marcellin nous donnent de curieux détails sur la récolte et le tissage de la soie venue du pays des Séres.

D'après l'historien Florus, une ambassade du pays des Séres serait venue à Rome sous le régne d'Auguste ; si le fait est vrai, il s'agit probablement de marchands venus de la Bactriane.

D'après les annales chinoises, en 166, un individu, se donnant comme ambassadeur de Ngan Touen (Antonin, Marc Auréle), serait venu offrir des présents à l'empereur Houan Ti ; mais ces présents mesquins auraient été dédaignés. Probablement il s'agissait d'un marchand syrien qui, pour obtenir meilleur accueil aurait pris la qualité d'ambassadeur.

La soie est alors l'objet du grand commerce de la Chine avec l'empire romain. D'après Ptolémée, qui tenait ses renseignements de voyageurs, les caravanes partaient d'Hiérapolis sur l'Euphrate, puis, par la Bactriane, les bassins de l'Oxus et du Tarim, gagnaient Kachgar. Les ballots chinois, parvenus dans les grandes villes de Mésopotamie, descendaient jusqu'au golfe persique, puis, par la mer rouge, gagnaient l'Egypte, et étaient transportés à Petra (probablement Alexandrie).

A partir du troisième siècle, les annales dynastiques font fréquemment mention du Ta Ts'in, dont la capitale est An Tou (Antioche), et les relations avec la partie orientale de l'Empire romain sont bien établies.

Elles se continueront avec Constantinople où, dès le sixième siècle, des pélerins ont apporté, cachés dans leurs bâtons, des oeufs de vers à soie, permettant ainsi la production dans l'Empire des précieux tissus qu'il fallait jadis faire venir de si loin.

Les Arabes, à la suite de leurs conquêtes rapides en Perse, entrent vite en rapports commerciaux avec la Chine ; le fameux Haroun ar Raschid, en même temps qu'il envoyait des ambassadeurs à Charlemagne, en dépêchait à l'empereur T'ang (708).



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Sous la vingtième dynastie, celle des Mongols, venus du Nord, la Chine septentrionale est conquise par les généraux du fameux Tchinguiz Khan (le puissant Khan) (1213 et suiv.) pendant que celui-ci pousse contre notre Europe ses terribles expéditions. La conquête se continue sous ses successeurs Ogotai et Mangkou, au milieu d'effroyables scènes. En 1267, K'oublaï, devenu maitre des trois quarts de la Chine, fonde une ville nouvelle, Khan Baliq, la ville du Khan, sur l'emplacement de l'antique Yeou Tcheou (Péking actuel). Il achève la conquête en s'emparant des provinces méridionales de la Chine, et à partir de 1279 il régne sans conteste sur l'immense Empire, lancant des expéditions, infructeuses du reste, contre le Japon, la Birmanie, l'Annam.

Il fait bon accueil aux marchands occidentaux, dont les plus illustres sont les Vénitiens Polo, immortalisés par les récits de Marco l'un d'entre eux; celui-ci, venu tout jeune en Chine, jouit de la pleine confiance de K'oublai, qui lui confie d'importantes missions d'inspection, et le fait préfet de Yang Tcheou, sur le grand canal. M. Cordier nous donne un bon résumé de ses travaux antérieurs sur l'oeuvre de Marco Polo. La prospérité des Mongols n'est pas de longue durée ; les descendants de K'oublai se déchirent entre eux, et à la faveur de ces divisions, des rébellions chinoises éclatent dans le sud. En 1368, Yen King, l'ancienne Khan Baliq, est reconquise pai le prince de Wou, qui fonde la vingt-et-unième dynastie sous le nom de Ming.

La dynastie nationale des Ming, placée entre les deux dynasties étrangères des Mongols et des Mandchous, est bien effacée. A la suite des progrès des musulmans dans l'Asie centrale, et des exploits fanatiques de ceux qui gouvernent l'Egypte, le commerce est arrêté entre la Chine et l'Occident pendant tout le quinzième siècle. Avec les premières expéditions portugaises qui tournent le cap de Bonne Espérance, il reprendra plus florissant que jamais. En 1514 le Portugais Jorge Alvarez s'installe dans l'ile de Tamao, prés de Sari Tchoan. En 1516, Perestrello, cousin de Colomb, va commercer à Canton, en 1520 Pirès conduit une ambassade de cette ville à Péking. M. Cordier nous conte en détail, tant d'après les relations européennes que les sources chinoises, les premières fondations des portugais au Kouang Tong au Tché-Kiang et au Fou-kien, et les causes, bien honteuses en somme, de leurs échecs. Macao est fondé en 1549 ou 1557, et devient pour deux siècles le principal entrepôt du commerce entre l'Europe

*A la suite de la plupart des auteurs, M. Cordier fait dériver le nom donné quasi universellement aux habitants de l'Empire du milieu (Sinae, Tinae, Tsin, Chine) de la dynastie des Tsin qui régnait au second siècle avant Jésus-Christ.



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et la Chine. Les Espagnols ont conquis les Philippines de 1565 à 1569, et de là envoient plusieurs ambassades et missions commerciales que la jalousie des Portugais réussit à faire échouer. Les Hollandais, dont une factorerie est installée à Hirando au Japon dès 1609, se sont emparés des Pescadores en 1622, de Formose en 1642. Leur domination y sera bien éphémère, et leur rôle se réduira désormais à des entreprises commerciales. En 1620, un navire anglais, l'Unicorn, allant au Japon, est jeté à la côte par une tempête près de Macao; les années suivantes plusieurs expéditions de la compagnie anglaise des Indes orientales essaient en vain de nouer des relations avec Canton ; les intrigues portugaises les font échouer. Depuis les débuts du dix-septième siècle, une coalition menaçante de peuples tartares, dite des Mandchous, se forme au nord de la Chine, et commence ses invasions. En 1606 un de leurs chefs T'ai Tsou est proclamé empereur, et son fils T'ai Tsoung donne à la dynastie le nom de Ta Ts'ing (grande pure). Leur capitale est à Moukden. Malgré les efforts des mandarins chrétiens de la cour des Ming qui, bien conseillés par les missionnaires, auraient voulu donner à l'armée chinoise des instructeurs portugais, et l'auraient ainsi rendue capable d'une sérieuse résistance, ni Wan Li (1572-1620) ni ses successeurs ne prennent de précautions sérieuses contre le danger qui les menace. A partir de 1620, les Mandchous avancent de plus en plus au nord et à l'est. En 1635 leur empereur T'aï Tsoung prend le titre d'empereur de Chine ; en 1644, profitant d'une guerre civile entre un chef rebelle et l'armée des Ming, ils sont accueillis à Péking en libérateurs et y restent. Les derniers descendants des Ming perdent l'une après l'autre les provinces du sud. Un descendant de Wan Li, Young Li, dont la famille est chrétienne, résiste encore au Kouang Tong avec l'appui des Portugais en 1650. Mais cette année les Mandchous emportent Canton ; Young Li se réfugie en Birmanie et quelques années plus tard il est livré à K'ang Hi et mis à mort (1663).

Chouen Tche, successeur de T'aï Tsoung, a un court mais glorieux régne et rétablit l'unité de l'Empire. En 1656, la première ambassade russe (Feodor Isakovitch Baïkov) arrive à Péking, et essaie, sans y parvenir, d'apaiser les querelles entre russes et chinois à propos de la frontière sibérienne.

K'ang Hi, fils et successeur de Chouen Tche (1662-1722) a été, à juste raison, surnommé le Louis XIV des chinois. Son énergie à réprimer les rébellions, ses glorieuses campagnes contre les Eleuthes, ses travaux littéraires, l'éclat de sa cour, où les missionnaires portugais et français ont introduit les arts et les sciences de l'Occident, les ambassades portugaises, hollandaises,



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russes, la tolérance et même la faveur qu'il témoigne au christianisme, donnent à son régne une incomparable splendeur. En 1662 les Hollandais ont été expulsés de Formose par le fameux pirate Koxinga, et le fils de celui-ci s'étant soumis en 1683, l'île revient à l'Empire. K'ang Hi, malgre les manoeuvres des Portugais, a autorisé le commerce des nations européennes à Canton, et les premières factoreries s'installent dans les dernières années du dix-septième siècle. Un grand négociant de Canton, le marchand de l'empereur, sert alors d'intermédiaire entre les européens et les chinois. En 1697, la Compagnie de Chine, fondée en grande partie à l'instigatio des jésuites français, prépare ses premières entreprises ; le premier voyage de l'Amphitrite (1698-1700) est un superbe succès, et dès lors les expéditions françaises à Canton ne cesseront plus.

Young Tcheng (1723-1735), étroit et inintelligent, violent persécuteur du christianisme, a laissé un nom peu glorieux ; le seul événement important de son régne est le traité de Kiakhta (1er Nov. 1727) négocié par le comte Sava Vladislavitch, base véritable des relations de la Chine et de la Russie jusqu'à nos jours.

K'ien Loung (1736-1796) a la gloire de terminer la guerre des Eleuthes et de conquérir une bonne partie du Turkestan ; d'autres expéditions contre la Birmanie et l'Annam sont moins heureuses. Le commerce de l'Europe avec Canton se développe, et successivement les diverses nations y installent des factoreries ; M. Cordier nous en donne une vivante description, il note les conflits multipliés qui s'élévent entre commerçants européens et chinois, et préparent les guerres du dix-neuvième siècle. La mission française de d'Entrecasteaux en 1787 à Canton l'ambassade de lord Macartney à Péking en 1792 et 1793, celle des Hollandais en 1794 et 1795 n'obtiennent aucune-concession, et il devient évident qu'il faudra avoir recours à la force pour imposer à la Chine des relations commerciales dignes des peuples civilisés.

K'ien Loung persécute à la fois chrétiens, musulmans de l'ouest membres des societès secrétes chinoises, et suscite ainsi de nombreuses rébellions, dont il triomphe difficilement. L'empereur est renommé comme lettré; son éloge de la ville de Moukden est encore classique aujourd'hui ; les collections formées par lui des meilleures ouvrages, parmi lesquels plusieurs sont dus à des missionnaires catholiques, dirigeant la rédaction de mandarins convertis par eux, sont restées célèbres.

Avec Kia K'ing (1796-1820) la décadence s'accuse. Inintelligent, cruel, ivrogne, tracassier et insultant dans ses rapports avec les Européens, il fait l'accueil le plus blessant à l'ambassade



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anglaise de lord Amherst en 1816. En 1806 il lance un édit de persécution contre les chrétiens ; Monseigneur Taurin Dufresse M.E., et le P. Clet C.M., en sont les plus illustres victimes. De toutes parts éclatent les rébellions et quand le misérable empereur, que ses vices contre nature ont rendu méprisable à tous, meurt frappé de la foudre le 2 septembre 1820, la Chine est mure pour l'intervention étrangère.

## II. L'HISTOIRE DES IDEES

M. Cordier a très justement fait une large place dans ses trois volumes à l'histoire des idées. Ce qui a fait en effet l'unité de la Chine, au milieu d'une anarchie politique presque continuelle, c'est l'influence de ses lettrés. Et si son histoire politique est, au moins jusqu'au Moyen Age, d'une répugnante monotonie, du contraire, l'introduction successive des trois religions qui, aujourd, hui encore se partagent la quasi totalité des habitants de l'immense république, leurs transformations au cours des âges, offrent un vif intérêt. M. Cordier a donc décrit, avec l'ampleur qu'elle mérite, l'oeuvre de Confucius (551-479). Il n'estime pas outre mesure le talent et l'influence de Maitre K'oung. Rien d'original: son seul mérite est d'avoir composé des recueils de morceaux choisis qui, grâce à lui, survécurent à la destruction des originaux antiques. Aucune métaphysique ; " c'est un pur moraliste dont les préceptes reposent sur les vertus naturelles n'ayant rien d'héroïque, avec un côté pratique." M. Cordier insiste, avec raison, sur cette fameuse " piété filiale " (Hiao King) qui est à peu près la seule religion des lettrés, et comprend l'ensemble des devoirs envers la famille, le prince et la patrie.

Bien autrement élevées sont les doctrines de Lao Tseu (né en 604, et dont la date de mort est incertaine) ; nos anciens missionnaires, et plus d'un moderne après eux, y ont relevé bien des thèses qu'un chrétien ne désavouerait pas. Malheureusement ses disciples ont, au cours des âges, perverti l'oeuvre du maitre, et ont entassé légendes sur légendes. Avec l'introduction du bouddhisme en Chine au premier siècle de notre ère, la vie religieuse du peuple va subir une transformation profonde. M. Cordier nous décrit en détail les voyages des pélerins chinois qui s'en vont aux Indes chercher les livres sacrés et suivre l'enseignement des grands maitres ; il nous montre la propagation successive du bouddhisme, a travers les provinces chinoises d'abord, puis en Corée et au Japon.

Les vicissitudes des trois religions, tantôt ennemies et profitant de la faveur impériale pour persécuter leurs rivales, tantôt s'essay-



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ant à un commode syncrétisme, sont soigneusement relevées à chaque période.

Avec le même soin M. Cordier s'est attaché à l'histoire du christianisme et du mahométisme en Chine. Les premiers qui apportèrent la foi chrétienne à l'immense empire furent, semble-t-il, des hérétiques venus de Perse ; car M. Cordier n'estime même pas digne de discussion la légende de l'évangélisation par S. Thomas ou d'autres missionnaires des temps apostoliques.

Les nestoriens s'introduisent au 7° siècle, comme nous l'apprend la fameuse inscription encore conservée aujourd'hui dans la "forêt des stèles" de Si Ngan Fou. Bien reçus par T'aï Tsoung, ils ont deux siècles de prospérité, jusqu' à l'édit de Wou Tsoung, en 845, qui les expulse en même temps que les tenants des autres religions étrangères. Ils se réfugient dans les royaumes plus ou moins indépendants qui occupent le Turkestan actuel. Un de leurs chefs, prince des Kara Kitaï sera ce fameux prêtre Jean, si célèbre chez nos vieux chroniqueurs.—Les auteurs du nestorianisme rentreront triomphants en Chine avec les Mongols, et ils jouiront d'une grande vogue jusqu' à l'avénement des Ming, à la fin du quatorzième siècle ; ils seront alors emportés par la même tempête que les missions catholiques.

Les manichéens, venus également de Perse, s'introduisent dans le dernier quart du 6° siècle. Les magnifiques découvertes de M. Paul Pelliot, dans les grottes de Touen Houang nous ont renseignés sur l'activité de cette secte néfaste, dans les provinces du nord de la Chine, et les manuscrits découverts par lui nous livrent des traités manichéens authentiques qu'on ne connaissait jusqu' ici que par des citations des Pères.

Les premiers missionnaires catholiques apparaissent au treizième siècle lorsque, les progrès des Mongols terrifiant la vieille Europe, le Pape Innocent IV, pendant le concile de Lyon (1246) se décide à prendre contact avec les envahisseurs. Pour cette expédition, dont il y avait bien des chances que les ambassadeurs ne revinssent pas, le Pape trouve ceux qu'il employait alors à toutes les tâches de péril et de gloire, les franciscains. Jean de Plan de Carpino et ses compagnons parviennent en juillet 1246 à la grande Horde d'Or près de Karakorum ; ils en repartent en novembre de la même année, ayant échoué dans leur tentative diplomatique, mais rapportant des trésors d'informations. La même année 1247, une ambassade dominicaine est envoyée aux Mongols de Perse, mais son intransigeance lui vaut un échec complet. Puis ce sont des ambassadeurs Mongols qui viennent proposer une alliance à Saint Louis pendant sa croisade (1248) et repartent précédant une nouvelle ambassade dominicaine qui ne



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réussit pas mieux que la première. Enfin le franciscain Rubrouck (Rubruquis), dans une nouvelle légation, (1253-1255) collige les plus curieux détails sur les camps tartares et la vie à Karakorum.

Les souverains mongols, malgré l'insolence de leurs réponses aux papes et aux princes chrétiens, étaient tolérants. En 1292 Jean de Monte Corvino obtient de K'oublai l'autorisation de construire une église à Khanbaliq (Péking); en 1307 il est consacré archevêque par trois franciscains évêques envoyés de Clément V ; un autre évêché est fondé à Zaïtoun (Ts'iouen Tcheou), un autre à Ili. D'abondants renforts sont envoyés à ces églises, et bien que la plus grande partie de ces saintes caravanes succombe en route, les survivants permettent de maintenir et de développer les oeuvres. Les intrépides voyageurs, tels le Bx Odoric de Pordenone (1318 à 1330) et Jean de Marignolli (1338 à 1353) continuent à accumuler les renseignements les plus précieux sur l'Extrême Orient. M. Cordier que ses études antérieures avaient admirablement préparé à nous donner une large exposition de ce grand mouvement des missions médiévales, lui a consacré un tiers de son second volume.

Avec l'avénement des Ming (fin du 14° siècle) et les terribles guerres civiles qu'il détermine, les établissements catholiques disparaissent; nous savons qu' un des évêques de Zaïtoun mourut martyr ; il y eut sans doute bien des holocaustes connus de Dieu seul.

Avec les voyages de découverte des Portugais le mouvement des missions catholiques reprend plus actif que jamais. Saint François Xavier est mort à San Tchoan en 1552, en essayant de pénétrer à Canton.* Le premier missionnaire catholique qui semble avoir réussi à s'implanter en Chine est le dominicain Gaspar da Cruz, arrivé en 1556, revenu à Lisbonne en 1569. Les jésuites Nunêz Barreto (1555) Pérez (1564 et 1565) plusieurs autres après eux font des voyages à Canton, mais n'obtiennent pas la permission de fonder des postes. Michel Ruggieri établit la première résidence des jésuites à Tchao K'ing (1582) ; il retourne en Europe en 1588. Le vrai fondateur des nouvelles missions de Chine est Matthieu Ricci, installé à Tchao K'ing en 1583, à Nanking en 1598, à Péking en 1601, après bien des vicissitudes. Sur les travaux des jésuites de la vice-province de Chine, et ceux de leurs confrères français à partir des dernières années du dix-

*M. Cordier, d'ordinaire si bien documenté, ne semble avoir utilisé ni le St. François-Xavier du P. Brou, ni les Monumenta Xaveriana des pères espagnols. Il tient encore, avec le P. Cros, que Xavier mourut le 27 novembre, alors que les documents nouveaux publiés dans les Monumenta semblent décisifs en faveur de la nuit du 2 au 3 décembre.



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septième siècle, sur les associations de missionnaires qui prennent part à l'oeuvre apostolique, M. Cordier nous donne tous les renseignements désirables, et son exposé témoigne d'une connaissance approfondie de l'immense production littéraire de nos pères, aussi bien que d'une absolue sympathie.

L'auteur ne pouvait se dérober au récit et à la discussion de la terrible controverse qui mit aux prises les missionnaires pendant plus de cent ans à propos des cérémonies chinoises. Si l'exposé historique des faits est exact et précis, les appréciations de M. Cordier appellent malheureusement les plus expresses réserves. Ainsi, après avoir résumé la bulle de Benoit XIV qui mit fin à la controverse, il conclut : (t. 3, p. 331) "Tout était fini. On imposait aux missionnaires à destination de la Chine, aussi bien qu'à ceux qui y résidaient déjà, une formule de serment par lequel ils ne devaient plus approuver le culte rendu à Confucius, et aux ancêtres, et ils devaient accepter le terme unique de T'ien Tchou, Seigneur du ciel, pour désigner Dieu. A Dieu ne plaise que je critique le verdict du Saint Père ! En matière de dogme, un grand théologien, comme l'était Benoit XIV, ne pouvait se tromper. Et cependant, parmi ses prédécesseurs Alexandre VII, approuvait ce qu'il condamnait: "Chigi était-il moins infaillible que Lambertini ?" Dans ces dernières affirmations il y a une double erreur. Le décret d'Alexandre VII, pas plus que la bulle de Benoit XIV n'est un de ces documents ex cathedra dont le concile du Vatican a defini l'infaillibilite. Entre les documents il n'y a aucune contradiction. Alexandre VII a jugé, il le dit expressément "juxta exposita," d'aprés l'exposé des faits qui lui avait été présenté par les jésuites. Après Clément XI, Benoit XIV jugea que cet exposé n'était pas exact, et surtout pas complet, et il revint sur la décision que cet exposé avait motivée.

M. Cordier avait été mieux inspiré quand, parlant de la piété filiale, à propos de la religion des lettrés, il écrivait (t. 1, p. 172) "Le culte des ancêtres est une religion, une véritable religion, avec des cérémonies parfaitement précises, et c'est ainsi que l'a compris le Saint Siège." La même remarque s'applique au culte de Confucius. Tout est là. Après longue et sérieuse enquête, Rome a reconnu que ces pratiques "ne pouvaient se séparer de la superstition." Dès lors, et quelles que fussent les conséquences de la condamnation, elle devenait nécessaire. Par le fait même l'Eglise catholique perdait pour longtemps son influence sur les classes supérieures de la société chinoise, aucun chrétien ne pouvant plus réguliérement se présenter aux examens du mandarinat ni exercer aucune charge publique. Elle a accepté cette terrible conséquence pour sauvegarder la pureté de sa



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doctrine et de son culte. Pour une religion on ne peut dire que ce soit là "un mouvement rétrograde."

Les appréciations de M. Cordier sur les derniers temps de l'ancienne mission des jésuites à Péking (t. 3, p 397 sqq.) paraitront également bien sévères à ceux qui auront lu, soit le volume du P. de Rochemonteix sur Joseph Amiot, soit les articles que M. Cordier lui-même a, dans le Toung-pao, consacrés à ces tristes évènements. Les anciens jésuites français restés à Péking après la publication du Bref Dominus ac Redemptor se partagèrent en deux groupes ; le premier, dirigé par le P. Bourgeois, le dernier supérieur, conserva à la France les biens de la mission française, jusqu' à l'arrivée des lazaristes substitués aux jésuites par Rome et Paris ; trois anciens jésuites dissidents, les PP. de Ventavon, de Grammont et de Poirot, se prêtaient au transfert de ces biens aux propagandistes. Comme M. Cordier, nous croyons que le bon droit, le véritable esprit religieux, étaient du côté du premier groupe. Mais la question était assez obscure pour que les dissidents aient droit aux circonstances atténuantes.

A la fin de son troisième volume, M. Cordier nous expose les débuts des missions protestantes, avec Robert Morrison, installé en 1807 à Macao, puis à Canton. Le quatrième volume nous réserve évidemment une description complète de l'activité de nos frères séparés en Chine.

De même que les missions chrétiennes, et à la même époque, les diverses sectes musu'manes commencent à exercer une sérieuse influence en Chine. Dès le siècle qui suit la mort de Mahomet, les Arabes ont conquis la Perse, et a travers le Turkestan commencent leurs premières relations avec la Chine ; à la même époque leurs hardis navigateurs se lancent à travers l'océan indien et la mer de Chine, et parviennent à Canton, où ils ont une colonie florissante ; toute liberté de culte leur est laissée ; nombreux et puissants dans les provinces de l'Ouest, ils créeront, à différentes époques un vrai danger par leurs rébellions.

En même temps que l'histoire des idées, et spécialement des idées religieuses, celle des arts et des sciences en Chine a été traitée d'une manière succincte, mais suffisante, par M. Cordier. Un chapitre entier est consacré aux premiers monuments de l'art chinois sous les Wei (les premières sculptures sur pierre découvertes jusqu' ici datent du premier siècle avant Jésus Christ et des premiers de notre ère) et aux monuments de l'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhare (Peshawar actuel) dont les imitations se multiplient en Chine avec les progrès du bouddhisme (5° siècle et suivants). La curieuse civilisation des Mongols est décrite en détail d'après les récits des missionnaires franciscains et des voyageurs comme



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Marco Polo. Enfin une bonne étude nous est donnée de l'oeuvre des géographes, ingénieurs, artistes en tout genre, que l'ancienne mission de Péking mit au service des princes mandchous.

Inutile de dire qu'une description suffisante des ouvrages classiques chinois des belles époques littéraires, des grandes collections d'ouvrages recommandables que les empereurs firent éditer au 18° siècle, permet même aux profanes de prendre une première idée de la littérature chinoise.

Ce compte-rendu trop pâle et trop sec donnera, je l'espère, à plusieurs lecteurs l'envie de faire connaissance de plus près avec la nouvelle histoire de Chine ; ils n'auront pas à s'en repentir.

JOSEPH DE LA SERVIÈRE, S.J.



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# CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,
H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED)

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(*Continued from page 375*)

不倒　下雨摔　好陰天　好大脚　怕大脚　雨不害　陰天下　大脚大　大脚大

Big feet [although] big [are good!] Big feet [although] big [are good!] On dark, rainy days they do not fear [being steady] Big feet are good! Big feet are good! On dark, rainy days they do not stumble.

[This and the next are from the Wu-ch'ing district, Chihli. "Big" is used relatively to the size of the small cramped feet of women.]

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脚幹什麼(么)　那們點小　紅花兒要　梳油頭帶　說(留下)罷　脚大女壻　婆出來嫌　大門口婆　送他婆酒　腌二三兩　錢勾豆　閨女不值　飯甜養活　大白豆做

The food, though made [only] of large white beans, is sweet. The girl has been cheaply reared: three catties of bean-curd and two ounces of wine [will buy her as a wife.] She is sent to the front door of her mother-in-law's house. Her mother-in-law comes out, but objects to her big feet. Her future husband [*lit.*, the son-in-law] [however] says: "Let her stay; she will dress her hair with oil and put a red flower in it. What do you want such dots of feet for?"

[The marital relation ("in-law") dates from the time of betrothal.]



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到半婦得半米二半稱大底涼亮湊皮自鵝賤餅厨覺相家亮
月初吃碗阿雜饃賣看雄下棚月十粟家鵝肉香房去相場月
半一得半婆得半賣二雞一涼亮來粟生鴨又魚下乘掇上亮
顆粒媳吃斗雜看斤稱簍櫚搭樣湊粉蛋强又煥涼板白家

The moon is very bright, and shines very white on all the threshing-floors. I take a stool and go out for an airing. The crisping pancake in the kitchen smells good. The fish and meat are both cheap [*lit.*, the fish is cheap and the meat good (see note).] The hens', geese', and ducks' eggs are home-laid, and with the vermicelli and vegetables there are altogether about ten kinds of eatables.

The moon is very bright. I put up an awning of matting. Under the awning there is a big cock. On weighing him I see that he scales 2½ catties. I will be able to sell him for 25 cents. With this I can buy a peck and a half of rice. My mother-in-law will eat one bowl and a half; but the wife [I] will get only a grain and a half. Thus I endure hardships half the time [*lit.*, from the first to the fifteenth of the month.]

[The price named would seem to indicate that the song belongs to thirty or more years ago. The ditty is a characteristic one in good style and alludes to the oppression of the people by their officials. 相 for 浪; 掇 should be read 得; 煥 bright, here a localism: to make crisp by baking; 强 a localism for 價歲; to make the rhyme correct 生 should be 養.]

---

好拢吵呢你的的自泡吾莫怎乾莫好打呵呢怎張窗
呵罷吾怕怎破莫好泡起有麼乾兒呵罷吾怕麼官外
臬起盛麼皮兒呵罷你牙不聚呀你臬起狗不老是
感你子不襖呀你臬點咬吃呵拿拿感你子進呵射
自拢咬穿呵背背感水呵呢你的的自打咬來你呀

"Who is that outside the window?" "Old Chang." "Why don't you come in?" "I am afraid of being bitten by the dog." "Let me drive him away for you." "Very good." "What have you in your hand?" "Dried dates." "Why don't you eat them?" "Because I have no teeth." "I will fetch water for you to boil them in." "Very good." "What is that over your shoulders?" "A worn-out fur jacket." "Why do you not wear it." "I am afraid of being bitten by the lice." "Let me catch them for you." "Very good."

[Current in Wên Têng and Jung Hsien, Shantung. 射 for 誰; 起 for 給; 臬感自好 met. for 那很好; 莫兒=甚麼.]



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毛兒毛兒拉捻子回頭看三板子

"Thieves! thieves! catch them!" Whoever looks round gets three slaps!

[毛兒 refers to the 長毛賊, or long-haired robbers (T'ai-p'ings). Têng Hsien formerly suffered from the attention of these rebels to such an extent that the mere mention of the word "robbers" caused fear in the hearts of the inhabitants. Thus, in the reigns of Hsien Fêng, T'ung Chih, and Kuang Hsü of the late Ch'ing dynasty groups of children when at play would join hands and sit down in a circle. One would walk round outside the circle singing this ditty, and anyone who turned round at the mention of the word received three slaps with a shoe.]

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木大作梁女大填房

A tree, when full-grown, [is good for] use as a beam. A woman, when full-grown, is married [only] as a secondary wife.

[From Têng Hsien, Honan. In this district women are betrothed at an unusually early age (even for China), so that if a woman is late in getting engaged the husband probably has already married his first wife, and she becomes only his second-ary wife or concubine. Trees should not be felled too soon, nor women married too late.]

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黑白老老烏烏
公公婆母犁耙
老老娘子拾後
白黑土地拔草
公公邊拉君笑
烏烏娘行路俺
烏烏娘拾後的
老老婆婦母好
公公拉犁耙莊

Black crows! white crows! While the father-in-law is ploughing, and the mother-in-law uprooting the weeds, the daughter-in-law follows behind picking out the hard lumps. You gentlemen travelling by, do not laugh at us. We are working for a good harvest!

[By the custom of the Têng Hsien district a father-in-law scarcely ever sees his daughter-in-law, but among the agriculturists the field-work necessitates their meeting; hence this ditty. "White crows" are the "gentleman travellers," who are as little desired by the agriculturalists whilst engaged on their labours as the black ones.]



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青布衫芝蔴豆　暴做媳婦實頌　難樓上量米大　奶奶河頭淘米　婆來張井裏挑　水小姑丈廚房　上廳小親娘聲　聲口口還要說　悟倫米送爹娘　爹娘莫勿算　窮十屬樓窗九　扇紅休臉哥哥　仝悟帶個信去　吃得悟媒酒孀　肚腸帶得悟媒　銀做道場

I wear black clothes and carry a rough basket. The rôle of a new wife is very hard to fill. When I measure the rice in the loft my husband's mother is with me, and when I wash the rice in the river my mother-in-law is with me. When I draw water from the well my brother-in-law is with me, and when I cook in the kitchen my husband's younger sister is with me. But still they say that I steal rice and send it to my parents. My parents are not really so poor as all that! Nine out of ten of their upstairs lattices are painted red. So I beg my elder brother, who is losing face [by this action of my parents-in-law] to take a message to those who drank my marriage wine [viz., the match-makers] [saying may it] break their intestines [and asking them] to keep my marriage purchase-money to pay priests to recite canons [over their corpses.]

[Current in Yü hang, Hang-chou Fu, Chêkiang]

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## 算命燒香哭女壻外孫鷄

Divination, burning incense, weeping. Sons-in-law, grandsons, hens.

[Current in Chêkiang. Indicates the chief "events" in the life of a woman in the olden days.]

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住足小小持蛋鼠薯鼠大小大
渡持蛋鼠大大窩紅喫小老老
蛋不兩持蛋鼠雞薯紅老鼠鼠

Rats and mice! They both [come to eat] the sweet potatoes; when the sweet potatoes are all broken up they steal the eggs. The rats take the large eggs, the mice the small ones. Those they cannot hold in their two paws they roll away.

[Current in Fang Ling, Hupei. Refers to official oppression of the people.]



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| 搖 | 還 | 坐 | 窶 | 打 | 我 | 接 | 後 | 先 |
| 窩 | 在 | 家 | 屋 | 到 | 打 | 母 | 生 | 生 |
| | 睡 | 婆 | 內 | 家 | 鑼 | 親 | 哥 | 我 |

I was born first, my elder brother afterwards! At my mother's wedding I beat the gong! I beat it until I reached her apartment in my maternal grandmother's house. My grandmother was still in her cradle!

[From Huang Mei, Hupei. 窶 = 罐 母. In Kiangsu a kind of wooden bucket, shaped like a Chinese wash-basin, but double as deep, is used as a cradle. Straw is put in it for warmth, and by placing a brick under one corner it can be rocked. It is commonly called 窩 *wo*[1] or *ou*[3], a nest, and is generally used in winter; in summer it is changed for a rock-basket, so as to get the benefit of the cool air. The 搖窩 mentioned in the song is probably identical with this. Compare the following, also from Kiangsu: 爹十三娘十四哥哥十五我十六, My father is 13, my mother 14, my elder brother 15, and I am 16!]

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### 南山頂上滾轂輪車有後娘就有後爹

On the top of South Hill the grain-cart rolls along [easily down.] If there is a step-mother, then there is a step-father.

[From the Chiao Tung district, Shantung. Sung by sons and daughters. Refers to natural sequence, cruelty practised by a step-mother is also practised by a step-father.]

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### 小孩兒睡蓋狗被狗被有革蚤咬的小孩兒亂得叟

The child sleeps, covered by the dog-coverlet. The dog-coverlet has fleas, which bite the child to distraction.

[From Wên Têng and Jung Hsien, Shantung. Sung by mothers to lull their babies to sleep. A dog-coverlet is probably a bed-cover made of dog-skin. 革 should be 蓋. 得叟 = 抖擻, to rouse.]

---

### 剃新頭貼新對吃了沽支長一歲

Our heads freshly shaven, new couplets pasted [on the doors,] we eat meat dumplings, and are older by another year!

[Same districts. 沽支 = 餃子, eaten on New Year's eve.]



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糖瓜祀　竈年來　到閨女　要花小　子要爆　老婆子　要裹脚　老頭子　要氈帽

Sugared melon sacrificed to the God of the Stove—the New Year has arrived! The girls want flowers, the children fire-crackers, the old women want their feet [re-] bound, the old men felt caps.

[Same districts. The sacrifice named was performed on the 23rd day of the 12th moon (old style).]

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窮神窮神汝與吾有何尋　黑忽忽的門媚爲什麼不　尋別人恐怕你入了吾的　門偏偏的就入了吾的門　自從你入了吾的門事事　把身跟步步不離身親戚　朋友瞧着眼看有了鬧事　也無人打問（此是告窮神歌）

東君東君貧怨自己貧何　從怨別人你一好吃二好　飲就是賜你一個金獅子　銀麒麟洩饒的母猪也不　你胡打尋（此是窮神答歌）

God of Poverty! God of Poverty! What grudge have you against me? [And mine is] such a dark door [too!] Why do you not go and seek someone else? I feared that you would enter my door, and you have really done so. Since you entered my door, you follow me in everything I do and dog my steps, not leaving me [for an instant.] My relatives and friends take no notice of me, and when I am in trouble no one comes to enquire [fearing to be implicated.] (This is the song accusing the God of Poverty).

Sir! Sir! Being poor, you complain of your poverty. [But] why blame others? For one thing, you are too fond of eating; for another, too fond of drinking. Even if you were to have bestowed on you a gold lion, a silver unicorn, and a money-producing sow, they would be insufficient to meet your extravagances. (This is the song conveying the God of Poverty's answer).

[From Kao I and Lin Ch'êng districts, Chihli.]

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嫁人嫁人穿金戴銀嫁漢嫁漢穿衣吃飯

Re-marry! re-marry! and wear gold and silver! Marry a man! marry a man! and have clothes and food!



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[Current in Huang An, Hsiao Huai, and other districts in Hupei. 嫁 = 酉土, re-marriage of widows, which is still opposed to Chinese ideas of propriety.]

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天棚魚缸石榴樹先生肥狗胖丫頭

Sun screens, large fish-jars, pomegranate trees; blind musicians, fat dogs, stout maid servants.

[These are signs of respectability in the Manchu families of Peking.]

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| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 弟 | 拜 | 盅 | 盅 | 來 | 三 | 桌 | 子 | 一 | 跑 | 小 |
| 兄 | 成 | 咱 | 我 | 你 | 提 | 叫 | 八 | 張 | 的 | 驢 |
| | 乾 | 倆 | 一 | 一 | 酒 | 小 | 碗 | 卓 | 快 | 兒 |

Little donkey, running so fast! A table; eight courses. Call Hsiao San to bring some wine. A cup for you, a cup for me! Thus we two become sworn brothers!

[Was popular about ten years ago in Chang Tê, Honan. At the present time friendships are still cemented over cups of wine at an "eight-dish dinner."]

---

一个和尚挑水喫兩个和尚扛水喫三个和尚水也沒得喫

One monk draws water to drink. Two monks carry water [in a jar] on a pole. Three monks can get no water to drink.

[Current in Wu Chiang, Kiangsu, 也 should be read as 吁, alas! 沒 read nasal *p'ing shêng*, in books commonly written 無. The allusion is to the pressure on the means of subsistence due to unemployment, whether of private individuals, priests, or officials.]

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| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 倒 | 薩 | 城 | 城 | 跳 | 撲 | 石 | 要 | 官 | 嚷 | 蟋 |
| | 僔 | 隍 | 隍 | 跳 | 跳 | 頭 | 翻 | 心 | 叫 | 蟀 |
| | 跌 | 菩 | 喻 | 到 | 一 | 撲 | 轉 | 裡 | 小 | 癟 |

When the cricket is crying plaintively the children want to catch it. They dig up a stone, which rolls down until it reaches the temple of the City God and knocks him over!

[From Wu Chiang, Kiangsu. 蟋蟀 in the North 蛐蛐兒; 嚷 is the chirp it makes; 小官 = 兒童; 撲撲 should be read 僕僕; 撂 should be 撂. The idea is that the children get poisoned by the beetles and the parents blame the god!]



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只 見 風 一 青 白 花 生 莪
見 花 起 日 有 葉 有 長 眉
莖 葉 沒 狂 朝 是 紅 莖 豆

The artemisia grows on its long stalk. Its flowers are white and red and its leaves green. One day a gale springs up; its flowers and leaves are torn off, and only its stalk remains.

[From Huang Pei in Hupei.]

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萬 埋 要 青 婦 婆 搭 做 勻 天
載 留 金 髮 給 婆 三 人 地 上
 得 裝 弔 人 打 升 一 下 大
 美 無 死 家 還 公 升 小 星
 名 須 咱 剪 說 公 麥 婦 排
 千 銀 不 下 小 鵬 子 雞 不

The great stars in the sky are not evenly distributed. A young wife finds life hard. When she grinds a pint of wheat [and produces only] three pints [of grain] her father-in-law curses her and her mother-in-law beats her. Moreover, they say that she steals the meal to give to other people. So she cuts off her black hair and hangs herself with it. She does not desire to be adorned with gold nor buried with silver; but she will leave a good name for endless ages.

[Current in Huang Kang, Hupei.]

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不 奶 把 升 回 三 牌 酒 材 爺 嫁 土 小
來 奶 柴 米 來 更 半 好 好 不 个 地 板
 過 祖 把 升 不 夜 打 吃 成 姑 台 橙

A small bench! An earthen terrace! I have married a good-for-nothing! He loves drinking and gambling, and does not return home till the third watch of the night. A pint or so of rice, a bundle or so of firewood—on these I cannot subsist.

[From Yünnan Fu.]



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水淹北京城蛤蟆上了坑

When the floods covered Peking city the clam-shells went up onto the *k'ang*.

[In the reign of Tao Kuang this ditty was sung in Peking. 淹 is used for 烟. At that time, the opium-pipe was introduced, and large numbers of people lay on their *k'angs* smoking opium. Of the large number of accessories many were made of the shells of bivalves; hence the allusion to clam-shells.]

*(To be continued)*



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# THE CHARLES W. WASON LIBRARY ON CHINA

BY

Prof. KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

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This remarkable and as yet too little known collection of books on China is the outgrowth of the wise use of wealth and of physical weakness. Mr. Charles W. Wason, a retired business man of Cleveland, Ohio, suffered for years from a progressively increasing invalidism that finally ended in death. During these years he became interested in collecting books on China and eventually made them his hobby. He had the top floor of his comfortable home on Euclid Avenue fitted up in Chinese style and in it accumulated one of the two or three most remarkable private libraries on China in America. The field was so large that he deliberately confined himself to books which had appeared in English, and while he occasionally allowed himself to be tempted afield into other languages his main object was to collect everything that had been written on China in his mother tongue. In this endeavour he was ably assisted by his wife and by Mr. Arthur Clark, the well-known publisher and book dealer of Cleveland. Always generous with his growing library, Mr. Wason hoped that his collection might permanently be kept intact, and, augmented from time to time, be easily accessible to scholars. To this end he bequeathed the collection to his *alma mater*, Cornell University, and added a fund whose income, it was believed, would be ample to complete the library and bring it down to date. Cornell has housed the library in the stacks of its general collections and is cataloging it.

The library is, as has been indicated, almost entirely made up of material in English, but it is planned gradually to add to it books in other languages, so that in time it should vie with the greatest collections. It has a few books in Chinese, by far the most important of which are four volumes of the famous *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, and there are some rare volumes in French and



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Spanish. In English, as has been indicated, it has attempted to be complete. It has, of course, the great majority of the books, valuable and otherwise, that have appeared on China through the years. Very little has, apparently, been overlooked. In addition it has some valuable manuscripts, as for example, the original papers of the Macartney Embassy. The library is rich in pamphlets, of which it has about 129 bound volumes. It is also unusually rich in papers, magazines and journals. It has complete files of the *Journals* of the Royal Asiatic Society, the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the American Oriental Society, of the *China Review*, of the *Chinese Recorder* since 1897 and of the *Chinese Repository* from volume seven to the end. It has files of such papers as the *National Review*, *The Republican Advocate*, *The Peking Gazette*, *The North-China Herald* (since 1913), *The China Times* (in part), *The London and China Telegraph* (1867-1875), and *The Celestial Empire* (in part). It has files of the *China Maritime Customs Reports*, of the *Meteorological Register* of the Hongkong Observatory, of the *Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance with China*, and of the United States Consular reports for China. The library also contains a partial collection of the periodicals and reports of Missionary Societies that are at work in China, although in these it is far from complete. The collection is especially noteworthy for the trouble that has been taken to get a file of the articles that have appeared on China in American and British magazines. Files of the standard representatives of this class have been bought, carefully gone over, the articles that deal with China carefully extracted and bound in indexed volumes and so made accessible in convenient form. There have been treated in this way *The Quarterly Review* (1809-1912), *The Nineteenth Century* (1877-1915), *The Illustrated London News* (1842-1891), *The Calcutta Review* (1844-1877), *Blackwood's Magazine* (1817-1913), *Littell's Living Age* (1844-1909), *The Atlantic Monthly* (1859-1916), *The Outlook* (1877-1915), *The Forum*, *The Edinburgh Review*, *Hunt's Merchant Magazine*, *the Empire Review*, and the *San Francisco Argonaut* (1877-1915).

There are libraries in New Haven which taken together are better rounded and in many respects more nearly complete than is the Wason collection, but aside from these the writer is not aware that anywhere else in the United States is there so ample a collection for studying such Chinese problems as are treated in English. The collection should be known by all who are attempting to study China from the scholarly standpoint, and as it is augmented it should increasingly become a Mecca for sinologues the world over.



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# THE LUNAR ZODIAC

BY

LEOPOLD DE SAUSSURE.

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The mysterious lunar zodiac which, in remote antiquity, spread over the Asiatic continent from one end to the other, is of great importance for the problem of the Chinese origins.

1° This zodiac is the only fact, actually certain, showing ancient communications between Eastern and Western Asia.

2° It gave birth to the system of the five celestial palaces and to the equatorial method which characterizes the Chinese astronomy.

3° It allows us to fix the date of the origins of Chinese civilization as between the 27th and the 24th centuries B.C., by the position of the pole (天乙), of the solstices (虛 and 星) and of the equinoxes (昴 and 房) at the centre of these five palaces which have maintained their position through the whole of Chinese history.

4° This unitary and symmetrical system of celestial palaces is the basis of the Chinese cosmogony, philosophy and calendar. It is the criterion of the development of this early civilization. * For these reasons the question of the lunar zodiac, which has been transformed since the discovery of the principle of symmetry, must continue to retain the attention of sinologists.

At the very beginning of the Sanskrit studies the Indianists discovered in the Vedic books the existence of stellar divisions connected with the lunar motion and consecrated by religious

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*Le système astronomique des Chinois. (Probsthain & Co., London).



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belief. Those divisions, very unequal between themselves, are called *nakshatra*. They are still used, and Colebrooke in 1807, helped by Hindu pundits, identified very exactly the fundamental stars which mark their limits. It was very soon recognized that this system had a community of origin with the 28 Chinese *siu* (宿 *hsü*) made known in Europe through the works of P. Gaubil in the 18th century.

The same community of origin is admitted with the 27 Arabic *menazil*, which themselves seem to come out of a Chaldean asterisms system of which only fragments have been discovered.

*History of the Discussion.*—The German chronologist Ideler having in 1839 applied to the Chinese *siu* 宿 the term "lunar stations," J. B. Biot answered in the *Journal des Savants* stating that even from the remotest antiquity Chinese astronomy was based on the pole and meridian; that the 28 *siu* are equatorial divisions, without any special connection with the moon, and that they have been chosen about the 24th century B.C. on account of their correspondence with the passage at the meridian of the principal circumpolars, which explains the great inequality of these divisions. The evidence of this fact created in Biot's mind the absolute certainty that the Hindu *nakshatra* could only be a corruption of the Chinese *siu*, imported into India—a theory he maintained up to his death in 1862.

Ten years later Whitney, the American Indianist, opposed this opinion in his study called: *Lunar Zodiac* and he thought fit to open a counter-attack; he made fun of Biot's theory of the circumpolar determination of the Chinese *siu* and maintained inversely that the latter were a mere corruption of the Hindu *nakshatra* imported into China at a comparatively recent date.

Nobody for forty years had so far answered Whitney and the sinologists were inclined to admit his ideas, when I was led by unexpected circumstances to contest their views on the origin of the Chinese *siu* and to start anew the study of ancient astronomy.

After having supported the exactitude of Biot's theory concerning the equatorial nature of the Chinese method, I could prove that he was mistaken in believing that the correspondence between the *siu* and the circumpolars had been the aim sought by the ancient astronomers. Their intention was to obtain the exact diametrical opposition of the *siu*; to arrive at this result they had to make use of the alignment A P and P A (P being the pole and A a circumpolar) and to extend this line towards the opposed equatorial regions which are not visible simultaneously.



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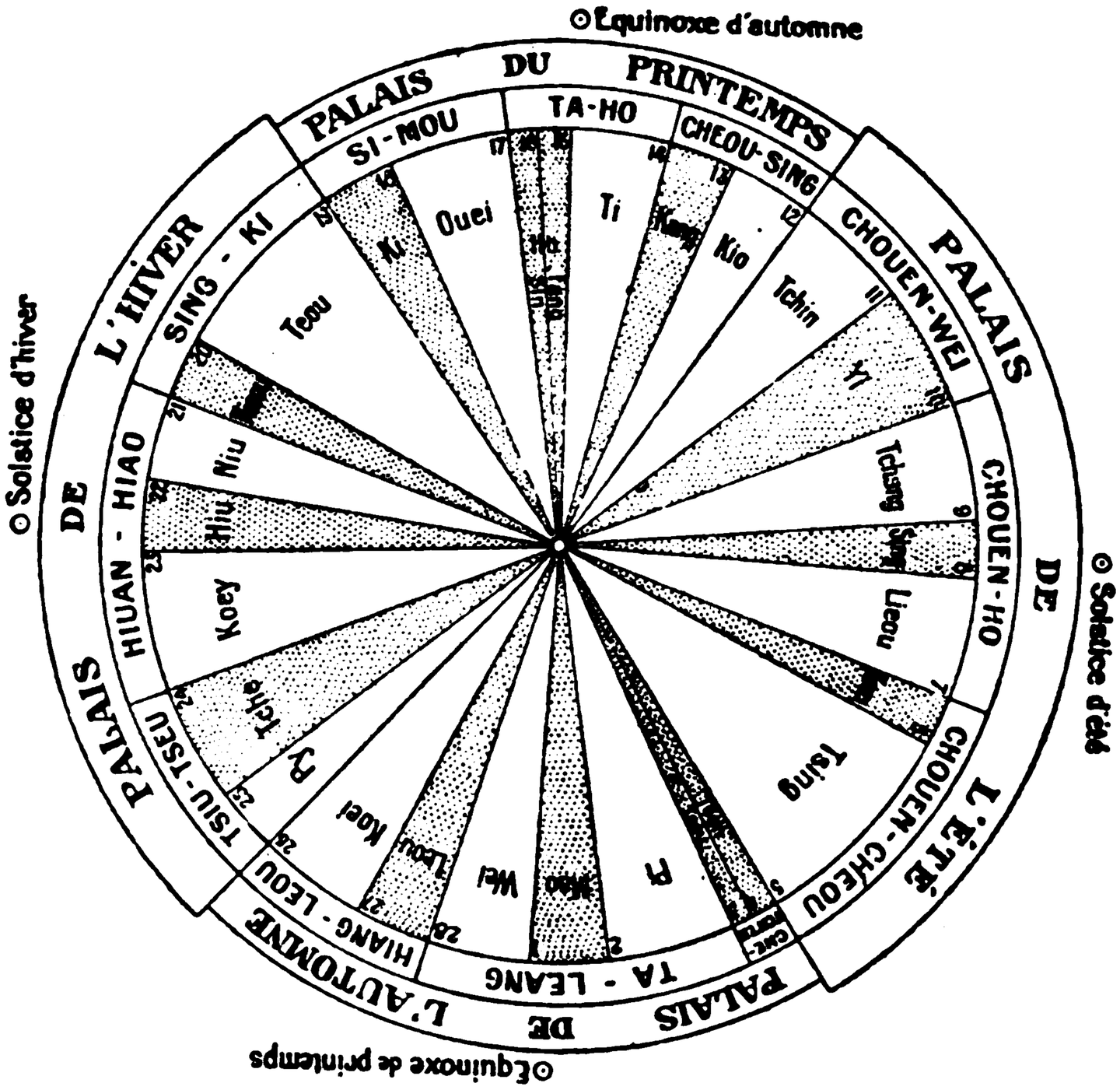


FIG. 1.—PROJECTION OF THE CHINESE DIVISIONS ON THE EQUATOR OF THE 24TH CENTURY B.C.

By this process they arrived at the most admirable diametrical symmetry which I pointed out in the diagram (Fig. 1) published in 1907. This document has not only created a new fact in what concerns the origin of the Chinese astronomic system; but it opens new vistas in the discussion which has lasted over a century on the subject of the lunar zodiac; for it explains the primitive purpose of this institution, and thus allows us to establish its theory.

*Full Moon's Sidereal Place.*—When the moon is full she is exactly diametrically opposite the sun. As the sun comes back every year, in the same month, into the same constellation (then invisible) it follows that the "full" happens every year in the same month, in the opposite constellation. Supposing the rites, as is the case in some Vedic texts, prescribe the observance of certain sacrifices when the moon's full takes place in a said constellation, it follows that the annual date of that ceremony is approximately fixed.



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The observation of the moon's "full" has thus a calendaric value and it establishes a process that can be called *primitive*, since it does not necessitate the use of any artificial point of reference, and the precision of its result is much superior to that which might proceed from the observation of the stars' rising.

These risings vary with the same slowness as the annual course of the sun, namely, one degree per day. Besides, the mists of the horizon and the variations in the atmospherical state seldom allow us to distinguish the stars when their height is small, so that it is often difficult to fix—within ten days—the one whose (heliac) rising immediately precedes dawn, or the one whose (acronychal) rising has taken place opposite the setting sun.

Such is not the case when observing the sidereal place of the moon if one knows exactly the time of her "full." In observing the aspect of the disc one could no doubt commit a great error: for it is impossible at first sight to discern the "full" within a day. But some ancient Chinese traditions show us they could appreciate the exact "full" within a quarter of a day, a decided proof that they made use, for this determination, of the simultaneousness of the moon's rising with the sunset.

The moon's synodical revolution lasting 29.5 days her rising loses every day ($\frac{24 \text{ hours}}{29.5} = 49\text{m.}$) 49m. (on an average). It is therefore very easy in level countries to determine the exact time of luni-solar opposition by comparing the interval between the sun's setting and the moon's rising. In the early centres of civilization where, from the furthest antiquity, special officials were entrusted with the care of observing the sky, the custom was to estimate the displacement of the moon amidst the stars during one night (about ten times its width). After comparing the position of both moon and sun at the horizon, by interpolating at sight one could designate with great precision the sidereal place of the moon's "full."

During the primitive period, when the year's course was still only indicated by the sidereal points of reference, this process of observation permitted the fixing of an annual date and the rectifying of the lunar year. It suggested the opportunity of adding an intercalary month. In China it was *Kioh* 角 which served this end. That star, of the first magnitude, marked in the firmament the entrance of the Spring Palace (No. 12, Fig. 1.) The full moon which showed to the right of *Kioh* was the twelfth (or thirteenth) of the year; and the one which showed to the left of *Kioh* was the first of the new year.



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*Sidereal Marks and Tropic Marks.*—The effective use of sidereal marks is only in the primitive period, when one had not yet precisely ascertained the tropic phasis and when it had not yet been thought of determining the date of the solstice by the maximum shadow of a vertical rod (gnomon). This process, very simple and correct, inaugurates a new period; that of solar and tropic astronomy, clearly mentioned in China as early as the 24th century B.C. by the *Yao tien* text, confirmed by the immutable system of sidereal seasons (Fig. 1) which in spite of the precession has maintained through forty centuries of history, the position of the equinoxes and solstices mentioned in the said text. The lunar zodiac thus loses its calendaric value but it still retains, none the less, its traditional astrological and religious prestige. In India, the sacred books prescribe certain sacrifices when the moon's "full" takes place is a said constellation. In China the astronomical reform which marked the advent of tropic astronomy consecrated to the sun the Solstitial Palaces where this aster dwells in winter and in summer (Fig. 1), but it reserved for the moon the Equinoctial Palaces in which the sidero-lunar ante-historical astrology has been maintained up to modern times, so that the relation between the different Chinese constellations and the course of the agricultural and ritual year is established in a discontinuous manner: sometimes by conjunction (in the solar Palaces), sometimes by opposition (in the lunar Palaces); the *Spring Palace* being the one in which the sun dwells during the autumn and the *Autumn Palace* the one in which the sun dwells in the spring.*

*The Diametric Symmetry.*—Apart from the astrological traditionalism the accession of the solar astronomy has found for the lunar zodiac a scientific use; it was, since then, used to determine the sidereal point (invisible) of the sun at different times of the year, thanks to a symmetrical repartition of the lunar stations.

During the sidero-lunar primitive period it was deemed sufficient to ascertain whether the "full" took place in a certain asterism to determine the annual date and it was useless, for attaining this end, to guess in which opposed asterism the sun would be at the same time. But the idea of regularizing the choice

*This introversion has puzzled many authors (Ideler, Chalmers, Schlegel, Barth, etc.) My explanation, suggested by comparing the Hindu and Chinese traditions, is confirmed by texts: the *Chow li* specifies this repartition of the seasons between sun and moon: "At the winter and summer solstices the *sun*, at the spring and autumn equinoxes the *moon*, serve to regulate the four seasons. 冬夏致日，春秋致月，以辨四時之敘."



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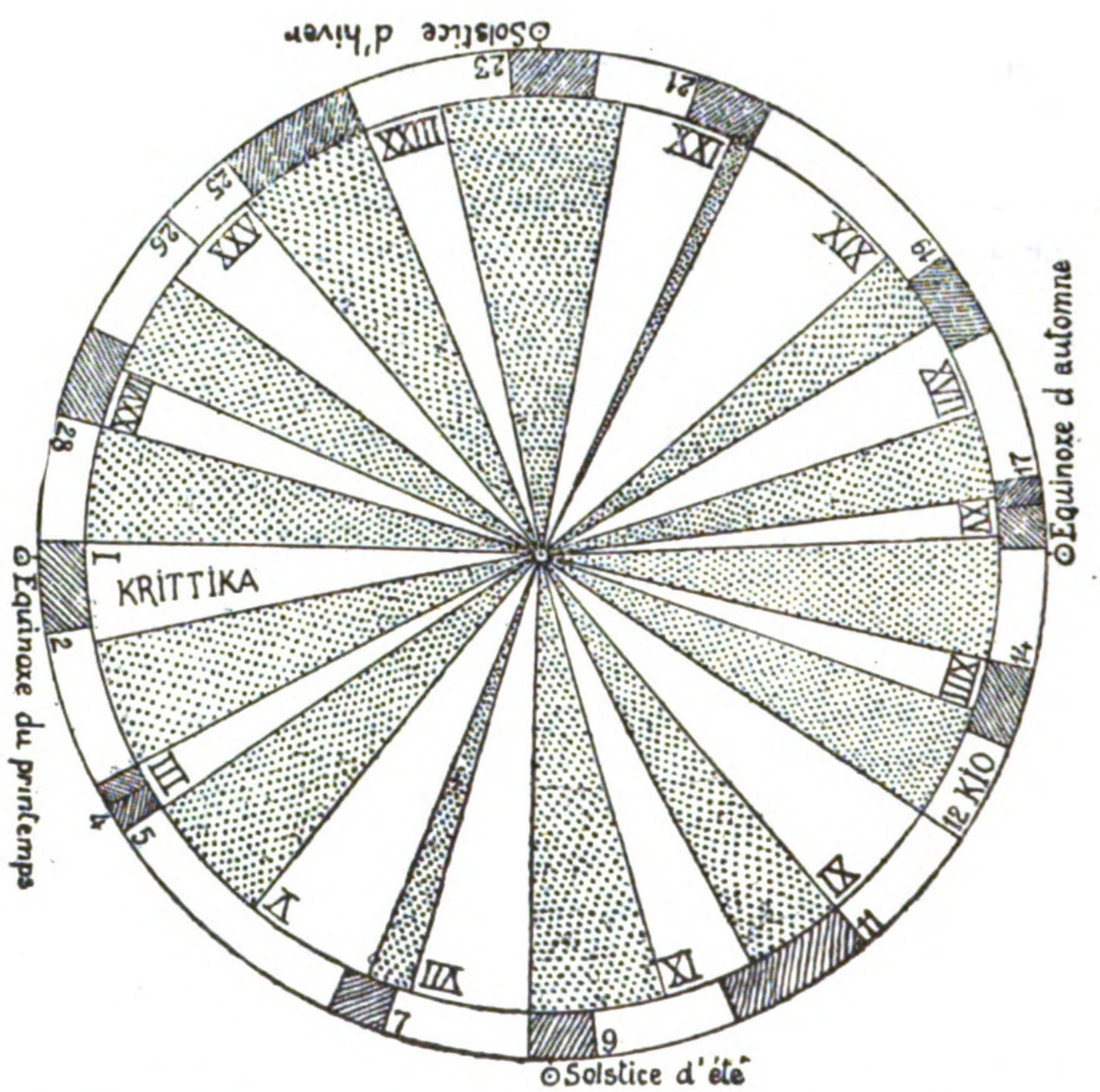


FIG. 2.—PROJECTION OF THE *NAKSHUTRA* (ROMAN NUMBERS) AND OF THE *SIU* (ARABIC NUMBERS) ON THE EQUATOR OF THE 24TH CENTURY B.C.

of the lunar stations by arranging them in diametrical couples soon imposed itself. It began to be in use before the diffusion of the lunar zodiac across Asia, seeing that the Hindu system (Fig. 2) is clearly symmetrical, though less perfect than the Chinese zodiac.

The choosing of opposed stars proved a very difficult problem to solve, for such stars are not observable at the same time. But the circumpolar region being always visible, it was possible during various periods of the year, to observe the passing at the superior and inferior meridian of a circumpolar star A and to choose in the equatorial zone, two stars A and A' passing the meridian at the same time with it, and therefore opposed in equatorial longitude. This is a process similar to the one used by engineers when wanting to obtain the exact opposite directions between the two priming points of a tunnel : they place on the top of the mountain land-marks which they extend on both slopes : the circumpolar region, ever visible, is the top of the sky, and allows us to obtain a prolonged alignment on the two opposite slopes. Such



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is manifestly the process employed by the lunar zodiac's creators to establish its diametric symmetry. * This method necessarily only made use of the smallest stars; because the stars of the nrst, second and third magnitude are too scarce for two to be found in opposition to one another, except on very extraordinary occasions. Therefore one can notice that the most exact couples are made up of small stars evidently chosen with a symmetrical purpose; whilst the most inexact couples are those in which some stars have been kept with which are associated the myths and traditions of the primitive period (*Kioh* 角, *Sin* 心 and *Tsan* 參).

*Equatorial Characteristics of the Lunar Zodiac.*—The equatorial process of determining the symmetrical couples does not prevent one choosing the stars on the ecliptic. But, as the full moon outshines by her brightness the adjoining stars, there is no interest in seeking signal points on its very trajectory; it was preferable to determine her position according to the stars passing the meridian at the same time. When one compares the levelling points of the Hindu zodiac with those, more perfect, of the Chinese zodiac, one sees that, for the reasons before mentioned, the different stellar divisions have been more and more considered as spindles delimited by equatorial stars, and comparable to the quarters of an orange.

The distinctly equatorial characteristic of the Chinese astronomy already shown by Gaubil and Biot is thus explained. This equatorial process enlarged itself from Chinese astronomy to Chinese cosmogony, whose fundamental concept of the terrestrial universe as well as the celestial one, is an immutable centre surrounded by four peripheral regions. †

*See, in the *Journal Asiatique* of July, 1919 my article on the symmetry of the lunar zodiac, with diagrams showing that this equatorial symmetry gets deformed when projected on the ecliptic.

†See the *T'oung pao*, 1921, p. 114.



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# A T'ANG MANUSCRIPT OF THE *SOU SHÊN CHI*

BY

LIONEL GILES

(*Continued*)

So far, we have been concerned only with the edition of the SSC in 20 *chüan*. But, as Mr. Yetts has pointed out, there is another edition in 8 *chüan* * which is included in the well-known collection of reprints 漢魏叢書 *Han wei ts'ung shu*, and has also been printed separately. It is not mentioned in the *Ssŭ K'ü ch'üan shu tsung mu*, nor in any other bibliography with which I am acquainted ; yet an examination of its contents will show that it is not by any means a mere abridgment of the longer work. It contains 40 tales, as opposed to 460 in SSC (A), but only seven † appear to be common to both collections ; and of these, only three are practically identical in wording. Two are considerably abbreviated in SSC (A), one is told in somewhat different language, and in one, only the outline of the story is similar. Thus, the two "editions" are really to be regarded as two distinct works. In general, it may be said that the anecdotes in SSC (A) are written more concisely and with a trifle more of the polish that renders them acceptable to the fastidious scholar. They are shorter, on the average, than those in SSC (B), and many of them are but desultory notes of the baldest description.

Although SSC (A) cannot claim to be Yü Pao's original work, there is sufficient evidence to show that it must be of respectable antiquity—perhaps pre-T'ang. Can we say the same of SSC (B)? Information on the subject is sadly to seek, but a few crumbs may

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* For the sake of brevity, we will call this edition SSC (B), and the other SSC (A).

† These are : SSC (B), ch. I, Nos. 1 and 3 ; II, 3 : III, 2 and 3 ; V, 4 and 5. They correspond, respectively, to SSC (A), III, 6 ; XVI, 20 ; XV, 1 ; XX, 4 ; XIX, 8 ; XI, 18 ; XX, 8.



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be extracted from the following editorial note affixed to the text in *Han wei ts'ung shu*: "*Sou shên chi* by Kan Pao, in 8 *chüan*. The Sui and T'ang bibliographies all say '30 *chüan*'; but in Pao's biography in the *Chin shu* . . . he is said to have compiled a book which he called *Sou shên chi*, in 20 chüan . . . It appears, then, that this book was really in 20 *chüan*, and the idea that it had 30 *chüan* is a mistake.* In the present collection of reprints† only 8 *chüan* are preserved, but this edition is certainly defective. 毛 [晉] Mao [Chin] in his 津逮秘書 *Ching tai pi shu* ‡ has 20 chüan: this must be a fuller edition, though even that cannot be the original work. For in the original work, though it dealt collectively with matters relating to spirits, each tale must have belonged to some particular section or chapter (篇). For example, the 水經注 *Shui ching chu*, quoting the story of 張公童 Chang Kung-chih,§ states that it comes from Kan Pao's chapter entitled 感應 "Spiritual Response";¶ and 荆楚歲時記 *Ching ch'u sui shih chi*, again, quotes from Kan Pao's

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* My edition of the *Chin shu* has '30 *chüan*,' but there may be a variant reading.

† The account of the *Han wei ts'ung shu* given by Wylie ("Notes," 2nd edition, pp. 257-8) needs some revision. 程榮 Ch'êng Jung of 新安 Hsin-an printed 37 works, forming the nucleus of the collection, in the Ming dynasty. These were increased to 76 by 何允中 Ho Yün-chung of 武林 Wu-lin [Hangchow], and edited with a preface, dated January 1593, by 屠隆 T'u Lung. (In the Ming history, ch. 98, f. 13, T'u Lung is named as the actual compiler). Very soon after, a fresh edition was published, which was intended to comprise 100 works, though only 76 actually appeared. Wylie speaks of the new editor as 'Kwo Ts'ang,' but this is really the name of his native place (括蒼 Kua-ts'ang) in Chekiang, his own name being 何鐣 Ho T'ang. After the lapse of 200 years, very few copies of this edition still remained, and 王謨 Wang Mo undertook to reprint the collection once more in 1792. Having no means of identifying the works previously omitted, he took ten, attributed to authors of the Han and Wei dynasties, from the 唐宋叢書 *T'ang sung ts'ung shu*, and thus brought the total up to 86. There seems no reason to believe than an edition containing the 96 works enumerated in 彙刻書目合編 *Hui k'o shu mu ho pien* (1799 A.D.) ever saw the light. But in any case, since no SSC is included in *T'ang sung ts'ung shu*, it follows that SSC (B) must have appeared in the 1593 edition of *Han wei ts'ung shu*.

‡ An extensive collection of reprints in 15 parts. SSC (A) is the first work in the 11th part.

§ See *Shui ching chu*, ch. 39 *ad fin.* The date of this commentary is about 500 A.D. The story is told in slightly abbreviated form, but the phraseology is very similar to that of SSC (A), IV, 8.

¶ The actual text is, 干寶書之於感應焉, which is less decisive, as the crucial word 鑑 is wanting.



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變化篇 "Chapter on Evolution." * Both of these must have been titles of chapters in the original work. But in Mao's edition there is no sign of such an arrangement, and indeed, no sort of order or sequence is observed from beginning to end; this text, then, can only be regarded as 'complete' in comparison with the one given in the *ts'ung shu*. Now, as I have only had access to the latter in preparing this work for the press, and have not been able to collate and rectify it according to Mao's edition, † only the ordinary text has been published in these pages; and if personages of the Later Wei dynasty are mentioned therein, or events belonging to the *Yüan-chia* period of the Sung [424-454] or the *Yung-ming* period of the Ch'i dynasty [483-494], or names of 州 *chou* peculiar to the T'ang, the intelligent reader will know how to discriminate, so that no further reference to such anachronisms is necessary. Penned by 王謨 Wang Mo of the 汝 Ju river district."

Wang Mo's reference to SSC (B) as "the ordinary text" (其凡) seems to point to its having a long tradition behind it; but, apart from the fact that it was incorporated in *Han wei ts'ung shu* in 1593, its early history remains as obscure as ever. Moreover, its title to antiquity is far more dubious than that of SSC (A), in that none of the stories which it contains appears to be quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* or other early collections. This, though but negative evidence, certainly gives ground for suspicion, and one would be warranted, perhaps, in dismissing it as a comparatively late forgery, were it not for the discovery of the British Museum manuscript, to which it is now time for us to return. This is contained in a roll of rather thin whitish paper just under 10-ft. long and about 11⅛-in. wide. When found in the cave-library at Tunhuang, it was in a somewhat damaged condition, but it has now been repaired and mounted on stiff paper. The handwriting, as may be seen from the specimen I have had

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* The text of the *Sui shih chi* has 論, not 篇. The passage, which occurs in the commentary by 杜公瞻 Tu Kung-chan of the Sui dynasty, runs thus: 按干寶變化論云. 朽稻爲蟹. 朽麥爲蛾蝶 (It is the cricket that spoils the rice, and the butterfly grub that spoils the wheat). It is evidently a reminiscence of SSC (A) XII, 1: 朽黍之爲蝱也. 稻之爲蛆也. 麥之爲蝴蝶也. "It is the cricket that spoils the sorghum (?), the weevil that spoils the rice, the butterfly grub that spoils the wheat." The whole paragraph is a dissertation on the metamorphoses of insects which by itself might very well be called a 論. This piece of evidence, then, is even less conclusive than the other; and, on the whole, I can see very little ground for assuming that Yü Pao's SSC was arranged in chapters with different headings.

† The writer of these words evidently had no idea how little matter the two collections have in common.



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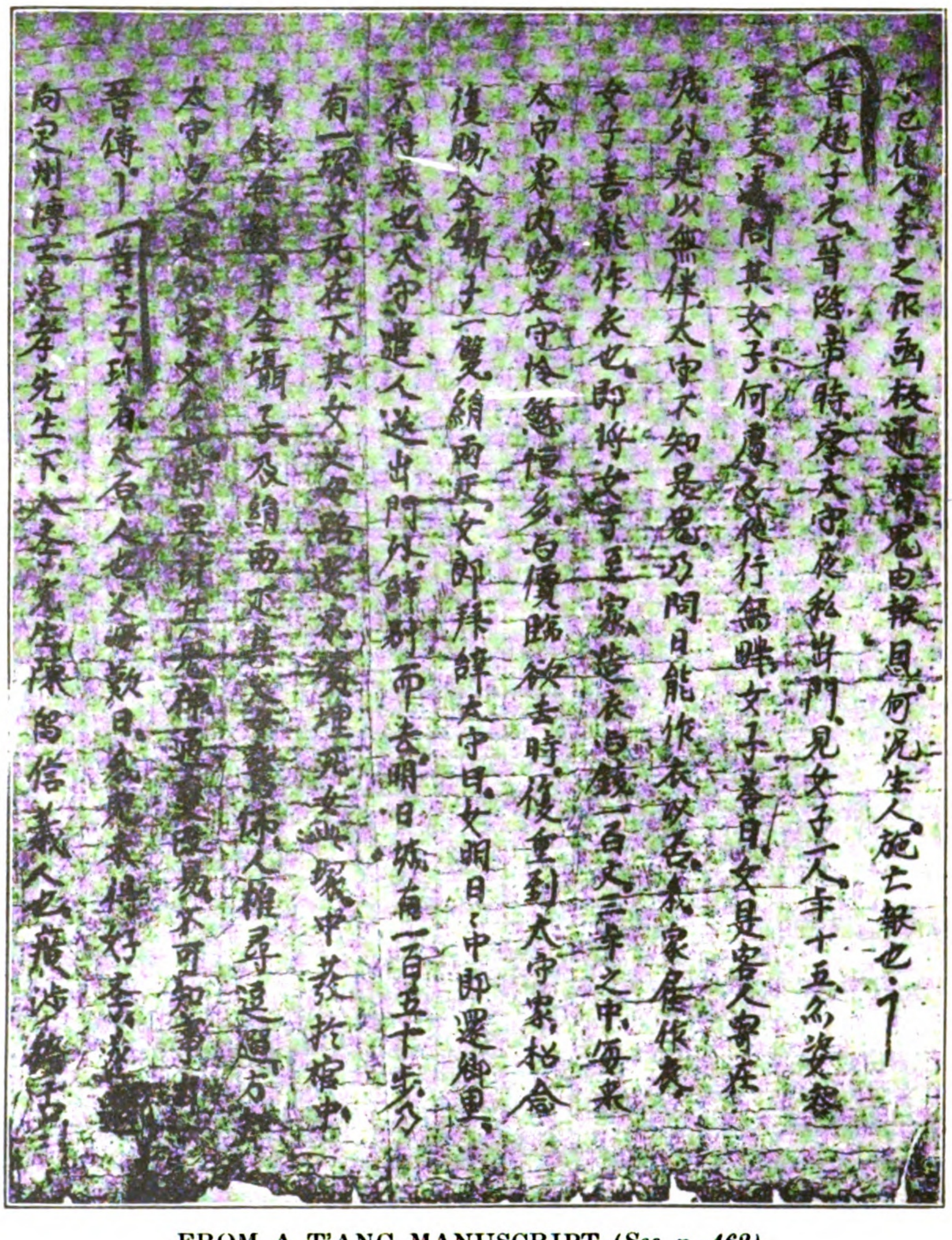

FROM A T'ANG MANUSCRIPT (*See p. 462*).

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photographed, is fairly clear and neat, though of no particular merit in a calligraphic sense. Judging by the numerous varieties of paper and handwriting that have passed through my hands in the process of cataloguing, I should be inclined to assign the MS. to the latter half of the 9th century, that is, near the close of the T'ang dynasty. It is almost certainly not later than this, but may be earlier. In the roll as we have it there are nine complete tales and the beginning of a tenth; the end portion is torn away, and it is impossible to say how much is missing. There are comparatively few complete rolls in the Stein collection, and they vary in length according to the thickness of the paper used. An average roll of thin paper may run to 30 or 40-ft., and I have measured one of no less than 76-ft., so it is possible that only a third or even a quarter of the present roll remains to us. Punctuation (not always correct) has been added throughout in red ink, and the commencement of each tale is also marked in red. Having noted that the title is given as 搜神記一卷 "*Sou shên chi* in one *chüan*," * we may proceed to an analysis of the contents.

(1). The first tale in the roll is also the first in *chüan* 1 of SSC (B), and it also occurs in SSC (A), where it is the sixth tale of ch. 3. As the story is a good one, and I do not think it has been translated before, I will give it here :—

管輅 Kuan Lu† was travelling to 平原 P'ing-yüan in 南陽 Nan-yang (his native place) when he saw a youth cutting wheat in a field. He heaved a deep sigh as he passed by, which made the youth inquire the cause of his melancholy.—"What is your name?" asked Kuan Lu. On being told that it was 趙顏 Chao Yen, he said: "It only made me sad to think that your span of years would not exceed twenty." When pressed further, he added: "Our destinies are controlled by Heaven, and I can do nothing to save you." The youth ran home and told his father, and together they caught up Kuan Lu before he had gone far along the road. In response to their entreaties that he would rescue the son from such an untimely fate, Kuan Lu said: "His destiny is not in my hands, but I will do my best for you. Go home and prepare a flagon of wine and a joint of venison, then await my arrival."—They followed these instructions, and on the morrow Kuan Lu appeared in due course.—"South of the spot," he said, "where you were cutting wheat yesterday, there is a large mulberry tree. Under that tree you will find two men playing a

* Not "1st chüan," which would be 第一卷 or 卷之一.

† T. 公明. Lived A.D. 209-256. There is a long account of this noted seer and astrologer in *San kuo chih*, ch. 29, ff. 8-17.



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game of *wei-ch'i*.* Go up to them, and place these viands before them, replenishing their cups as soon as they are emptied. If they question you, be careful not to say a word, but only bow. This perchance may save you. I will remain here until you return."—Chao Yen did as he was bid : he found the two men playing *wei-ch'i*, and so absorbed were they in the game that they finished the wine and the venison without noticing him. At last the game came to an end, and the man who was sitting on the north side raised his head. When he saw Chao Yen waiting on them, he cried out in anger: "What do you mean by coming here?" The youth, however, only bowed and made no reply. Thereupon the man on the south side said to his companion : "I am afraid we must look rather silly. Here we have been drinking all this man's wine, and eating up his venison. Don't you think we should show him some gratitude ? "—"That is all very well," replied the other ; " but the warrant is already made out, and cannot be altered now."—"May I have a look at it ? " said the first man ; and, taking the document, he saw that the length of life therein allotted to Chao Yen was some 19 years. "Why, there is no difficulty here," he cried ; "the figures only need transposing." And, making a flick with his pen, he said to the youth : "We hereby guarantee that you will live until the age of 91." † —At these words, Chao Yen was unable to contain himself for joy. Making a low obeisance, he hurried home, where Kuan Lu congratulated him on the welcome addition to his years.— "The man sitting on the south side," he said, "was the spirit of the Southern Dipper, ‡ and the man on the north, the spirit of the Northern Dipper. § They preside over birth and death respectively. Every person born into the world passes from the domain of the former into that of the latter, and all prayers for longevity have accordingly to be submitted to the spirit of the Northern Dipper."—The grateful parent wished to load Kuan Lu with rich presents, but the latter refused to take anything.

In translating the above, I have followed the text of SSC (B) rather than that of the MS., which is slightly mutilated here. The style of the latter is a little more homely and diffuse,¶ while that

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* The "surrounding game," played with black and white pips on a chequer-board.

† This is a slight modification of the original necessary in translation. The Chinese numbers, of course, are 十九 (19) and 九十 (90) respectively.

‡ The 8th of the 28 Stellar Mansions (part of Sagittarius), consisting of six stars.

§ Ursa Major

¶ This is true of all the stories in the roll. Each begins with 昔 "Once upon a time."



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of SSC (A) is more concise ; but the general similarity in phrasing leaves no room to doubt that all three versions are traceable to the same source. The boy's name, which is given as 趙顏子 Chao Yen-tzŭ in the MS., appears, curiously enough, as 顏超 Yen Ch'ao in SSC (A), just as if the writer, in one case or the other, had been guided only by a vague recollection of the *sound*. At the end of the tale in the MS., it is interesting to find the note : 事出異勿 [i.e., 物] 志 "The story is taken from the *I wu chih* (Record of Strange Things)." I do not know if this work is still extant, but I have found two very short extracts from it in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, ch. 464, f. 5 v°, and ch. 466, f. 3 v°.

(2) The second tale is the same as SSC (B), 1, 6. It celebrates the acumen of a famous physician, 秦緩 Huan of the Ch'in State, and in the MS. is said to be taken from the 史記 *Shih chi* ; in reality it is derived not from that work but from the *Tso Chuan*, 10th year of 成公, §5. Here again we have an instructive gradation of style—the almost forbidding terseness of the Commentary contrasting with the easy elegance of SSC (B) and the rather more familiar style of the MS. Yet it must not be imagined that even the latter approaches at all closely to the language of common speech.

(3) The third tale— SSC (B), 1, 5—relates an example of foreknowledge on the part of one 劉安 Liu An (not to be confused with his namesake the Prince of Huai-nan).

(4) This tells of the extraordinary fortune that befel 辛道度 Hsin Tao-tu in consequence of his encounter with the spirit of a dead princess. Cf. SSC (A), XVI, 20, and SSC (B), I, 3.

(5) This is the story of a murder revealed in a dream, which I have failed to find in either edition of the SSC. According to a note at the end, it is taken from 南妖皇記 *Nan yao huang chi*, which does not appear in the bibliographical list of the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*, and is doubtless a lost work.

(6) The sixth tale is the same as SSC (B), III, 1, and will be found, told at much greater length, in 東周列國志 *Tung chou lieh kuo chih*, chapter 1. It describes the revenge taken by the Minister 杜伯 Tu Po, who was unjustly put to death by 宣王 Hsüan Wang of the Chou dynasty.

(7) This, again, appears in neither edition of the SSC. It is a queer tale, worth reproducing in condensed form :—

A farmer named 侯雙 Hou Shuang was frequently disturbed, while at work in his fields, by the wailing sound of a human voice. This continued for over two months, until at last he discovered



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in the corner of a field the skeleton of a man protruding from the soil, with blades of corn growing out of the eye-sockets. He hastened to give it decent burial, and after that the wailing ceased. After the harvest, he was returning home one evening when he perceived the figure of a man closely dogging his footsteps. Somewhat surprised, he accosted the stranger and asked who he was.—"I am a disembodied spirit," replied the latter.—"The ways of the living and the dead lie apart," said Hou Shuang; "Why are you following me thus?"—"Alas," said the spirit, "I have received a great kindness at your hands, and have no worldly goods with which to repay you. But I hear that you are not yet married, and I think I can help you to a wife." He then named a certain day, and told Hou Shuang to make all the usual preparations for a wedding. When the day came, the bridegroom's family was much puzzled at the non-appearance of the bride; but during the afternoon a heavy black rain-cloud drifted up over the house, shrouding everything in darkness. Hou Shuang went up into the bridal chamber, and there he found a damsel of about 18 or 19, with all her trousseau complete!—"Who are you, Sir," she said, "that intrude here?" Hou Shuang retorted: "What are *you* doing in my room?" Then the young lady told him that she was the daughter of the Governor of Liao-hsi [in Chihli], and that she was going to be married to the Governor of Liaotung. "This morning," she said, "I had just reached my future husband's threshold when a great whirlwind sprang up. I got out of my chair to see better, and was whisked back to my own room. This is my house: why do you dispute its possession with me?"—"Liaotung is 5,000 *li* away from here," said Hou Shuang. "If you don't believe me, please go outside and look round."—The upshot was that the girl, finding herself the victim of a miracle, was married to Hou Shuang, and they lived happily ever after.—The story concludes with the moral reflection: "If even a disembodied spirit can make such requital for kindness, how much more should living men show their gratitude to the departed (by offering sacrifices)."

(8) The eighth tale, which I have selected for photographing because the whole of it could be got on to one plate, is about the ghost of a girl who masqueraded for three years as a living person. Cf. SSC (B), I, 2. It is said to come from the 晉傳 *Chin chuan*, whatever that may be. I cannot find it in the 列傳 of the *Chin shu*.

(9) The ninth, a much longer tale than any of the others, occurs in SSC (B), II, 1. It is an account of the service rendered to 王子珍 Wang Tzŭ-chên by a friendly ghost, and is said to



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be taken from the 幽名錄 *Yu ming lu* (the second character is a mistake for 明). This work, which is frequently quoted in *T'ai p'ing kuang chi*—sometimes as 幽冥錄—was written by 劉義慶 Liu I-ch'ing of the Liu Sung dynasty (420-479), author of the better-known 世說新語 *Shih shuo hsin yü*. In the *Sui chih* it is said to comprise 20 *chüan*, in the *T'ang chih*, 30 *chüan*. It does not appear at all in the *Sung chih*, but is mentioned in the 汲古閣祕本書目 *Chi ku ko pi pên shu mu* without indication as to the number of *chüan*. The present text was reprinted in 1814 from an old and defective MS. by 黃丕烈 Huang P'ei-lieh, and was afterwards included, in an amended form, in 琳琅祕室叢書 *Lin lang pi Shih ts'ung shu*, where it is the fifth work of pt. III. There are 160 anecdotes in the collection, but I cannot find the story of Wang Tzŭ-chên among them. No. 122 is the story of Wu Mêng and Yü Pao's brother (here called Kan Ch'ing) which I have already cited from another source.

(10) Of the 10th and last tale, only a short fragment remains, but it does not seem to occur in SSC. It deals with one 劉淵 Líu Yüan, whom one is tempted to identify with the first sovereign of the illegitimate State of Han (+ A.D. 310), though beyond the name itself there is nothing to support the assumption.

It appears from the above analysis that there is a very remarkable correspondence between the MS. and the earlier portion of SSC (B), no fewer than seven tales out of the ten occurring amongst the first eleven tales of the latter, whereas only two of these are to be found amongst the whole 460 of SSC (A). The remaining three are not in either edition. * The conclusion seems to be that SSC (B) must be derived from a recension which existed at least as early as the T'ang dynasty. If we attempt, however, to carry our specula ions a step further, it must be confessed that we find ourselves still very much in the dark, and only a statement of probabilities can be made.

* Here is a comparative table :—

| Tale | SSC (B) | SSC (A) | MS. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Kuan Lu ... ... ... | I, 1 | III, 6 | 1 |
| Chao Tzŭ-yüan ... ... | I, 2 | — | 8 |
| Hsin Tao-tu... ... ... | I, 3 | XVI, 20 | 4 |
| Pien Ch'iao ... ... ... | I, 4 | — | — |
| Liu An ... ... ... | I, 5 | — | 3 |
| Ch'in Huan ... ... ... | I, 6 | — | 2 |
| Wei Ying ... ... ... | I, 7 | — | — |
| Wang Tzŭ-chên ... ... | II, 1 | — | 9 |
| Hsia Hsiao-chih ... ... | II, 2 | — | — |
| Wang Tao-p'ing ... ... | II, 3 | XV, 1 | — |
| Tu Po ... ... ... | III, 1 | — | 6 |



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(1) We know that SSC (A) must have existed, in something like its present form, in A.D. 977, when the *T'ai p'ing kuang chi* was compiled. If so, it was probably identical with the work in 30 *chüan* mentioned in the *T'ang chih*. But this, again, is unlikely to have been a different work from the SSC in 30 *chüan* of the *Sui chih*. Hence there is every reason to suppose that our SSC (A) was put together in the second half of the 6th century. No doubt it incorporates much of the substance, if not of the actual language, of Yü Pao's original work.

(2) SSC (B) was not a forgery, I imagine, in the ordinary sense, that is, it was never meant to be passed off as the original *Sou shên chi*, but was simply a selection of some of the longer tales. If Yü Pao's work was lost in the 5th century, SSC (B) may represent a first attempt to recover some of the material from other books of marvels. Afterwards, a more thorough-going search may have been made, which, with the addition of a few later anecdotes, resulted in SSC (A). Here, however, we are plunging too deeply into the realm of conjecture. What seems fairly clear is that the two collections were formed quite independently of one another.



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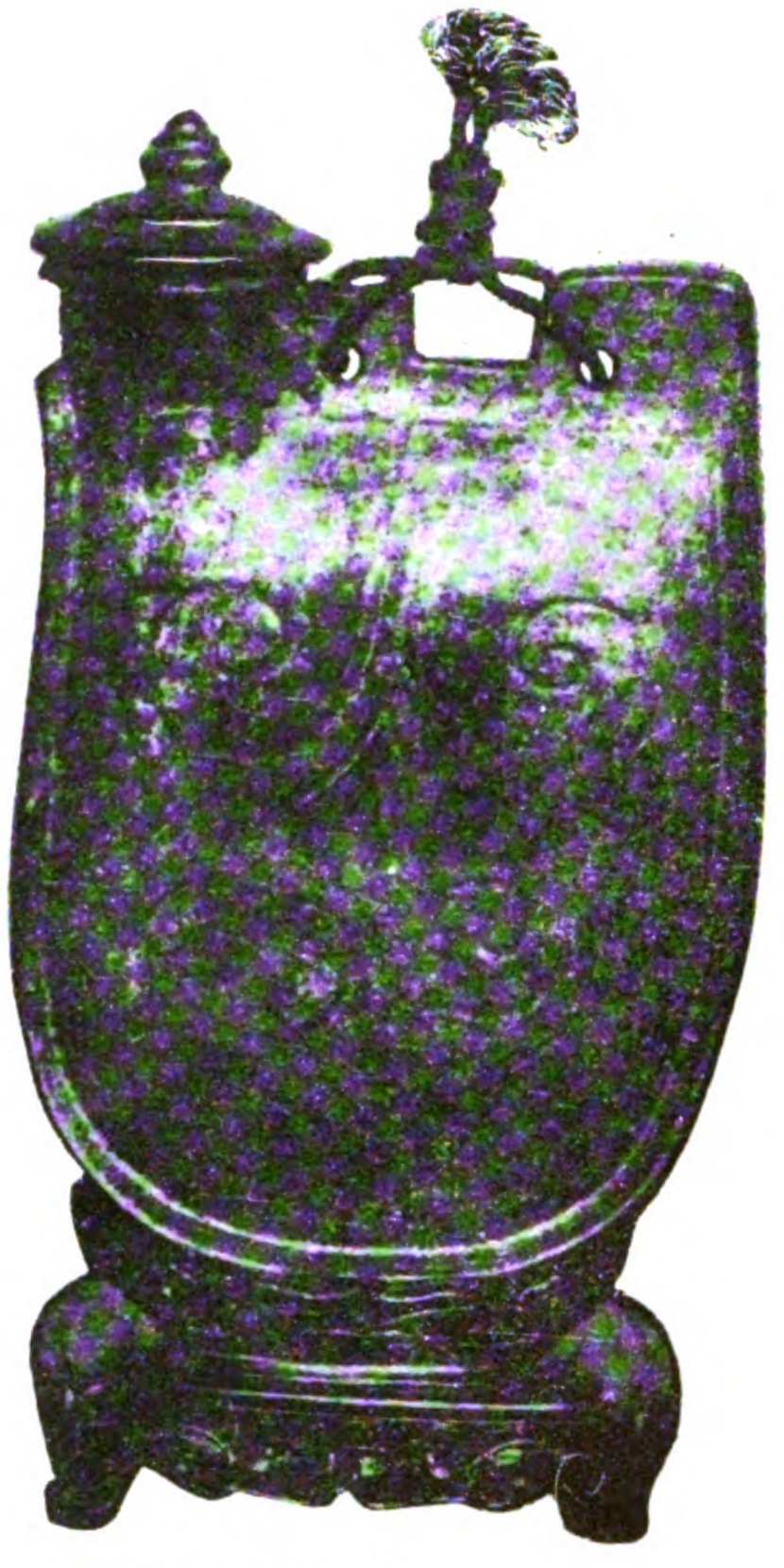
HAN PERFORATED INCENSE BURNER WITH COVER.
HEIGHT 3¾-IN



HAN FLASK. HEIGHT 8½-IN.

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# TWO ART OBJECTS

## FROM THE

## COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

A beautiful specimen of the Han potter's art is shown in the reproduction.

The ware is hard, light and the clay white but slightly dulled by a reddish tone which is due to long burial in red soil. The censer is in the shape of a small Chinese drum and is supported by a tripod, the design is a wreath of peonies and leaves powerfully incised and framed in by two rows of small knobs in low relief.

Alternate peonies are glazed (light 'leaf green') which goes to enhance the effect of the decoration but now the glaze has practically all flaked away only leaving a silvery shimmer. The perforations allowed the sweet fragrance of the burning incense to be wafted on the air.

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The flask is of reddish brown ware washed by a deep 'leaf green' glaze which through age has become irridescent and the surface is covered by a 'gold and silver lustre' so that on casually observing it one imagines that it is made of metal.

It is noteworthy that the ware is hard and comparatively light which is unusual in wares of this type.

The curved design is worked on the body of the piece and is seen through the glaze simple and suitable for such an article.

The rim is deeply grooved giving the piece an impression of strength and utility, the flask is capped by a somewhat massive stopper and this is necessary as the mouth is large enabling the 'bottle' to be filled and emptied with ease.

Two perforations are found in the upper projections for the purpose of passing through a string allowing the flask to be attached to a belt. The flask swells out at the lower end but narrows as it reaches the top. This piece is a model of an ancient warrior's water bottle and in modelling and design is totally different from a pilgrim's flask. It has the appearance of being a useful article and one that can be relied on in times of emergency.

Yet withal one can perceive the Han modeller's genius.



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# NOTES AND QUERIES

## By L. C. Arlington

### Reply to Prof. Giles

On page 286 of Vol. III of the *New China Review*, Dr Giles states the 史記 backs him up in setting down 阿衡 as the personal name of 伊尹. (The Biog. Dict. number is 913, not 313). have not the *Mémoires Historiques*, so cannot refer to it.* However this may be, I may state that 阿衡 means a Prime Minister, or a General Regulator—of Affairs of State, somewhat similar to 百揆. *Cf.* Giles Dict. No. 6487 納于百揆. This was the term used by the Emperor Yao when he appointed Shun to be his Prime Minister. During the Chous it was changed to 冢宰, one who 燮理陰陽 "harmonises the *Yin* and the *Yang*." The 通志氏族略 states that I Yin was the 阿衡 of the T'ang dynasty—i.e., Prime Minister: 伊尹爲湯阿衡, and that his sons and grandsons because of this (rank) adopted 衡 as their family name: 子孫因以爲氏.

The *T'zŭ Yüan* states that: 阿衡商官名伊尹爲之阿倚也衡平也湯倚伊尹而取平故以爲官名.

That Dr. Giles had doubts himself is clear under No. 1 in his Chinese-English Dictionary, where he states that *O Hêng* is the "name or *title* of I Yin."

The 龍文鞭影 gives the following particulars: (伊尹耕莘註伊尹名墊生於空桑居於伊水故氏曰伊尹其字也第考太甲篇自稱尹躬恐無君前稱字之理尹耕於有莘之野而樂堯舜之道湯聞其賢三往聘之因就湯而伐夏救民焉.

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* On page 286 of this *Review* the reference to the *Mémoires Historiques* should be page 178 instead of page 378. [Editor].



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Giles Dict. No. 7015 量移, has lost its original meaning of to "partly pardon," etc., and refers to the transfer of an official—generally in a good sense. The ancient meaning—now obsolete—originated with the T'ang Emperor K'ai Yüan, and in the 27th year of his reign (A.D. 740). That is, he degraded and exiled (左降) cashiered officials to some far distant post, and after three years partly pardoned and re-transferred (量移) them to a post near the capital. Po Chü-i, one of China's greatest poets, wrote a distich bringing out the meaning of 左降 and 量移 in this sense, as follows:

一旦失恩先左降, 三年赦例未量移

"Suddenly to fall from grace, degraded and banished to a far distant post;

Although three years have passed, according to law, not yet recalled."

* * *

With reference to Fan Chung Yen (Biog. Dict. No. 535), according to the 神道碑 by 歐陽修 it is stated that his correct name was Chu Yüeh 朱說. When his father died his mother married a man named Fan; and after Chu Yüeh took his *chin shih* degree, he altered his name to Fan; i.e., he took the name of his step-father. The date he changed his name is given as the 8th year of Hsiang Fu (A.D. 1016).

* * *

The Anniversaries of the death of Emperors or their Consorts, Giles Dict. No. 924 忌日, was introduced by the T'ang Emperor 大和 and in the 7th year of his reign (A.D. 834) V. 隨園隨筆.

* * *

高足 No. 11,840, originally had nothing to do with the "best pupil," but referred to the best or most famous horse. Yen Shih Ku 顏師古, in his 高租本紀, states that Han Kao Tsu (2nd cent. B.C.) always rode the finest horses. The first best was called 高足 "high-stepper"; the next best was called 中足 and the 3rd best 下足.

The term "best pupil" according to the 世說新語 originated with Chêng K'ang Ch'êng (Biog. Dict. No. 274), who was Ma Jung's most famous pupil and was, in consequence thereof, called 高足弟子.

* * *

There is an uncanny meaning attached to the character I 瀙, Giles Dict. No. 5365, not mentioned in any of the dictionaries.



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This was the name given to Tsai I (載灃) Prince Tuan of Boxer fame, by the Emperor Hsien Fêng because the former was born during the 100 days of mourning for the Emperor Tao Kuang.

Hsien Fêng specially selected this character because it had the radical for "dog" in it to imply thereby that he was nothing but a "brute beast." He might have selected the character 猗 Giles Dict. No. 5366, but he had to retain the character for "water" as all the members of the Imperial Clansmen of the 載 Branch must have the radical for "water" affixed to their names. These are as under : 載淳 (The Emperor T'ungchih) ; 載活 (The Emperor Kuanghsü) ; 載 漪 (Prince Tuan) ; 載 澧 (Prince Ch'un) ; 載 瀾 (Duke Lan) and the *beilêhs* 載洵, 載濤, 載濎, 載濈, 載濂, 載瀅, 載澍. In the same way, all the Imperial Clansmen surnamed 溥, have the radical for "man" in their names, e.g., 溥儀, 溥倫, 溥侗, 溥偉, 溥傷.

* * *

No. 13,736 蝝 "the pupae of a large kind of ant," is to be correct in Chinese 復陶 (to re-create). *Cf.* 陶鈞萬品 "to bring into order the various things in the Universe"—of Nature. According to the 爾雅釋蟲 ; 蝝, 蝮, and 蛹 are all the pupae of a large ant or locust.

* * *

The original form of 悖 No. 4595 is 妦 No. 4594 ; therefore, the various dialect readings should be under 妦. There is not the slightest difference in the meanings, nor in the rhyme, which is 迥 and not 梗.

* * *

No 2715 僎 is read *tsun*[1] when referring to the "high official guests invited to a village feast ;" but *chuan*[4] when referring to the "preparations" or "provisions" thereof.

* * *

No. 6953 蠃, when read *lo*[3] also means the itch or "ring worm." What, however, makes this character interesting, is that it forms part of the name of Fan Li (B. Dict. No. 540). One of the reasons he changed his name is because he did not like to be stigmatized as "a wood-boring insect." He was said to be the only man in China with the character 蠃 in his name. There was another reason for his adopting the name of 陶朱, viz., because it corresponded with the sound 逃誅 meaning to "escape or flee from punishment or decapitation"—from the clutches of Kou Chien the king of Yüeh. His retirement from the service of the state and pilgrimage to the South is immortalized in the lines : 乘舟遊五湖.



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Although Dr. Giles under Nos. 12,374 and 13,613 mentions the 1st and 3rd years of "field cultivation," he does not give the 2nd year, viz., 新田.

* * *

No. 6529 (衮) was originally so written, but owing to its resemblance to 哀 "sorrow," the Emperor altered it to 衮 No. 6532, and therefore the entries should be under 衮 instead of 衮. 衮 is the correct form, and is so written by all Chinese. Although the Emperors wore robes embroidered with dragons both ascending and descending, the higher officials only wore robes embroidered with dragons *descending*.

* * *

No. 4296 宵行 (*hang* not hsing) is really a glow-worm which is said to emit light from the throat. Hence, the allusion "travelling by night."

* * *

It is worthy of note that 㬎 No. 123 is used with 徼, No. 83, and 澆 No. 1330 is used for 㬎 in the *Tso Chuan*.

* * *

That 滕六 No. 10,887 is also supposed to be (erroneously) the "god of a fair wind" may be seen from the following: 借滕六王之順風. The term 滕六 is taken from the poetical lines 雪花飛六出. "The snow-flakes have six points"—referring to winter snow. The origin of the term according to the 幽怪錄 is as follows: The magistrate of Hêngchow in Hunan named Hsiao Chih-chung (蕭志忠) who was a famous hunter had planned to go on a hunting excursion the following day. This becoming known to the wild beasts of the mountains, they became greatly alarmed and held a meeting to consider means for mutual protection. A wood-cutter, who was resting on the mountain slope, overheard the beasts beseeching the god of the Nine Regions in Hades to devise plans for their protection. The god replied that "personally he could do nothing; but if it should come on to snow, or blow a gale, the hunter would be prevented from going shooting." To this laconic and ambiguous reply the animals naturally wished to know how such a desired change in the elements could be brought about. The god replied that if they "prayed to the god of snow" (滕六) or to the "god of wind" (巽二), their wishes would be fulfilled. It is probably owing to this legend that the gods of snow and wind have become confused as given in the passage at the head of this note.



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## Editor's Note

The Editor has much pleasure at the end of another volume in offering his very hearty thanks to all those contributors who have helped to make the *Review* a success during another year. It would, perhaps, be invidious to name any of them. Our veteran sinologists have generously given most valuable aid, while some new and unknown writers, the sinologists of the future, have also sent welcome contributions. To all alike the Editor feels deeply thankful, and our readers ought to feel the same.

It is hoped to make the fourth volume still more valuable by the inclusion of more papers on numismatics, archæology and art—features that have been lacking so far. Contributions on these or other suitable subjects will be gratefully received.

The Editor once more appeals to subscribers to increase their number by making the *Review* more widely known. An article in the last issue of the *Chinese Recorder* shows how little the *Review* is read among missionaries—a deplorable and surprising fact. To appeal to any public spirit for the support of a journal which may be regarded as a credit to Shanghai, but which does not provide light reading or comic pictures, seems vain; but there should be a sufficiently large public in China interested in Chinese subjects to make such a journal permanent.

* * *

An apology is due to subscribers for the delay in publishing each issue; the Editor is not to be blamed, and it is hoped there may be some improvement in this respect in the coming year.



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# RECENT LITERATURE

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*Fishing from the Earliest Times*, by William Radcliffe (John Murray, London, 1921, 28/–).

The markets of Shanghai show an astonishing variety and abundance of fishes, but we do not know that there is much fishing for sport by foreigners. The book before us, however, is not a technical work, of interest only to fishermen, nor is it a mere collection of big-fish stories. But it is good reading, both serious and amusing, to all who love a good book. The author is a fisherman, a pisciculturist, and withal a scholar, and he has collected, as it would appear, everything on the subject from all literature; we are supplied with the most minute, extraordinary, interesting and valuable information about methods, influence, superstitions, symbolism, folk-lore, etc., connected with fishing in all countries and in all ages.

It is impossible to quote much or notice much in such bewildering wealth, and we must confine our remarks to the chapter on China. But if one wishes to know the connection between mullets and cholera *morbus*, or how the extinction of small fish helped to the downfall of Greece, or interesting details about Tobit, or why oysters have so little place in Homer, though oyster-shells are abundant in the ruins of Troy, or a thousand other varied matters, let him get the book and enjoy it.

When the author comes to the chapter on China he steps outside a familiar world, and in spite of valuable help from Prof. Giles and Dr. Lionel Giles, he must have found this the least pleasing part of his work, and perhaps that is why the chapter is last in the book and shows, we think, some signs of his being tired. His authorities seem to have been chiefly Werner's *Sociology* and Dabry de Thiersant's *La Pisciculture et la Pêche en Chine*, while many sources which might have been known from Père Courtois' articles in the *Encyclopædia Sinica* are not referred to.

The fact is, Chinese ichthyology has been very little studied. Even to-day the question is still under dispute whether trout exist



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here or not. But this scarcity of knowledge does not prevent our interest in all historical references to fishing throughout Chinese literature, and, so far as one dependent on translations could do so, the author seems to have collected all such references, including a good deal of very curious information. He is disappointed that the Honan bones seem to reveal nothing on his subject, forgetting that the inscriptions have so far only been partially deciphered. His reason for the apparent lack is the queer one that the district was so dry. At the present moment, alas! Honan does not complain of drought, and the China of those days was little more than the Yellow-river banks.

He speaks of fishing belonging to the State, and licences to fish being obligatory. This, as we know, only applies to fishing on a large scale. Amateur fishermen are entirely free from all restrictions. There is a peculiar statement about cormorant-fishing, a statement made by a Mr. Yen, a Chinese; it is that cormorant-fishing "in our country was confined to one family, the Liu." The remark needs some expansion since the practice is common in various provinces from south to north. It is, perhaps, a little surprising that we find no reference to the effect of Buddhist doctrines in the matter of killing fish; but the whole volume is not only full, but overflowing with information written in the brightest manner, so that it seems almost absurd as well as ungrateful to suggest that anything is lacking.

We can heartily recommend the book as more interesting and readable than a score of novels.

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*Historical Eclipses* (Halley Lecture)—John Knight Fotheringham, M.A., D. LITT., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1921. 2/6 net.

Dr. Fotheringham combines the qualifications of an astronomer with those of an antiquary and in this very interesting pamphlet has studied the various eclipses recorded in the classical writings and records of antiquity down to the second century before Christ. His ulterior object is to obtain evidence as to the magnitude of the secular acceleration of the moon (retardation of the earth's rotation also) which is principally due to the tidal friction. It is quite interesting to think that the loss of energy in the Huangpu (which appears during dry weather by the ebb stream being slower than the flood) is checking the earth's motion and causing the moon to recede. The folk who build jetties and so hinder the free flow of the river are unwarrantably disturbing the moon!



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In the course of the paper several Chinese records are referred to. The famous reference in the Shu Ching to the Hsi and Ho clans who preferred riotous living to astronomy draws the remark "My opinion is that the evidence does not permit us to identify the eclipse." It is not even certain that the record even refers to an eclipse, in spite of tradition and the commentators. Is it not possible that an accumulated error in the calendar was the real offence? Dr. Fotheringham suggests that politics had a good deal more to do with the affair than science.

The Shih Ching eclipse of B.C. 776 is mentioned as the first verifiable one in Chinese chronology. Incidentally it appears to be the first verifiable one at all. Shortly afterwards, however, the Annals of Lu commence to record a whole series of which all except four are confirmed. As to the four, they "never happened."

The other eclipses referred to are those of Greek and Mesopotamian history and do not concern China, except in so far as the lunar eclipses might also occur in Chinese records.

One can only regret that the historians of antiquity were not more lavish in their records of the only datemarks which modern science is able to re-establish. Incidentally one's regrets are strengthened by the consideration that really definite data as to a very early eclipse would enable the astronomer to compute how soon we may expect this terrestrial ball to stop spinning, an event which cannot but be of great interest even if it is many millions of years hence.

HERBERT CHATLEY.

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*Les Grottes de Touen-houang* (*Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale*). Tome quatrième. Paris, Geuthner, 1921, fr.75.

This fourth volume concludes the splendid collection of 256 phototypes of wall-paintings, etc., from the Thousand Buddha Cave Temples at Tun-huang. Everyone knows how M. Pelliot in 1908 cleverly secured sculptures, paintings and manuscripts, all some eight centuries old, enough to fill eighty cases. Even in piping and scribbling times of peace it takes a long time for the public to get the results of a scientific expedition, and we cannot complain that the records of the Mission Pelliot are only now being published.

We can do no more now than announce the completion of this portion; we shall return to the work when the explanatory text is issued. Meanwhile all students of Buddhism or archæology should hasten to buy.



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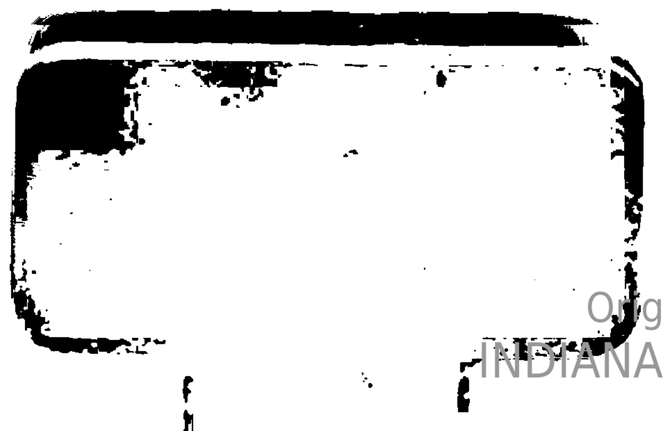

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